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OF THE

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OF
King George II.

Held in the Years 1741 and 1742.



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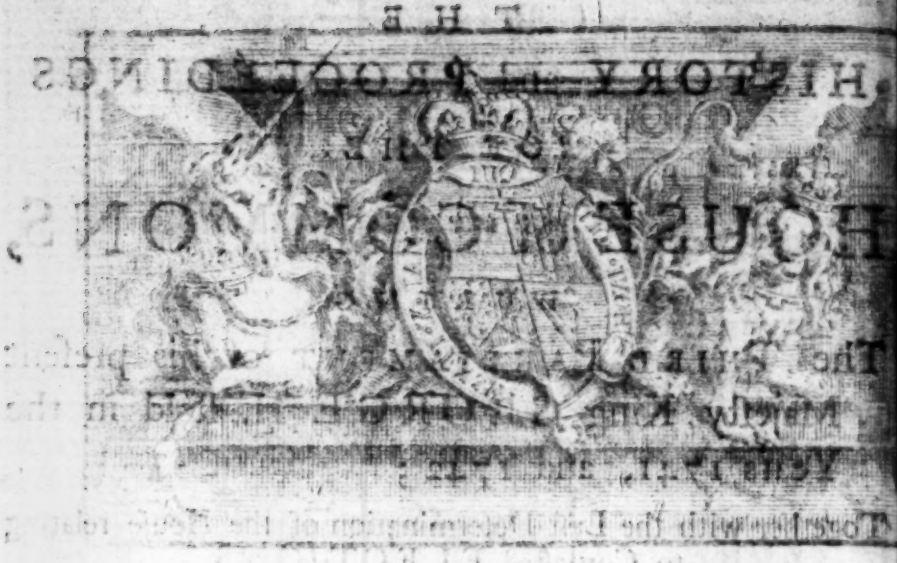
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R. C.



T H E
C O N T E N T S
O F T H E
Thirteenth VOLUME.

T HE Eighth Parliament Dissolved	Page 1
<i>Preferments conferr'd on some late Members</i>	ib.
<i>The King goes Abroad.</i>	2
Names of the Regency during his Majesty's Absence	ib.
List of the New Parliament, with the Numbers on the Poll at each contested Election	ib.
A Summary of the whole House of Commons of Great Britain.	13
Account of the Westminster Election	14
Presentment of the Grand Jury of Middlesex relat- ing thereto	ib.
Instructions from the City of London to their new Members	15
The King returns, and appoints a Fast	17
The Parliament meet	ib.
Mr Pelham proposes Mr Onslow for Speaker	ib.
Mr Clutterbuck seconds Mr Pelham	19
Mr Onslow excuses himself	ib.
He is elected Speaker, and presented to his Majesty	20
The King's Speech at opening the First Session of the Ninth Parliament of Great Britain.	ib.
A Bill read, and the Grand Committees appointed	20
Mr Henry Arthur Herbert's Motion for an Address of Thanks.	ib.
Debate thereon	24
VOL. XIII.	An

<i>An Address agreed on</i>	Page 48
<i>A Day appointed to consider the State of the Nation</i>	ib.
<i>Admiral Vernon's Answer to the Thanks of the House for his Services in the West Indies.</i>	ib.
<i>The Commons Address of Thanks for the King's Speech</i>	49
<i>Petition for an Undue Election for Westminster</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Bossiney, with an Account of the Constitution of that Borough</i>	50
<i>The King's Answer to the Commons Address</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions for the Burghs of Anstruther, &c. for the Shire of Berwick, for the Boroughs of Hedon and Chippenham, and the City of Carlisle</i>	ib.
<i>Proceedings on the Election for Bossiney</i>	51
<i>Petitions for Denbighshire, for Haverford-West, for Tamworth, for Peebles, &c. for Haddington, &c. and for Milborn-Port, &c. with the last Resolutions of the House relating to Haverford-West and Tamworth</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions for the Shire of Kinross, for Colchester, for Newcastle upon Tyne, for Pembroke, for Dornock, &c. and for Cardiganhire; with the last Resolutions of the House relating to Milborne-Port, Colchester, and Pembroke</i>	52
<i>Resolutions on the Supply</i>	ib.
<i>Proceedings on the Westminster Election</i>	53
<i>Petitions for the Shires of Air, of Cromarty, of Caithness, and for the Boroughs of Flint, &c. with the last Resolutions of the House relating to the Boroughs of Flint, &c.</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for the Shire of Sutherland, with the last Resolution of the House relating thereto</i>	54
<i>Likewise Petitions for Grimsby, and Penryn; with an Account of the Constitution of Penryn</i>	ib.
<i>Also Petitions for the Boroughs of Aberdeen, &c. for Cricklade, for Pembrokeshire, for Caermarthen, for Radnorshire, for Denbigh, &c. for the Shire of Dumfries, and for Grampound; with the last Resolutions of the House relating to Cricklade, Caermarthen, and the Shire of Dumfries</i>	ib.
<i>An Account of the Constitution of the Borough of Grampound</i>	55
	Dr

CONTENTS.

iii

Page

<i>Dr Lee chosen Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections.</i>	55
<i>Names of the Members who voted for him, and for Mr Earle</i>	ib.
<i>Another Petition for Flint</i>	60
<i>Also for the Shire of Ross, and for Retford; with the last Resolutions of the House relating to the Shire of Ross, and the said Borough of Retford</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Kirkcudbright</i>	61
<i>Bill for preserving the Publick Roads</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions for Cardigan, &c. for Gloucester, for Winchelsea, and for Radnor, &c. with the last Resolutions of the House relating to the Boroughs of Cardigan, and Radnor, &c.</i>	ib.
<i>An Address for Copies of Memorials, &c. to or from the Queen of Hungary</i>	ib.
<i>Also to or from the King of France</i>	62
<i>The like Motion relating to the K. of Prussia over-ruled</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for the Boroughs of Mitchel and Bridport, with an Account of the Constitutions of those Boroughs, and the last Resolutions of the House relating thereto</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Wotton Basslet and the City of Edinburgh</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Southwark, with the last Resolutions of the House relating thereto</i>	ib.
<i>Mess. Foster and Lyddell's Petition for Bostney</i>	63
<i>Westminster Election declared void, and the High Bailiff ordered into Custody; with farther Resolutions thereupon</i>	ib.
<i>New Writs issued for Droitwich, Sussex, Yorkshire, Hereford, Whitchurch, Thetford, Lymington, Westminster, Higham-Ferrers, Malton, Huntingdon, Apulby, Old Sarum, and Downton</i>	ib.
<i>Insolvent Debtors Petition</i>	64
<i>Petitions for Cricklade and Winchelsea withdrawn</i>	ib.
<i>New Writs ordered for Totness, Argyleshire, Roxburghshire, and East-Grinstead</i>	65
<i>Petition of the Insolvent Debtors in Bodmyn</i>	ib.
<i>Letters, &c. to and from the Queen of Hungary presented</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Grimsby withdrawn</i>	ib.
<i>Accounts ordered, and Estimates presented</i>	ib.

<i>Forty Thousand Seamen voted for 1742</i>	Page 66
<i>Election for Berwickshire determin'd, and the Sheriff-Deputa order'd into Custody</i>	ib.
<i>New Writs ordered for Tavistock and Tregony</i>	ib.
<i>Estimates of the Navy, Letters, &c. presented</i>	ib.
<i>Petition from Insolvent Debtors in York</i>	ib.
<i>Petition from the London Merchants, relating to the Conduct of the War with Spain</i>	ib.
<i>Which is referred to a Committee, with other Petitions of the same Import</i>	68
<i>Several Accounts ordered in Pursuance of the Merchants Petition</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for stating the publick Accounts</i>	69
<i>Malt Tax voted for 1742</i>	ib.
<i>Copies of Applications, Petitions, Lists, Accounts, &c. relating to the War, order'd in</i>	ib.
<i>The Place-Bill ordered in</i>	70
<i>Debate on Mr Pulteney's Motion for referring to a select Committee, the several Papers laid before them relating to the Conduct of the War</i>	ib.
<i>The Motion for a Select Committee overrul'd</i>	104
<i>Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the King of Prussia address'd for</i>	ib.
<i>Address for a State of the Land Forces in the West-Indies, and Lists of the Officers at Gibraltar and Minorca</i>	ib.
<i>Messrs Blackerby, Howard, and Lediard, the three Westminster Juslices, reprimanded by Mr Speaker</i>	ib.
<i>Who has the Thanks of the House thereupon</i>	106
<i>State of the British Prisoners in the Spanish Ports</i>	ib.
<i>The High Bailiff of Westminster discharged</i>	ib.
<i>Account of the Disposal of Money for Greenwich Hospital, and also for the Navy</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions for Milborn Port, and for Peebles withdrawn</i>	ib.
<i>King's Answer to the Address for Letters, &c. to and from the King of Prussia</i>	ib.
<i>Address for Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the States General, relating to the Austrian Interests</i>	107
<i>Petition from the City of London, relating to the War with Spain</i>	ib.

CONTENTS

		Page
	<i>Proceedings on the Petition for Carlisle</i>	107
	<i>A new Writ for Milborn-Port</i>	ib.
	<i>Accounts relating to the Sea and Land Service addressed for</i>	108
	<i>Several Accounts, Letters, &c. presented</i>	ib.
	<i>The Sheriff of Berwickshire discharg'd</i>	ib.
	<i>Petition for Dunbar, &c. withdrawn</i>	ib.
	<i>Bill passed for preserving the Publick Roads</i>	ib.
	<i>Several Accounts presented</i>	109
	<i>Address relating to the Officers at Minorca</i>	ib.
	<i>Proceedings of the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition, which is opened to the Committee by Mr Glover, with an Abstract of his Speech</i>	ib.
	<i>The Malt-Bill pass'd</i>	112
	<i>Several Accounts from the Admiralty presented, and others ordered</i>	ib.
	<i>Proceedings on the Chippenham Election</i>	ib.
	<i>Memorials, Letters, &c. from the Admiralty, and other Papers relating to the War, referr'd to the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition</i>	113
	<i>Chippenham Election determined</i>	114
	<i>Petition for Grampound withdrawn</i>	ib.
	<i>Account of Ships in Commission order'd</i>	ib.
	<i>State of the Forces in Minorca ordered to be laid before the House</i>	115
	<i>Royal Assent given to several Bills</i>	ib.
	<i>The Parliament adjourn'd</i>	ib.
	<i>Sir Robert Walpole resigns his Places, and is created an Earl</i>	ib.
	<i>Instructions sent to the several Members upon the Alterations in the Ministry</i>	ib.
	<i>New Writs order'd in the Room of Members preferr'd</i>	116
	<i>Report relating to the Woollen Manufactures</i>	ib.
	<i>Accounts from the Admiralty</i>	117
	<i>Account relating to Westminster-Abbey presented to the House</i>	ib.
	<i>Petition relating to Wooll exported</i>	ib.
	<i>Debate on the Supply</i>	ib.
	<i>Resolutions of the Grand Committee relating to the Army</i>	130
	<i>Petitions for Anstruther and Aberdeen withdrawn</i>	131
	<i>Several Accounts ordered, and Petitions presented, relating to the Woollen-Trade</i>	ib.

Debate

<i>Debate on the Resolutions relating to the Army, being reported</i>	Page 131
<i>Mutiny-Bill order'd in</i>	133
<i>Petitions relating to the Woollen Manufacture</i>	ib.
<i>A Million voted out of the Sinking Fund</i>	ib.
<i>The Denbighshire Election determined; and the High Sheriff committed to Newgate</i>	ib.
<i>Accounts of Seamen presented</i>	134
<i>Petitions for Kinrofs and Penryn withdrawn</i>	ib.
<i>Farther Resolutions relating to the High Sheriff of Denbighshire</i>	ib.
<i>Petition from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster referred to the Committee of Supply</i>	ib.
<i>Bill relating to Returning Officers order'd in</i>	135
<i>Bill to disable Pensioners from being Members</i>	ib.
<i>Determination of the Colchester Election</i>	ib.
<i>New Writ for Derby</i>	ib.
<i>Accounts from the Admiralty order'd</i>	ib.
<i>Pension-Bill read</i>	136
<i>Election for Dornock, &c. declar'd void</i>	ib.
<i>Accounts from the Admiralty presented</i>	ib.
<i>Bill pass'd for granting One Million out of the Sinking Fund</i>	ib.
<i>Petition of several Wine-Merchants trading to Spain</i>	ib.
<i>Determination of the Election for Hedon</i>	137
<i>Resolutions of the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition, which are order'd to be laid before the King</i>	138
<i>A Bill order'd for the Security of Trade in Time of War</i>	ib.
<i>His Majesty's Answer</i>	ib.
<i>Bill order'd for Relief of Insolvent Debtors</i>	ib.
<i>Mutiny Bill pass'd</i>	ib.
<i>Petitions relating to Running of Wooll</i>	ib.
<i>Resolutions on the Supply</i>	139
<i>Debate on the Lord Limerick's Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years</i>	ib.
<i>Accounts of Wooll imported and exported</i>	182
<i>Petitions relating to the Woollen Trade</i>	ib.
<i>A new Writ for Montgomeryshire</i>	ib.
<i>The Pension-Bill engross'd</i>	ib.

CONTENTS

Page		Page
	Papers relating to Minorca presented	182
131	Petitions against Select Vestries; and also against	
133	Butchers, &c. keeping Shops out of Markets	183
ib.	new Writ for Minehead	ib.
ib.	Admiral Haddock's Instructions address'd for	ib.
ib.	New Writs for Portsmouth and for Surrey	ib.
ib.	Petition relating to Frauds in Gold and Silver Lace	ib.
134	Petition for Encouragement of a new Water-Engine	ib.
ib.	Estimates relating to the Army	184
ib.	Petition for encouraging a new Method of Short Hand	ib.
ib.	Petition from the Trustees of Georgia; And also of	
ib.	the African Company	ib.
ib.	Resolution against hearing any more contested Elections	ib.
135	our Shillings Land-Tax voted	ib.
ib.	New Writ for Lewes in Sussex	185
ib.	Account of every Year's Land-Tax since the Revolu-	
ib.	tion	ib.
ib.	Calculations relating to the Proportion of Members	
136	each County sends to Parliament	ib.
ib.	Accounts order'd relating to the American Expedition	186
ib.	New Writs for Dartmouth and Brackley	ib.
ib.	Royal Assent given to several Bills	ib.
ib.	Insolvency-Bill pass'd	187
ib.	Bill relating to Returning Officers	ib.
137	King's Answer relating to Admiral Haddock	ib.
ib.	Petition for Derby	ib.
ib.	Postney Election determin'd a second Time	ib.
138	Estimates relating to the Officers, &c. on Half-Pay	ib.
ib.	New Writ for Leominster	ib.
ib.	Peace-Bill pass'd	188
ib.	Elections for Tamworth, Cardiganshire, and Flint	
ib.	determined	ib.
ib.	Mr Webber's Scheme relating to the Woollen-Trade,	
ib.	presented	ib.
139	Debate on Lord Limerick's Motion for an Inquiry into	
ib.	the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, for the	
ib.	last Ten Years	189
182	Secret Committee of 21 appointed accordingly	216
ib.	Address of Confidence and Fidelity voted	ib.
ib.	Solvent Debtors Bill presented	ib.
ib.	Petition for Bridport withdrawn	ib.
ib.	Admiral Haddock's Instructions, &c. presented	217

King's

<i>King's Answer to the foregoing Address</i>	Page 217
<i>Names of the Secret Committee, with the Numbers upon the Ballot</i>	ib.
<i>Petition from Exeter relating to the Woollen Trade</i>	218
<i>Resolutions on the Supply</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for importing Spanish Wines from neutral Ports order'd in</i>	219
<i>Mr Cowper's Scheme relating to the registering of Wooll</i>	ib.
<i>A new Writ for Andover</i>	ib.
<i>Bill relating to qualifying of Officers</i>	ib.
<i>Motion for repealing the Septennial Act rejected</i>	220
<i>The Bills relating to Spanish Wines; for securing of Trade; and for encouraging a Water-Engine, ordered a Second Reading</i>	ib.
<i>King's Message for a Vote of Credit</i>	ib.
<i>Proceedings on the Scheme for registering of Wooll</i>	ib.
<i>A new Writ for Hastings and for Durham</i>	221
<i>Accounts of Wooll carried Coastwise ordered in</i>	ib.
<i>Petition for Derby withdrawn</i>	ib.
<i>Farther Resolutions on the Supply</i>	ib.
<i>Petition against the Bill for importing Spanish Wines from neutral Ports</i>	ib.
<i>A Bill order'd in, for excluding certain Officers from being Members</i>	223
<i>Resolutions on the Supply</i>	ib.
<i>Bill relating to Gold Lace; and another for recovering small Debts, order'd a second Reading</i>	ib.
<i>Lists of Justices of Peace order'd</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for explaining the Vagabond Act</i>	ib.
<i>Land-Tax Bill pass'd</i>	224
<i>More Letters, &c. relating to Admiral Haddock, presented</i>	ib.
<i>The High Sheriff of Denbighshire discharg'd</i>	ib.
<i>Debate on Mr Paxton's refusing to answer before the Secret Committee, who is order'd into Custody</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for encouraging a Water-Engine pass'd</i>	225
<i>Accounts of Linen imported and exported, order'd in</i>	ib.
<i>New Writ for Chester</i>	ib.
<i>Officers Bill order'd a second Reading</i>	ib.
<i>Royal Assent given to several Bills</i>	ib.
<i>Mr Paxton persisting in his Refusal to answer, is committed to Newgate</i>	ib.

CONTENTS.

ix

Page		Page
217	<i>Accounts relating to Georgia and South Carolina order'd</i>	226
ib.	<i>New Writs for Plympton and Peterborough</i>	ib.
218	<i>Bill for stating the Publick Accounts</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>The Committee of Supply vote seven Irish Regiments to be transferr'd to the British Establishment</i>	ib.
219	<i>Bill relating to Gunpowder</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Petition against the Bill for importing Spanish Wines</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Several Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactory</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Debate on the Report of the Resolution of the Committee for transferring seven Irish Regiments to the British Establishment</i>	227
220	<i>The said Resolution agreed to by the House</i>	239
ib.	<i>More Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactory</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Petition from Thomas Stephens, Agent for Georgia</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Accounts from thence, and from South Carolina</i>	240
ib.	<i>Farther Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactory</i>	ib.
221	<i>Petition against the Spanish Wine Bill</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Petition from Insolvent Debtors</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>The Spanish Wine Bill committed</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Estimates of the Danish and Hessian Troops presented</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank; And a Bill relating to Vagabonds order'd a second Reading</i>	241
ib.	<i>Bill for encouraging Short Hand pass'd</i>	ib.
223	<i>New Writ for Plympton</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill pass'd for qualifying Persons in Offices</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill to prevent stealing Cloth off the Rack</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for farther qualifying Justices of Peace</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for explaining and continuing several Acts</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Account of all the Proceedings of the Trustees for Georgia order'd in</i>	242
224	<i>Petitions complaining of the Frauds of Soap-makers</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank, pass'd</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Resolutions of the Committee of Supply for paying the Foreign Forces in British Pay</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>And for the British Forces in Flanders</i>	243
225	<i>Also 20,000 l. voted for Westminster Bridge</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Report from the Secret Committee presented</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>A Bill ordered in for indemnifying Evidence against Robert Earl of Orford</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>A Bill to prevent the Escape of Prisoners order'd in</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>A Bill to prevent stealing Fish out of Ponds</i>	244

VOL. XIII.

b

Mr

	Page
<i>Mr Bell order'd into Custody for refusing to answer before the Secret Committee</i>	244
<i>Bill relating to the Earl of Orford order'd a second Reading</i>	ib.
<i>Proceedings on the Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members</i>	244, 245
<i>Petitions against Frauds of Soap-makers</i>	ib.
<i>Bill relating to Houses of Correction; Another for securing Trade and Navigation, pass'd</i>	ib.
<i>Bill relating to the Earl of Orford committed, and pass'd</i>	245
<i>Bill to prevent the stealing of Fish order'd a 2d Reading</i>	ib.
<i>Bill pass'd to prevent Prisoners escaping</i>	ib.
<i>Amount of Duties on Cambricks, order'd in</i>	ib.
<i>More Petitions relating to Soap-makers</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for Relief of the Poor, order'd in</i>	ib.
<i>Proceedings on the Bill for stating the Publick Accounts</i>	246
<i>Address for all the Papers relating to the Convention with Spain</i>	ib.
<i>Bill to exclude Officers; And another relating to Gold and Silver Lace, pass'd</i>	ib.
<i>The Bill for Recovery of small Debts; And another for Relief of Insolvent Debtors, drop'd</i>	ib.
<i>Resolutions relating to the Linen Manufactory</i>	ib.
<i>Bill for importing Spanish Wines postpon'd</i>	247
<i>Bill to qualify Justices, order'd a second Reading</i>	ib.
<i>Names of seven Commissioners for stating the Publick Accounts, with the Numbers on the Ballot</i>	ib.
<i>A Committee appointed to search the Lords Journals concerning their Proceedings on the Bill for indemnifying Evidences against Robert Earl of Orford</i>	ib.
<i>Lord Strange's Motion to resolve, That the Lords having rejected that Bill, is an Obstruction to publick Justice, with the Debate thereon</i>	248
<i>The said Motion passes in the Negative: As also Mr Cornewall's Motion for printing the Report of the Committee relating thereto</i>	263
<i>Motion for a Bill for regulating select Vestries, passes in the Negative</i>	ib.
<i>Bill to prevent counterfeiting the Coin order'd in</i>	264
<i>Bill to prevent Lunaticks from marrying order'd in</i>	ib.
<i>Resolutions relating to printing the Journals of the House</i>	ib.
	Ref-

CONTENTS.

xi

Page		Page
	<i>Resolutions of the Committee of Supply</i>	264
44	<i>Debate on the First of the said Resolutions, for granting 800,000 l. to be raised by Annuities at 3 per Cent.</i>	265
ib.	<i>A Bill for granting 800,000 l. Another relating to Lunaticks; and a Third for Relief of the Poor, order'd a second Reading.</i>	267
45	<i>Bill for stating the publick Accounts rejected.</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bills to prevent stealing of Cloth, and killing of Fish, pass'd.</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill relating to the Coin order'd a Second Reading</i>	ib.
45	<i>Resolutions of the Committee of Supply</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Several Bills order'd in Pursuance thereof</i>	268
ib.	<i>Papers relating to the Convention presented, and re-ferr'd to the Secret Committee.</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Address relating to the Exportation of Wooll.</i>	269
46	<i>Bill for encouraging British and Irish Linens; And another permitting Rum to be landed without Payment of Duty, order'd in</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>His Majesty's Answer to the Address relating to Wooll</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>New Writ for Truro</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for granting 800,000 l. by Annuities, pass'd</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Mr Sandys presents several Papers relating to the Convention, which are referr'd to the Secret Committee</i>	ib.
47	<i>A Bill order'd in to regulate the Plantation-Trade, &c.</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill for farther Qualifying Justices, postpon'd</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Petitions against the Linen-Bill</i>	270
ib.	<i>Address relating to Importation of Spanish Wooll</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Bill relating to Lunaticks; also the Bill relating to Gunpowder, pass'd</i>	ib.
48	<i>A Bill for importing Rum; another relating to the Coin; also one for regulating the Plantation-Trade; and another for laying a Duty on Foreign Cambricks; pass'd</i>	271
ib.	<i>A new Writ for Shaftesbury</i>	ib.
63	<i>Returning Officers Bill engross'd</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Vagabond-Bill rejected</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Resolutions relating to the Colony of Georgia</i>	ib.
64	<i>The Agent for Georgia reprimanded</i>	272
ib.	<i>Bill to encourage Sail-Cloth, &c. pass'd</i>	ib.
ib.	<i>Farther Report from the Secret Committee presented</i>	ib.

<i>New Writ order'd for London</i>	Page 272
<i>Returning-Officers Bill, and the Bill to prevent Sheep-stealing, pass'd</i>	ib.
<i>Several new Writs order'd in the Room of Members preferr'd</i>	273
<i>The King's Speech at putting an End to the Session</i>	ib.
<i>The Parliament prorogued</i>	274
<i>A Table of the Publick Acts pass'd during the First Session of the Third Parliament of King George II.</i>	275



A Report from the Committee of Secrecy, appointed to inquire into the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Oxford*, during the last Ten Years of his being First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

<i>A Count of the Election at Wendover, Anno 1735</i>	Page 1
<i>Examination of Mr Gibbons relating thereto, and of Mr Jones</i>	ib.
<i>John Boteler, Esq; examined, and Mr Paxton</i>	2
<i>Examination of Mr Banks, relating to the Borough of Orford</i>	3
<i>And also as to a Paragraph in the London Evening-Post, reflecting on Sir Charles Gonter Nichol</i>	4
<i>Examination of Mr Martin, relating to a new Charter for the Borough of Radnor, and of Thomas Lewis, Esq; Member for the said Borough</i>	5
<i>Account of Mr Paxton's Behaviour as a Public Accountant</i>	6
<i>Further Examination of Mr Paxton, and Gwyn Vaughan, Esq;</i>	8
<i>The Observations of the Committee on Mr Paxton's obstinate and contemptuous Behaviour</i>	9

CONTENTS xiii

APPENDIX to the Report

Mr Lowndes's Letter to the Auditors of the Imprest	10
Their Representation to the Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer	ib.
His Lordship's Warrant to the Solicitor of the Treasury upon that Occasion	12
Confirmation thereof by the Lords of the Treasury Anno 1717	ib.

A FARTHER REPORT from the Committee of Secrecy.

Account of the Contract for supplying Money for paying the Forces sent to the West-Indies	14
Messrs Burrell's and Bristow's Proposal for that Purpose	ib.
Examination of Capt. Wilson relating thereto	15
and of Messrs Burrell and Bristow; also of Charles Hanbury Williams, and of James Knight, Esqrs	16
The Committee's Observations on the Injuries done to the Soldiers and the Publick by the above Contract	17
The Committee's Remarks on the Earl of Orford's Transactions relating to Elections	23
Examination of Mr Farley relating to the Borough of Orford; and of Mr Banks; also of Mr Martin	24
Examination of Mr Jordan, relating to the Borough of Weymouth and Melcomb Regis	25
and of the Rev. Mr Franklyn; also of Thomas Pearse, Esq;	27
and of John Olmius, Esq;	28
Mr Pomeroy's Examination relating to the said Borough	29
Mr Olmius's Letter on that Occasion	30
Who is examin'd a second Time	31
Examination of the Rev. Mr Morgan	ib.
The Committee's Observations on the Attacks made upon the Freedom of Elections, by the above Proceedings	ib.
The Earl of Orford's Conduct relating to Money for Secret Service	32
Remarks of the Committee thereupon	ib.
Examination of Mr Tilson relating to Secret Service Money	33
	And

<i>And of John Shepherd, also of Mr George Campbell, and of Mr Farley, and of Mr Bryant</i>	34, 35
<i>Account of 50,077 l. 18 s. paid Political Writers, &c.</i>	36
<i>Examination of Mr Middleton, relating to 30,119 l.</i>	ib.
<i>4 s. paid on the Earl of Ilay's Account</i>	ib.
<i>Examination of Mr Shepherd relating to 1500 l. paid to the High Bailiff of Westminster</i>	37
<i>Mr Gashry's Examination relating thereto</i>	ib.
<i>Examination of Mr Le Heup</i>	ib.
<i>Farther Examination of Mr Shepherd relating to Secret Service Money, and of Mr Tilson, also of Mr Fane</i>	38
<i>Farther Remarks of the Committee relating to Money issued for Secret Service</i>	39
<i>Account of the regular Course of receiving Money in the Exchequer</i>	41
<i>Mr Fane's Account of 17,461 l. paid by him to the Earl of Orford as Secret Service Money</i>	42
<i>Examination of Major Forth relating to a Bill of 7000 l. drawn by the Duke of Bolton on the Earl of Orford</i>	ib.
<i>Mr Tilson's Account how Money issued for Secret Service was accounted for to his Majesty</i>	42
<i>Examination of Mr Wilkin relating thereto</i>	43
<i>Examination of Mr Scrope</i>	44
<i>Who refuses to take the Oath, and to answer certain Questions put to him on that Occasion</i>	45
<i>Remarks of the Committee thereupon</i>	ib.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report.

<i>An Account of all Sums of Money drawn by Bills from Jamaica, for the Service of his Majesty's Fleet, since the Commencement of the War against Spain, and at what Rates of Exchange the said Bills were drawn</i>	48
<i>An Account of the Sums of Money drawn by Bills from Jamaica, for the Service of his Majesty's Ordnance, since the Commencement of the War against Spain, and at what Rates of Exchange the same were drawn</i>	51
<i>Captain Wilson's Examination relating to the Method of paying the Troops sent to the West-Indies</i>	54
<i>Examination of Mr Burrell relating to a Contract for the Payment of those Troops</i>	57

CONTENTS.

Page		Page
35	Examination of Mr Bristow relating to the said Contract	62
36	Examination of Mr Hanbury Williams, relating to the said Contract	66
ib.	Examination of Mr Knight relating to the Rate of Exchange between Jamaica and London	67
37	Representation from the Deputy Paymaster of the Marines to the Lords of the Treasury, for 9500 l.	69
ib.	Mr Burrell's Letter on the same Occasion	70
ib.	Order for the Payment thereof	ib.
38	Proposal of Messrs Burrell and Bristow to the Lords of the Treasury	ib.
39	Order for paying them 11,024 l. 15 s. 5 d.	71
41	And also 21,000 l. more	ib.
42	Extract of a Letter from Brigadier General Wentworth, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle	72
43	Letters from Mr Colebroke to Mr Pelham, from p.	72
44	to	81
ib.	Extract of a Letter to the Paymaster of the Marines from his Deputy in Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1741	82
42	Mr Pelham's Memorial to the Treasury, relating to the Contract with Mr Burrell, &c.	ib.
43	Brigadier Guise's Letter to Mr Pelham	84
44	Messrs Burrell and Bristow's Representation to the Treasury relating to their Contract	ib.
45	Mr Daniel's Letter relating to the Corporation of Colchester	88
ib.	An Account of all Sums issued for Secret Service, or for his Majesty's Immediate or Special Service, the Money issued to his Majesty's Privy Purse excepted, or to reimburse Expences for his Majesty's Service, distinguishing the Cause assigned for issuing the same, the Time when, and Persons to whom the same has been issued, from the 10th of February 1731, to the 10th of February 1741	89
52	An Account of all Sums issued for Secret Service, or for the Immediate or Special Service of the Crown, the Money issued for the Privy Purse excepted, or to reimburse Expences for the Service of the Crown, distinguishing the Cause assigned for issuing the same, the Time when, and the Persons to whom the same has been issued, from the 1st of August 1707, to the 1st of August 1720	100
54		The
57		

<i>The Names of the Persons for which Orders were made out of the Exchequer for large Sums of Money, from the 10th of February 1731, to the 10th of February 1741, which being read over to Christopher Tilton, Henry Fane, Esqrs. and John Shepherd, were to them unknown</i>	109
<i>Money paid by Mr Lowther of the Treasury to several Persons, for printing, publishing, and writing of News-Papers, &c. by them delivered at the General Post-Office in London, between Feb. 10, 1731, and Feb. 10, 1741</i>	118
<i>Examination of Mr Gashy relating to the Payment of 1500 l. to the High Bailiff of Westminster</i>	113
<i>An Account of all Warrants from the Crown, directing the Payment of any Money to the Secretary of the Post-Office without Account, from the 10th of Feb. 1718, to the 11th of Feb. 1741</i>	124
<i>Examination of the Secretary of the Post-Office, relating to Money paid him by Warrant from the Crown</i>	ib.



The CONTENTS of the ADDENDA.

<i>Monies voted by Parliament during the Course of Queen Anne's War, from 1702 to 1712, as compared by the Journals of the House</i>	117
<i>A State of the War in Flanders, Portugal and Spain, from the Year 1701, to the Year 1711 inclusive, as deliver'd into the House of Commons, 28 Jan. 1711, by the then Secretary at War</i>	123
<i>SPEECHES communicated to the Editor since the Publication of the former Volumes, viz. On a Motion of the 11th of December 1740, for the new-raised Men to be incorporated into the Standing Corps</i>	127
<i>And on the Motion to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's Counsels and Presence</i>	179



THE
HISTORY
AND
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE

House of Commons,

DURING

the FIRST SESSION of the THIRD PARLIAMENT of King GEORGE II.



On the 25th of *April* last his Majesty put an End to the Seventh Session of the Eighth Parliament of *Great Britain* with a Speech as usual*. On the *Tuesday* following a Proclamation was issued for the Dissolution of that Parliament, and Writs were issued for

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

The Eighth Parliament Dissolved.

calling a new One, returnable the 25th of *June*.

Immediately after the Dissolution, the *Gazette* presented Publick with an Account of the Preferments conferr'd several Members of the last Parliament, viz. *John* *Wris*, Esq; made Master of the Household to his Majesty, the Room of *George Treby*, Esq; appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury; Lord *Glenorchy* and *Edward Thompson*, Esq; made Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Lyttelton*, Bart. and *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Esq.

Preferments conferr'd on some late Members.

See CHANDLER's History of the House of Commons, Anno 1741.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

buck, Esq; *Horatio Walpole*, Esq; appointed one of the Tellers of the *Exchequer*, and succeeded as Cofferer of the Household by *Thomas Winnington*, Esq; who was also sworn one of the Privy Council; *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Esq; made one of the Lords of the Treasury in the Room of Mr *Winnington*; Lord Viscount *Duplin*, and Sir *William Corbet*, Bart. made Commissioners of his Majesty's Revenues in *Ireland*; *Thomas Pelham*, jun. Esq; and *Benjamin Keene*, Esq; made Lords of Trade and Plantations, in the Room of *Thomas Pelham*, sen. Esq; and Sir *Archer Croft*, Bart. who had resign'd; Sir *Robert Brown*, Bart. made Paymaster of all his Majesty's Works; *Andrew Wilkinson*, Esq; Clerk of the Delivery of Ordnance, &c. *Thomas Morgan*, Esq; appointed Judge-Advocate, in the Room of Sir *Henry Houghton*, who had resign'd: — Also *Henry Bromley*, Esq; created a Peer of *Great Britain*, by the Stile and Title of Lord *Moniford*, Baron of *Horsebeath* in the County of *Cambridge*; *Stephen Fox*, Esq; Lord *Ilchester*, Baron of *Woodsford Strangeways* in the County of *Dorset*; *John Howe*, Esq; Lord *Chedworth*, Baron of *Chedworth* in the County of *Gloucester*.

The King goes
Abroad.

On the 6th of *May* his Majesty in Council declar'd his Intention of going out of the Kingdom for a short Time, and the next Day embark'd for his *German* Dominions.

Names of the
Regency during
his Majesty's
Absence.

The following Persons were nominated Lords Justices, for the Administration of the Government during his Majesty's Absence, viz. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Lord *Hardwicke*, Earl of *Wilmington*, Lord *Hervey*, Duke of *Dorset*, Duke of *Grafton*, Duke of *Richmond*, Duke of *Bolton*, Duke of *Devonshire*, Duke of *Montagu*, Duke of *Newcastle*, Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Hay*, Lord *Harrington*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and Sir *Charles Wager*.

The following is an exact LIST of the Members return'd to serve in this Parliament, with an Account of the Polls at the several contested Elections, as far as could be collected, and the Names of the Candidates.

Those with an a were not Members of the last Parliament.

ENGLAND and WALES.

List of the New
Parliament.

Abingdon.
a JOHN Wright, Esq;
Agmondesham.
Henry Marshal, Esq;
Thomas Gore, Esq;
St Albans.
Thomas Ashby, Esq;
a James West, Esq;

Aldborough (Suffolk.)
William Conolly, Esq;
Richard Plumer, Esq;
Aldborough (Yorkshire.)
John Jewkes, Esq;
Andrew Wilkinson, Esq;

Andover

<i>Andover.</i>	<i>Beverley.</i>	
a Hon. J. Wallop, Esq; 12	Charles Pelham, Esq; 741	
John Pollen, Esq; (a) 9	a Will. Strickland, Esq; (c) 529	
<i>Anglesea.</i>	<i>Beawdy.</i>	
John Owen, Esq;	William Bowles, Esq;	
<i>Apulby.</i>	<i>Bishop's Castle.</i>	
Sir John Ramlden, Bt.	Marquis of Caernarvon, 67	
George Doddington, Esq;	a Andrew Hill, Esq; (f) 60	
<i>Arundel.</i>	<i>Blechingley.</i>	
a Hon. Ja. Lumley, Esq; 109	Sir William Clayton, Bt.	
Garton Orme, Esq; (b) 129	Kendrick Clayton, Esq;	
<i>Ashburton.</i>	<i>Bodmin.</i>	
a John Arscot, Esq;	John Laroche, Esq; 29	
John Harris, Esq;	a Tho. Bludworth, Esq; (g) 17	
<i>Aylesbury.</i>	<i>Boralfston.</i>	
a Hon. Will. Stanhope, Es. 320	a Samuel Heathcote, Esq;	
a Cha. Pilsworth, Esq; (c) 344	Will. Morden, Esq;	
<i>Banbury.</i>	<i>Boroughbridge.</i>	
a Hon. William Moore, Esq;	Brigadier James Tyrrell,	
<i>Barnstaple.</i>	George Gregory, Esq;	
Henry Rolle, Esq;	<i>Bossiney.</i>	
John Harris, Esq;	a Thomas Forster, Esq; 11	
<i>Bath.</i>	a Richard Liddel, Esq; (h) 11	
General George Wade, 27	<i>Boston.</i>	
Philip Bennet, Esq; (d) 16	a Lord Vere Bertie,	
<i>Beaumaris.</i>	a John Michell, Esq;	
Lord Viscount Bulkeley.	<i>Brackley.</i>	
<i>Bedfordshire.</i>	Sir Paul Methuen, Kt.	
Sir Roger Burgoyne, Bt.	George Lee, L. L. D.	
Sir John Chester, Bt.	<i>Bramber.</i>	
<i>Bedford.</i>	Thomas Archer, Esq;	
Sir Boteler Chernock, Bt.	Captain Harry Gough.	
Samuel Ongley, Esq;	<i>Breconshire.</i>	
<i>Bedwin.</i>	John Jeffreys, Esq;	
Sir Edward Turner, Bt.	<i>Brecon.</i>	
Lascelles Metcalf, Esq;	Hon. John Talbot, Esq;	
<i>Berkshire.</i>	<i>Bridgnorth.</i>	
Winchc. Howard Packer, Es.	Thomas Whitmore, Esq; 878	
Peniston Powney, Esq;	a Will. Whitmore, Es. (i) 829	
<i>Berwick.</i>	<i>Bridgewater.</i>	
Lord Viscount Barrington,	a Hon. Vere Poulett, Esq; 133	
Thomas Watson, Esq;	Geo. Doddington, Esq; (k) 139	
1741.	B-2	<i>Brid.</i>

a) Will. Guidott, 8	(c) Elerker Bradshaw,	(h) Chr. Tower, Es. 14
John Pugh, 1	Esq; 356	John Sabine, Esq; 14
b) Sir John Shelley,	(f) Joseph Windham	(i) Lanc. Lee, Esq; 552
Bt. 39	Athe, Esq; 47	Sir Rich. Acton, Bt. 30
c) Mr Bertie, 135	Meyrick Burrell, Es. 43	(k) Sir Charles Wynd-
d) Mr Codrington, 15	(g) Sir John Heathcote,	ham, Bt. 116
	Bart.	12

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

Bridport.

William Bowles, Esq; 156
a Geo. Richards, Esq; (l) 166

Bristol.

Sir Abraham Elton, Bt.
 Edward Southwell, Esq;

Buckinghamshire.

Richard Grenville, Esq;
a Richard Lowndes, Esq;

Buckingham.

George Denton, Esq;
a George Grenville, Esq;

Caln.

a Col. William Elliot,
 Walter Hungerford, Esq;

Cambridgeshire.

Samuel Shephard, Esq;
a Soame Jenyns, Esq;

Cambridge Town.

a Lord Viscount Dupplin.
a James Martin, Esq;

Cambridge University.

Hon. Edward Finch, Esq;
 Hon. Tho. Townshend, Esq;

Camelford.

a Earl of Inchiquin,
 Charles Montague, Esq;

Canterbury.

a Hon. Thomas Watson, Esq;
a Thomas Best, Esq;

Caerdiff.

Herbert Mackworth, Esq;

Cardiganshire.

Walter Lloyd, Esq;

Cardigan.

Thomas Pryse, Esq;

Carlisle.

Col. Charles Howard, 112
Another Account, 361

a John Stanwix, Esq; 93
Another Account, (m) 117

Caermarthenshire.

Sir Nicholas Williams, Bt.

Caermarthen.

a John Phillips, Esq; (n) 208

(l) Solomon Ashley,
 Esq; 102

(m) John Hylton, Esq. 90
Another Account 343

(n) Griffith Phillips,
 Esq; 112

(o) Alex. Hume, Esq. 60
 Mr Frederick, 50

Caernarvonshire.

a William Bodville, Esq; 11

Caernarvon.

Thomas Wynn, Esq;

Castle-Rising.

Brig. Gen. Charles Churchill,
 Lord Viscount Andover.

Cheeshire.

Charles Cholmondeley, Esq;
 John Crewe, jun. Esq;

Chester.

Sir Robert Grosvenor, Bt.
 Sir Charles Bunbury, Bt.

Chichester.

Hon. James Brudenell, Esq;
a John Page, Esq;

Chippenham.

a Sir Edmund Thomas, Bt. 69
 Edward Bayntun Rolt,

Esq; (o) 71

Chipping-Wicomb.

Edmund Waller, Esq;
 Harry Waller, Esq;

Christ-Church.

Edward Hooper, jun. Esq;
 Charles Armand Powlett, Esq;

Cirencester.

Thomas Master, Esq;
 Hon. Henry Bathurst, Esq;

Clifton, Dartmouth, &c.

George Treby, Esq;
 Walter Cary, Esq;

Clithero.

Thomas Lister, Esq;
 William Curzon, Esq;

Cockermouth.

Hon. William Finch, Esq;
 Colonel John Mordaunt.

Colchester.

Matthew Martin, Esq; 790
 John Olmuis, Esq; (p) 806

Corfe Castle.

a Henry Bankes, Esq;
 John Bond, Esq;

Corn-

(p) Charles Gray,
 Esq; 832

Samuel Saville,
 Esq; 807

Cornwall.

Sir William Carew, Bt.

Sir John St Aubin, Bt.

Coventry.

Earl of Euston,

a William Grove, Esq;

Cricklade.

Sir Tho. Read, Bt.

Charles Gore, Esq;

a Wellbore Ellis, Esq;

} all re-
turn'd.*Cumberland.*

Sir James Lowther, Bt.

Sir Joseph Pennington, Bt.

Denbighshire.

John Myddleton, Esq;

Denbigh.

John Wynn, Esq; (q)

282

Derbyshire.

Marquis of Hartington,

Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bt.

Derby.

Lord James Cavendish,

Hon. John Stanhope, Esq;

Devizes.

Francis Eyles, Esq;

John Garth, Esq;

Devonshire.

Sir William Courtenay, Bt.

Theophilus Fortescue, Esq;

Dorsetshire.

Edmund Morton Pleydell, Esq;

George Chafin, Esq;

Dorchester.

John Brown, Esq;

Nathaniel Gundry, Esq;

Dover.

Lord George Sackville 466

Thomas Revell, Esq; (r) 521

Downeton.

Anthony Duncombe, Esq;

Hon. John Verney, Esq;

Droitwich.

Thomas Foley, Esq;

Thomas Winnington, Esq;

Dunwich.

Sir George Downing, Bt.

a Jac. Garrard Downing, Esq;

Durham County.

John Hedworth, Esq;

George Bowes, Esq;

Durham.

John Shaftoe, Esq;

Henry Lambton, Esq;

Eastlow.

Francis Gashry, Esq;

a James Buller, Esq;

St Edmunds-Bury.

Hon. Thomas Hervey, Esq;

Col. Thomas Norton.

Essex.

Sir Robert Abdy, Bt.

Thomas Bramston, Esq;

Evesham.

Sir John Rushout, Bt.

Edward Rudge, Esq;

Exeter.

Sir Henry Northcote, Bt.

a Humphry Sydenham, Esq;

Eye.

Hon. Stephen Cornwallis, Esq;

Hon. John Cornwallis, Esq;

Flintshire.

a Sir John Glynne, Bt.

Flint.

Sir George Wynne, Bt. (s) 320

Forwey.

Jonathan Rashleigh, Esq;

William Wardour, Esq;

Galton.

George Newland, L. L. D.

Charles Docminique, Esq;

St Germain's.

a John Cotton, Esq;

a James Newsam, Esq;

Glamorganshire.

Hon. Buffy Mansell, Esq;

Gloucestershire.

a Norborne Berkeley, Esq;

Thomas Chester, Esq;

Gloucester) Arthur Trevor,
Esq; 139(r) Henry Furness,
Esq; 237(s) Rich. Williams,
Esq; 280

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

Gloucester.

John Selwyn, Esq;

Hon. Ben. Bathurst, Esq; (t)

Grampound.

Daniel Boone, Esq;

a Will. Banks, Esq; (u)

Grantham.

a Marquis of Granby,

Sir Michael Newton, Bart.

Grimsby.

a William Locke, Esq; 82

Robert Knight, Esq; (x) 95

East Grinstead.

Earl of Middlesex,

a Whistler Webster, Esq;

Guilford

Denzil Onslow, Esq;

Col. Richard Onslow.

Harwich.

John Phillipson, jun. Esq;

a Hill Mussenden, Esq;

Haslemere.

Gen. James Oglethorpe.

Peter Burrell, Esq;

Hastings.

James Pelham, Esq;

a Andrew Stone, Esq;

Haverford-West.

Sir Erasmus Phillips, Bt. (y) 247

Helfton.

a Francis Godolphin, Esq;

Thomas Walker, Esq;

Herefordshire.

Velters Cornwall, Esq;

Edward Harley, Esq;

Hereford.

a Edw. Cope Hopton, Esq; 506

a Tho. Winford, Esq; (z) 504

Hertfordshire.

Jacob Houblon, Esq;

Charles Gore, Esq;

Hertford.

George Harrison, Esq;

Nathaniel Brasseley, Esq;

Heydon.

a Francis Chote, Esq;

a Luke Robinson, Esq;

Heytsbury.

Edward Ash, Esq;

Pierce A'Court, Esq;

Higham-ferrers.

Hon. Henry Finch, Esq;

Hindon.

a William Steele, Esq;

a Henry Calthorpe, Esq;

Honyton.

Sir William Yonge, Bart.

a Henry Courtenay, Esq;

Horsham.

Sir Richard Mill, Bart.

Col. Charles Ingram.

Huntingdonshire.

a Will. Mitchell, Esq; 867

a Colson Fellows, Esq; (a) 769

Huntingdon.

a Hon. Wills Hill, Esq; 89

a Edw. Montague, Esq; (b) 90

Hythe.

William Glanville, Esq;

Hercules Baker, Esq;

Ilchester.

Charles Lockyer, Esq;

Sir Robert Brown, Bart.

Ipswich.

a Vice Adm. Vernon. 527

Samuel Kent, Esq; (c) 298

St Ives.

a Col. Gregory Beake.

John Bristow, Esq;

Kellington.

Tho. Copleston, Esq;

a Hor. Walpole, Esq; (d) 44

Kent.

(t) Benj. Hyet, Esq;

(u) Thomas Trefusis, Esq; 35

Tho. Hales, Esq; 35

(x) Matt. Boucherett, Esq; 60

(y) H. Barlow, Esq; 207

(z) Herbert Rudhall Westfaling, Esq; 479

Mr Cornwall, 420

Mr Brydges, 25

(a) Char. Clarke, Esq; 684.

(b) Gen. Handasyd, 70

Albert Nesbit, Esq; 48

(c) Knox Ward, Esq; 224

(d) Mr Mitford, 23

Mr Bennet, 21

Bryan

Kent.

Sir Edward Dering, Bart.

a Sir Roger Twisden, Bart.

Kingston upon Hull.

George Crowle, Esq;

a William Carter, Esq;

Knarborough.

Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart.

Hon. Richard Arundel, Esq;

Lancashire.

a Lord Strange.

Richard Shuttleworth, Esq;

Lancaster.

Sir Thomas Lowther, Bart.

Robert Fenwick, Esq;

Launceston.

Sir Will. Morrice, Bart.

Sir Will. Irby, Bart.

Leicestershire.

a Sir Tho. Cave, Bart. 2536

Edward Smith, Esq; (e) 2722

Leicester.

James Wigley, Esq;

George Wrighte, Esq;

Leominster.

a John Caswall, Esq; 339

a Capel Hanbury, Esq; (f) 330

Leiskard.

Richard Elliot, Esq;

a Charles Trelawney, Esq;

Leſſwithiel.

a Sir Rob. Salusbury Cotton, Bt.

Sir John Croſſe, Bart.

Lewes.

John Morley Trevor, Esq; 154

Tho. Pelham, Esq; (g) 156

Lincolnshire.

Robert Viner, Esq;

Thomas Whichcote, Esq;

Lincoln.

Charles Monſon, Esq;

a John de la Fountain Tyrwhitt, Esq; (h)

Litchfield.

Sir Liſter Holte, Bart.

George Venables Vernon, Esq;

Liverpool.

Thomas Brereton, Esq;

Richard Gildart, Esq;

London.

Sir John Barnard, Kt. 3769

a Daniel Lambert, Esq; 3217

a Sir Rob. Godſchall, Kt. 3143

Geo. Heathcote, Esq; (i) 3322

Ludlow.

Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq;

Sir William Corbet, Bart.

Luggershal.

a Charles Selwyn, Esq;

a Thomas Hayward, Esq;

Lyme Regis.

Henry Holt Henley, Esq;

John Scrope, Esq;

Lymington.

a Henry Burrard, Esq;

a Lord Naſſau Powlett.

Lynn Regis.

Sir Robert Walpole, Kt.

Sir John Turner, Bt.

Maidſtone.

a Lord Guernſey. 561

a Hon. John Bligh, Esq;

(k) 548

Malden.

a Sir Thomas Drury, Bt.

a Robert Colebrooke, Esq;

Malmſbury.

Giles Earle, Esq;

Wm Rawlinſon Earle, Esq;

Malton.

a Lord James Cavendiſh.

Hon. Henry Finch, Esq;

Marlborough.

Sir Edward Bellamy, Kt. 1311

Micajah Perry, Esq; 1713

(k) Wm Horſemanden Turner, Esq; 140

Adm. Geo. HA

1741

(e) Waring Aſhby, Esq; (g) Thomas Sergiſon, Esq; 117

(f) Rob. Harley, Esq; (h) Coningsby Sibthorp, Esq; 152

Bryan Crowder, Esq; 7 (i) Adm. Vernon, 1175

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

*Marlborough.*John Crawley, Esq;
Sir John Hind Cotton, Bt.*Marlow.*

Sir Thomas Hoby, Bart.

a Samuel Tuffnell, Esq;

St Marw.

a James Douglass, Esq;

a Robert Nugent, Esq;

Melcomb Regis.

John Tucker, Esq;

a Joseph Damer, Esq;

Merioneth.

William Vaughan, Esq;

Midhurst.

Sir John Peachy, Bart.

Thomas Bootle, Esq;

Middlesex.

Sir Hugh Smithson, Bt.

William Pulteney, Esq;

Milborn-Port.

Thomas Medlycot, Esq; 59

Another Account 45

a Jeffery French, Esq; 57

Another Account (l) 43

Minehead.

Francis Whitworth, Esq;

Thomas Carew, Esq;

St Michael.

a Edward Clive, Esq; 25

a John Ord, Esq; (m) 25

Monmouthshire.

Ch. Hanbury Williams, Esq;

Thomas Morgan, Esq;

Monmouth.

Lord Charles Noel Somerset.

Morpeth.

Sir Henry Liddel, Bart.

Robert Ord, Esq;

Montgomeryshire.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, Bart.

Montgomery.

Col. Ja. Cholmondeley.

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Lord William Manners.

a Job Staunton Charleton, Esq;

Newcastle under Line.

Hon. Baptist Leveson Gower,

Randle Wilbraham, Esq;

Newcastle upon Tyne.

Walter Blacket, Esq; 1453

Nic. Fenwick, Esq; (n) 1231

Newport (Cornwall.)

Hon. Nicholas Herbert, Esq;

a Thomas Bury, Esq;

Newport (Isle of Wight.)

Anthony Chute, Esq;

a Monoux Cope, Esq;

Newton (Lancashire.)

Legh Master, Esq;

William Shippen, Esq;

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Northallerton.

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Northampton.

Hon. George Compton, Esq;

William Wilmer, Esq;

Northumberland.

Sir Will. Middleton, Bart.

a John Fenwick, Esq;

Norwich.

Horatio Walpole, Esq; 1771

Thomas Vere, Esq; (o) 1621

Notting-

(l) Mich. Harvey, Esq; 60

Another Account, 22

Mr Thompson, 58

Another Account, 20

(m) Jones Raymond, 15

Elq; 15

Wm Newland, Esq; 15

(n) Matthew Ridley, 1131

Elq; 683

Wm Carre, Esq; 683

(o) Wm Clarke, Esq; 329

<i>Nottinghamshire.</i>		<i>Poole.</i>	
William Levinz, Esq;		a Jos. Gullson, Esq;	
John Mordaunt, Esq;		a Thomas Miffing, Esq;	
<i>Nottingham.</i>		<i>Pontefract.</i>	
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Borlace Warren, Esq;		a Geo. Morton Pitt, Esq;	
<i>Okehampton.</i>		<i>Portsmouth.</i>	
George Lyttelton, Esq;		Admiral Cavendish,	
Thomas Pitt, Esq;		Martin Bladen, Esq;	
<i>Oxford.</i>		<i>Presen.</i>	
Ed Visc. Glenorchy,		Nich. Fazakerly, Esq;	391
Henry Legge, Esq;		a James Shuttlesworth,	
<i>Oxfordshire.</i>		Esq; (q)	384
Sir James Dashwood, Bt.		<i>Queenborough.</i>	
Lord Visc. Qarendon.		Richard Evans, Esq;	
<i>Oxford City.</i>		a Thomas Newnham, Esq;	
Thomas Rowney, Esq;		<i>Radnorshire.</i>	
Philip Herbert, Esq;		Sir Hum. Howarth, Kt. (r)	519
<i>Oxford University.</i>		<i>Radnor Town.</i>	
Lord Visc. Cornbury.		Tho. Lewis of Harpton, Esq;	
Edward Butler, L. L. D.		<i>Reading.</i>	
<i>Pembrokeshire.</i>		John Blagrove, Esq;	
John Campbell, Esq;		a William Strode, Esq;	
<i>Pembroke.</i>		<i>Retford.</i>	
William Owen, Esq;		John White, Esq;	46
<i>Penryn.</i>		a Will. Mellish, Esq; (f)	46
Admiral Vernon.	72	<i>Richmond.</i>	
John Evelyn, Esq; (o)	71	Sir Conyers Darcy, Kt.	
<i>Peterborough.</i>		John Yorke, Esq;	
Lord Fitzwilliams,		<i>Rippon.</i>	
Edward Wortley, Esq;		William Aislaby, Esq;	
<i>Petersfield.</i>		Hon. Henry Vane, Esq;	
Francis Fane, Esq;	215	<i>Rochester.</i>	
John Jolliffe, Esq; (p)	223	Admiral Haddock,	435
<i>Plymouth.</i>		Admiral Vernon (t)	348
Lord Vere Beauclerk,		<i>New Romney.</i>	
Arthur Stert, Esq;		a Sir Francis Dashwood, Bt.	
<i>Plimpton.</i>		Henry Furnese, Esq;	
Richard Edgcumbe, Esq;		<i>Rutland-</i>	
Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq;			
VOL. XIII.		C	

John Clavering,	(q) — Reynolds,	(f) Sir Robert Clif-	
Esq;	Esq;	ton, Bt.	41
rd Glenorchy,	64 Sir Henry Hoghton,	Mr Soame,	4
— Barnard, Esq;	Bt.	(t) David Pollhill,	
120	(r) Roderick Gwynne,	Esq;	178
Powlet, Esq;	144 Esq;		496

An. 13. Geo. II.
1741.

<i>Rutlandshire.</i>		<i>Southampton County.</i>	
Hon. John Finch, Esq;		Lord Harry Powlett	
Hon. James Noel, Esq;		Pawlett St John, Esq;	
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<i>Saltafb.</i>		<i>Stamford.</i>	
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a John Cleveland, Esq;		John Proby, Esq;	
<i>Sandwich.</i>		<i>Steyning.</i>	
Sir George Oxenden, Bt. 364		Charles Eversfield, Esq;	
a John Pratt, Esq; (u) 295		Hitch Young, Esq;	
<i>Sarum New.</i>		<i>Stockbridge.</i>	
a Sir Jacob Bouverie, Bt.		Charles Churchill, Esq;	
a Sir Edward Seymour, Bt.		a Matthew Lamb, Esq;	
<i>Sarum Old.</i>		<i>Sudbury.</i>	
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a Hen. William Portman, Esq;		a Lord Sherard Manners	
		<i>Taunton.</i>	

(u) Josiah Burchett,
Esq; 245
Henry Conyngham,
Esq; 214

(x) Thomas Lee
Dummer, Esq; 156
Rob. Henly, Esq; 109

(y) Joseph Chitty,
Esq; 321
(z) Dr. Cha. Coates.

<i>Taunton.</i>	<i>Wendover.</i>	
Sir John Chapman, Bt. 414	John Hampden, Esq;	
a John Buck, Esq; (a) 409	a Ld Viscount Fermanagh,	
<i>Tewksbury.</i>	<i>Wenlock.</i>	
Lord Viscount Gage,	a Sir Brian Broughton, Bt.	
a John Martin, Esq;	Brook Rorester, Esq;	
<i>Thetford.</i>	<i>Woolby.</i>	
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Capt. Charles Fitzroy,	a Lord Carpenter, (c)	
<i>Thirsk.</i>	<i>Westbury.</i>	
Sir Thomas Frankland, Bt.	Hon. George Evans, Esq; 26	
Frederick Frankland, Esq;	a Joseph Townsend, Esq; (d) 27	
<i>Tiverton.</i>	<i>Westlow.</i>	
Sir Dudley Rider, Kt. 22	Sir Charles Wager, Kt.	
Arthur Arscott, Esq; (b) 22	Benjamin Keene, Esq;	
<i>Totnes.</i>	<i>Westminster.</i>	
Sir Charles Wills, Kt.	Lord Sundon, 3533	
Joseph Danvers, Esq;	Sir Cha. Wager, Kt. (e) 3686	
<i>Tregony.</i>	<i>Westmoreland.</i>	
Henry Penton, Esq;	Daniel Wilson, Esq;	
Thomas Watts, Esq;	a Sir Philip Musgrave, Bt.	
<i>Truro.</i>	<i>Weymouth.</i>	
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James Hammond, Esq;	a James Stewart, Esq;	
<i>Wallingford.</i>	<i>Whitchurch.</i>	
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a John Rush, Esq;	a Hon. John Wallop, Esq;	
<i>Warwickshire.</i>	<i>Winchelsea.</i>	
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Hon. Edward Digby, Esq;	a Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq;	
<i>Warwick.</i>	<i>Winchester.</i>	
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a Hon. Wills Hill, Esq;	George Bridges, Esq;	
<i>Wareham.</i>	<i>Windsor.</i>	
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John Pitt, Esq;	Henry Fox, Esq;	
<i>Wells.</i>	<i>Wilton.</i>	
George Speke, Esq;	Hon. Robert Herbert, Esq;	
a Francis Gwyn, Esq;	Hon. William Herbert, Esq;	
1741.	C 2	<i>Wilts.</i>

(a) Francis Fane, Esq; 313	Tho. Carew, Esq; 1	John Bance, Esq; 6
Joshua Ironmonger, Esq; 306	(c) Mansel Powel, Esq;	(c) Admiral Vernon, 3290
(b) Sir J. Barnard, 2	(d) Norris Bertie, Esq; 7	Charles Edwin, Esq; 3161

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Wilts.

Sir Robert Long, Bt.
Edward Popham, Esq;

Woodstock.

Hon. John Spencer, Esq;
James Dawkins, Esq;

Wotton-Basset.

a John Harvey Thersby, Esq;
a Robert Neale, Esq; (f)

Wigan.

Sir Roger Bradshaigh, Bt.
James Earl of Barrymore,

Worcestershire.

Edm. Lechmere, Esq; 2309
a Edm. Pytts, Esq; (g) 2120

Worcester.

Tho. Winnington, Esq; 555
Sam. Sandys, Esq; (h) 472

Yarmouth, Norfolk.

Hon. Rog. Townshend Esq; 399
Edw. Walpole, Esq; (i) 391

Yarmouth, Southampton.

Thomas Gibson, Esq;
Maurice Bockland, Esq;

Yorkshire.

a Lord Viscount Morpeth,
Sir Miles Stapylton, Bt.

York.

Edw. Thompson, Esq; 1447
a Godfrey Wentworth,
Esq; (k) 1325

(f) Capt. Nic. Robinson.

(h) John Ravenhill,

(k) Sir John Lister

(g) Ld Deerhurst 1930

Esq;

387

Kaye, Bt. 1315

Geo. Lyttelton, Esq;

(i) Mr Luson

104

Sir William Milner,

1412

Mr Fuller

48

Bt.

1115

S C O T L A N D.

Shire of *Aberdeen.*

SIR Arthur Forbes, Bt.

Shire of *Air.*

a Patrick Crawford, Esq;

Shire of *Argyle.*

Captain Charles Campbell,

Shire of *Bamff.*

Capt. James Abercromby,

Shire of *Berwick.*

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Campbell, Esq;

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Nairn.*

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Shire of *Elgin.*

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Shire of *Fife.*

a David Scot, Esq;

Shire of *Forfar.*

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Constabulary of *Haddington.*

a Lord Charles Hay,

Shire of *Inverness.*

a Norman M^eLeod, Esq;

Shire of *Kincardine.*

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Shires of *Kinross and Clack-
mannan.*

a Sir John Hope-Bruce, Bt.

Stewartry of *Kirk, ud-
bright.*

a Honourable Basil Hamilton,
Esq;

Shire

Shire of <i>Lanerk.</i>	<i>Fortrose, Inverness, &c.</i>	
Sir James Hamilton, Bt.	a Lord Fortrose,	
Shire of <i>Linlithgow.</i>	<i>Elgin, Banff, &c.</i>	
a George Dundas, Esq;	Sir James Grant, Bt.	
Shires of <i>Orkney and Zetland.</i>	<i>Aberdeen, Montrose, &c.</i>	
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a Alexander Murray, Esq;	a John Drummond, Esq;	
Shire of <i>Perth.</i>	<i>Craik, Pittenweem, &c.</i>	
Lord John Murray,	a Hon. John Stewart, Esq;	
Shire of <i>Renfrew.</i>	<i>Kinghorn, Kirkcaldie, &c.</i>	
Alexander Cunningham, Esq;	a James Oswald, Esq;	
Shire of <i>Ross.</i>	<i>Stirling, Culross, &c.</i>	
a Hon. Charles Ross, Esq;	Hon. James, Erskine, Esq;	
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Shire of <i>Selkirk.</i>	<i>Haddington, Dunbar, &c.</i>	
John Murray, Esq;	a Sir Hew Dalrymple	} D. R.
Shire of <i>Stirling.</i>	Bart.	
a Lord George Graham,	James Fall, Esq;	
Shire of <i>Sutherland.</i>	<i>Selkirk, Peebles, &c.</i>	
Hon. Brigadier Gen. James	Hon. James Carmichael, Esq;	} D. R.
St Clair,	el, Esq;	
Shire of <i>Wigtoun.</i>	a John M'Kye, Esq;	
Hon. Col. James Stewart,	<i>Dumfries, Sanquhar, &c.</i>	
City of <i>Edinburgh.</i>	a Lord John Johnston,	
a Archibald Stewart, Esq;	<i>Wigtoun, Stranraer, &c.</i>	
Burghs of <i>Kirkwall, Wick,</i>	a Capt. William Stewart,	
<i>Dornock, Dingwall, &c.</i>	<i>Air, Irvin, &c.</i>	
Hon. Charles Areskine, Esq;	a Earl of Granard.	

A SUMMARY of the whole House of COMMONS of GREAT BRITAIN.

ENGLAND

40 Counties in England send	80 Knights.
25 Cities (<i>Ely</i> none) London 4	50 Citizens.
167 Boroughs, 2 each	334 Burgesses.
5 Boroughs, (<i>Abington, Banbury, Bewdly,</i> <i>Higham-Ferrers, Monmouth</i>) one each,	5 Burgesses.
2 Universities,	4 <i>Ditto</i> .
8 Cinque-Ports, <i>viz. Hastings, Dover,</i> <i>Sandwich, Romney, Hythe,</i> and their three Branches, <i>Rye, Winchelsea,</i> and <i>Seaford,</i>	16 Barons.

An. 15. Geo. II. Brought over
1741.

489

W A L E S.

12 Counties in *Wales*, ——— 12 Knights.
12 Boroughs ditto (*Pembrokeshire* 2, *Merioneth* }
none) ——— 12 Burgesses.

S C O T L A N D.

Shires of *Scotland* ——— 30 Knights.
Boroughs of *Ditto*. ——— 15 Burgesses.

Sum Total 558

Account of the
Westminster E-
lection.

As the Election for *Westminster* makes a considerable Article in the Business of this Session, it may be proper to observe that a great Disturbance having ensued about taking the Poll; a Party of Foot-Soldiers were sent for by Order of three of the Justices * of Peace.

These Proceedings gave Rise to the following remarkable Presentment of the Grand Jury of *Middlesex* to the Court of *King's-Bench* on the 17th of *June* following.

Presentment of
the Grand Jury
of *Middlesex* re-
lating thereto.

Middl **W**E the Grand Jury, of and for the Body of the County of *Middlesex*, do apprehend,
That among the many Enormities and Offences committed against the Publick, none deserve our Observation and Censure more than those which tend to the Subversion of the ancient Rights of the People to a Free Election of their Representatives in Parliament, in whom they repose their undoubted Share in the Government, as well as constitute them Guardians of their Liberties and Properties. For we cannot but apprehend, that whenever the People shall lose the Right of Election, or which is the same Thing, the Freedom of Election, and be oblig'd to chuse their Representatives under the Awe, Dread, or Influence of any other Power, there must be an End of Parliaments, or at least the People's Interest and Share therein. Wherefore, being sworn to enquire for our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Body of this County, we upon our Oaths present, That on *Friday* the 8th Day of *May* last, while the Election for Members of Parliament for the City and Liberty of *Westminster* was depending, and before the Declaration thereof was made, a Body of Foot-Guards or Soldiers, to the Number of Fifty and upwards, headed by Officers, did, in the Afternoon, in a Military Manner march up near the Place of Polling, which

* Messrs Blackerby, Howard, and Lediard.

* which Practice may be of the most dangerous Consequence An. 15. Geo. II.
 to the Liberties of the People, as contrary to Law, and 1741.
 a Restraint on the Freedom of Elections.

We therefore being affected and alarmed with a due
 Sense and Dread of so daring a Violation and Insult on
 our Freedom and Liberties, and the dangerous Conse-
 quence of Military Power exercised in Civil Affairs, do
 recommend it to this Honourable Court, to give such
 Order and Direction for preventing and discouraging the
 like heinous Offence for the future, as they shall judge
 most proper and convenient.

On the 12th of May the Election ended for the City of
 London, when the following Instructions were deliver'd to
 their new Members, viz.

WE, the Citizens of London, who have chearsfully
 elected you to serve us in Parliament, and thereby
 committed to your Trust the Safety, Liberty, Property,
 and Privileges of our selves and Posterities, think it our
 Duty, as it is our undoubted Right, to acquaint you with
 what we desire and expect from you, in Discharge of the
 great Confidence we repose in you, and what we take to
 be your Duty as our Representatives.

Instructions from
 the City of Lon-
 don to their new
 Members.

1. As Standing Armies have ever been esteemed bur-
 then some to the Subject, and dangerous to Liberty; and
 as the most sacred and valuable Privileges of *Englishmen*
 have lately suffer'd a most outrageous Insult and Violence
 at a neighbouring Election*, where, after the most un-
 warrantable and illegal Return of two Representatives for
 the ensuing Parliament, the Military Force was employ'd
 to protect and support the Returning Officer, to the mani-
 fest Violation of Justice, and in open Defiance of a Law,
 which expressly commands, That no Man, by Force of
 Arms, shall disturb the Freedom of Elections; we most
 earnestly recommend, that by a constant and vigorous Op-
 position to all Standing Armies in Times of Peace, you
 would preserve this Nation from a Calamity which has
 already been fatal to the Liberties of every Kingdom
 round us, and which we at this Day are beginning to
 feel.

2. When we call to Remembrance the iniquitous Pro-
 ject of extending the Laws of Excise † over the greatest
 Part of the Traders of this Kingdom, we require and
 insist, that you would strenuously oppose any such Attempts
 for

* Alluding to the Westminster Election.

† See the Debate on the Excise Scheme in CHANDLER's History,
 Anno 6. Geo. 1733, p. 317. and the following Pages.

An. 15. Geo. II. * for the future ; and also promote the entire Repeal, or, at
 274. * least, Mitigation of those Laws, in Behalf of Numbers
 * who are already subjected to their Severity.

3. When we reflect on the Danger of entrusting Power
 * too long in the same Hands ; when we consider how
 * often, in former Times, the Liberty of this Country has
 * been sacrificed and sold, by long continued Parliaments ;
 * and that a frequent Recourse to their Constituents, the
 * People, is a certain and necessary Check to bad Measures,
 * and worse Intentions ; we require you to prosecute, in
 * the most vigorous Manner, a Repeal of the Septennial Act,
 * and to restore the salutary Form of Triennial Parliaments,
 * as the principal Means of securing the Rights and sup-
 * porting the Dignity of a free Nation.

4. But as nothing can effectually secure the Freedom
 * of our happy Constitution, except an uncorrupt and inde-
 * pendent Representative of the People, we insist on your
 * utmost Endeavours to procure a proper Bill for reducing
 * and limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of
 * Commons, especially as so many Gentlemen, in a Situa-
 * tion of manifest Dependence, were known to have Seats
 * in the last Parliament.

5. As, at this juncture, we are engaged in a just and
 * necessary War, and consequently large Supplies will be
 * requisite for the Publick Service, we make no doubt but
 * you will cheerfully and effectually enable His Most Gra-
 * cious Majesty to vindicate the Wrongs of your Country,
 * and chastise an insolent Enemy ; but, at the same Time
 * we desire that, in granting all such Aids and Supplies, you
 * will constantly observe the ancient Practice of Parliaments,
 * nor deviate from the genuine Form of the Constitution ;
 * that you will make a strict Examination into every Ac-
 * count of the National Expence ; and that you will firmly
 * with-hold your Approbation of any Convention or Treaty
 * of Peace, which shall not put his Majesty in Possession of
 * some Country, or Place of sufficient Strength and Impor-
 * tance, to restrain his Enemies from all future Insults, and
 * continue to latest Posterity, a Monument of his victorious
 * Arms.

And lastly, as to what more particularly concerns our
 * selves, we do expect from and require you, that you do
 * persist with unwearied Diligence, until you shall prevail,
 * that such Bills pass into Laws, as shall restrain the exor-
 * bitant Powers that are pretended to reside in the Court
 * of Aldermen of this City, to the manifest Diminution, if
 * not to the total Destruction of those Privileges and Rights
 * which were formerly inherent in the Citizens of London ;
 * particularly,

particularly, that you endeavour to get a Repeal, or Ex-
 planation of that Law * which has been interpreted to ex-
 tend even to the Formation of every Question that can
 be proposed in the Common-Council of this City, by
 which the Citizens of *London* may be, and, as we appre-
 hend, will be prevented from applying to the King or
 Legislature, in their Corporate Capacity, how much soever
 their Case may require the Royal Protection, or Parlia-
 mentary Cognizance.

Ex-Aa. 15. Geo. II.
 1741.

It is remarkable that Admiral *Vernon* was set up a Can-
 didate for the City of *London*, by the Persons who oppos'd
 his Election for that of *Westminster*; and that both Parties
 seem'd to make use of that gallant Gentleman's popular
 Character to serve their own Purposes.

October 19. The King landed at *Yarmouth*, and the next
 Day arrived at *St James's*: In the Evening the Lords of the
 Regency waited on his Majesty, to deliver up their Commis-
 sion: On the *Thursday* following his Majesty in Council was
 pleas'd to order the 25th of *November* to be observ'd as a
 Day of Fast, for the Success of our Arms against *Spain*.

The King re-
 turns; and ap-
 points a Fast.

* The Statute of 11. George I. Cap. 13. For regulating Elections,
 &c. See the Petition of the Freemen of London, and the Protests of
 several Peers, against the passing thereof, in *TIMBERLAND'S History*
 of the House of Lords, Vol. 3. p. 420.

ON the 1st of *December* the King came to the House
 of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Lord
 Chancellor signified to them, that it was his Ma-
 jesty's Pleasure they should return to their House, to elect
 a Speaker, and present him on *Friday* the 4th. Being re-
 turn'd, Mr *Henry Pelham* stood up, and addressing himself
 to the Clerk of the House, spoke as follows:

The Parliament
 meet.

Mr *Harding*,

AS we are here assembled, in Pursuance of the Royal
 Summons, it is necessary that in Obedience to his Ma-
 jesty's Command, and the established Custom of this
 House, we proceed immediately to the Choice of a Person
 qualified for the Chair.

Gentlemen,

It is with an uncommon Degree of Satisfaction that I
 observe this Assembly so numerous on the first Day, because
 whatever is transacted by us, must necessarily be considered
 by the Nation with more Regard, as it is approved by a
 greater Number of their Representatives; and because the
 present Affair, which relates particularly to this House must
 be more satisfactorily conducted, as our Number is greater,

Vol. XIII.

D

since

An. 15. Geo. II. since every Man must willingly abide by his own Choice, and cheerfully submit to that Authority of which he has himself concurred to the Establishment.

* The Qualifications required in a Person who shall fill the Chair to his own Reputation, and the Advantage of the House, it is not necessary minutely to recount, it being obvious to every Gentleman who hears me, that he must possess such an Equality of Temper, as may enable him always to preserve a steady and impartial Attention, neither discomposed by the Irregularities into which some Gentlemen, unacquainted with the Forms of this House, may easily fall, nor disconcerted by the Heat and Turbulence to which, in former Parliaments, some of those whose Experience might have taught them the Necessity of Decency, have been too often hurried by the Eagerness of Controversy. That he must add to this perpetual Serenity such a Firmness of Mind, as may enable him to repress Petulance, and subdue Contumacy, and support the Orders of the House, in whatever Contrariety of Opinions, or Commotion of Debate, against all Attempts of Infraction or Deviation. That to give Force to his Interpositions, and procure Veneration to his Decisions, he must from his general Character and personal Qualities, derive such Dignity and Authority, as may naturally dispose the Minds of others to Obedience; as may suppress the Murmurs of Envy, and prevent the Struggles of Competition.

* These Qualifications were eminently conspicuous in the Gentleman who filled the Chair * in the earlier Part of my Life, and who is now one of the Ornaments of the other House; such were his Abilities, and such his Conduct, that it would be presumptuous in any Man, however endowed by Nature, or accomplished by Study, to aspire to surpass him, nor can a higher Encomium be easily conceived, than this House bestowed upon that Person, who was thought worthy to succeed him.

* The Office which we have now to confer, is not only arduous with regard to the Abilities necessary to the Execution of it, but extremely burthensome and laborious, such as requires continual Attendance, and incessant Application; nor can it be expected that any Man would engage in it, who is not ready to devote his Time and his Health to the Service of the Publick, and to struggle with Fatigue and Restraint for the Advantage of his Country.

* Such

* The Hon. Sir Spencer Compton, Speaker of both the Parliaments of King George I. He was created Baron of Wilmington by his present Majesty, Jan. 11. 1727—In May 1730, Viscount Pevensey, and Earl of Wilmington, and appointed Lord Privy Seal. On the 31st of December following declar'd President of the Council; and in 1733, elected a Knight of the Garter.

‘ Such is the Gentleman whom I shall propose to your An. 15. Geo. II.
Choice; one whose Zeal for the present Royal Family, and 1741.
the Prosperity of the Nation, has been always acknowledged,
and of whom it cannot be suspected that he will be deterred,
by any Difficulties, from a Province which will afford him
so frequent Opportunities of promoting the common Interest
of the King and the People.

‘ What Success may be expected from his Endeavours, we
can only judge from his present Influence; Influence pro-
duced only by his private Virtues, but so extensive in that
Part of the Nation which lies within the Reach of his Be-
neficence, and the Observation of his Merit, that it sets
him not only above the Danger, but above the Fear of Op-
position, and secures him a Seat in this House without
Contest.

‘ Thus deputed by his Country to many successive Par-
liaments, he has acquired an unrivalled Degree of Know-
ledge in the Methods of our Proceedings, and an eminent
Dexterity in digesting them, with that Order and Perspi-
cuity by which only the Transaction of great Affairs can
be made expeditious, and the Discussion of difficult Que-
stions be disentangled from Perplexity; Qualities, which
are now made particularly necessary by the Importance of
the Subjects to be considered in this Parliament, so that I
doubt not but you will unanimously concur with me in de-
siring that the Chair may be filled by a Person eminently
distinguished by his Knowledge, his Integrity, his Diligence,
and his Reputation: And therefore I move, without Scruple,
that the Right Hon. *Arthur Onslow*, Esq; be called to
the Chair.

Mr Pelham was seconded by *Mr Clutterbuck*.

Gentlemen,

‘ That I am not able to add any Thing to the Encomium
on the Right Hon. Gentleman nominated to the Speaker’s
Chair, gives me no Concern; because I am confident that
in the Opinion of this Assembly his Name alone includes
all Panegyric, and that he who recommends *Mr Onslow*,
will never be required to give the Reason of his Choice.
I therefore rise now only to continue the common Methods
of the House, and to second a Motion which I believe
nobody will oppose.

Upon this there was a general Acclamation of *Mr Onslow*,
Mr Onslow. Hereupon *Mr Onslow* excus’d himself as follows:

Gentlemen,

‘ Though I might alledge many Reasons against this *Mr Onslow* ex-
Choice, of which the strongest is my Inability to discharge cuses himself.
the Trust conferred upon me in a Manner suitable to its Im-
portance,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

He is elected
Speaker,

And presented to
his Majesty.

The King's
Speech at open-
ing the First
Session of the
Ninth Parlia-
ment of Great
Britain.

portance, yet I have too high an Idea of the Wisdom of this Assembly, to imagine that they form any Resolution without just Motives ; and therefore shall think it my Duty to comply with their Determination however opposite to my own Opinion.

Then Mr *Pelham* and Mr *Clutterbuck* conducted him to the Chair, where, before he went up, he desired, ' That the House would consider how little he was qualified for the Office which they were about to confer upon him, and fix their Choice upon some other Person, who might be capable of discharging so important a Trust.'

But the Members again calling out, *The Chair, the Chair, the Chair*, he then address'd himself thus to the House.

Gentlemen,

' Since it is your Resolution that I should once more receive the Honour of being advanc'd to this important Office, for which it is not necessary to mention how little I am qualified : Since I hope that those Defects which have hitherto been excused, will still find the same Indulgence ; my Gratitude for a Distinction so little deserved, will always incite me to consult the Honour of the House, and enable me to supply, by Application and Diligence, what I am wanting in Knowledge and Capacity.'

Accordingly on the 4th Mr *Onslow*, the Speaker, was presented to the King : His Majesty having approv'd the Choice of the House, made the following Speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IT is always a great Satisfaction to me to meet you as-
sembled in Parliament ; and especially at this Time,
" when the Posture of Affairs makes your Counsel and
" Assistance so necessary ; and when by Means of the new
" Elections, I may have an Opportunity of knowing the
" more immediate Sense and Disposition of my People in
" general, from their Representatives, chosen during a Sea-
" son, which has been attended with great Variety of In-
" cidents of the highest Consequence and Expectation, and
" during the Course of the War, in which we are engaged
" against the Crown of *Spain* ; a War, in itself just and
" necessary, entered into by the repeated Advice of both
" Houses of Parliament, and particularly recommended to
" me to be carried on in *America*, which has been my
" principal Care. I can therefore make no Doubt, but
" that you are met together fully sensible of our present
" Situation ; and prepared to give me such Advice, as shall
" be most conducive to the Honour, and true Interest of
" my Crown and Kingdoms.

" You

" You cannot but have observ'd, with an Attention suitable to the Occasion, the impending Danger that threaten *Europe*, and more immediately such Parts of the Continent, as shall withstand or resist the formidable Powers, which are confederated for the Subversion, or Reduction of the House of *Austria*. The Apprehension of these Things was communicated to the last Parliament; when both Houses expressed their great Concern for the Troubles, which were then broke out in the *Austrian* Dominions; and came to the strongest Resolutions in favour of the Queen of *Hungary*, for the Maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction, and for the Preservation of the Balance of Power, and the Peace and Liberties of *Europe*. And had other Powers, that were under the like Engagements with me, answered the just Expectations they had so solemnly given, the Support of the Common Cause had been attended with less Difficulty.

" I have, pursuant to the Advice of my Parliament, ever since the Death of the late Emperor, exerted myself in the Support of the House of *Austria*. I have endeavoured, by the most proper and early Applications, to induce other Powers, that were equally engaged with me, and united by Common Interest, to concert such Measures as so important and critical a Conjunction required; and where an Accommodation seemed to me to be necessary, I laboured to reconcile those Princes, whose Union would have been the most effectual Means to prevent the Mischiefs that have happened, and the best Security for the Interest and Safety of the Whole.

" Although my Endeavours have not hitherto had the desired Effect, I cannot but still hope, that a just Sense of the common and approaching Danger, will produce a more favourable Turn in the Councils of other Nations. In this Situation it is incumbent upon us to put ourselves in a Condition to improve all Opportunities that shall offer for maintaining the Liberties of *Europe*; and to assist and support our Friends and Allies, at such Times, and in such Manner, as the Exigency and Circumstances of Affairs shall require; and to defeat any Attempts that shall be made against me, and my Dominions, or against those whom we are most nearly concerned for, and, in Honour and Interest, engaged to support and defend.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have ordered Estimates to be laid before you, for the Service of the ensuing Year; and I must desire you to grant me such Supplies as the Circumstances of Affairs require;

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

" require : which, you may depend upon it, shall be duly
" applied to the Purposes, for which they shall be given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I have, during the Course of my Reign, had so much
" Experience of the Duty and Affection of my Parliaments
" to my Person and Government, and of their Zeal for the
" Good of their Country, and the Support of the Common
" Cause, that I do, with the greatest Reason, rely upon
" the Continuance of them, in the present Conjunction.
" There never was a Time, in which your Unanimity,
" Vigour, and Dispatch, were necessary to so many great
" Ends, as those, which are now before you : I will do
" my Part ; let it appear, by your Proceedings and Reso-
" lutions, that you have that just and hearty Concern for
" them, which their Importance requires."

The three first Days of the Session were employ'd in taking the Oaths, &c. On the 8th a Bill, *To empower the Justices of the Peace of a Liberty or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the House of Correction of the County, Riding, or Division, in which such Liberty or Corporation is situate*, was read the first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

A Bill read, and
the Grand Com-
mittees appoin-
ted.

Then the House appointed their several Grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Justice, Trade, and also for Privileges and Elections. They likewise made the usual Orders and Resolutions. After which Mr Speaker having reported the King's Speech, Mr *Henry Arthur Herbert* stood up, and spoke to the following Purpose :

Mr Henry Ar-
thur Herbert's
Motion for an
Address of
Thanks.

Mr Speaker,

' To address the Throne on the present Occasion, is a Custom, which, as it is founded on Reason and Decency, has always been observed by the Commons of *Great Britain*, nor do I suspect this House of any Intention to omit those Forms of Respect to his Majesty, which our Ancestors always paid even to Princes whose Conduct and Designs gave them no Claim to Reverence or Gratitude.

' To continue therefore, Sir, a Practice which the Nature of Government itself makes necessary, and which cannot but be acknowledged to be in a peculiar Degree proper under a Prince, whose personal Virtues are so generally known, I hope for the Indulgence of this House in the Liberty which I shall take of proposing an Address to this Effect :

' To return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for
' his most gracious Speech ; and to congratulate his Majesty's
' Return ; to express our dutiful Acknowledgments for his
' paternal Concern for the publick Welfare, in the present

' dange-

dangerous and perplexed Situation of *Europe*; and to assure his Majesty, that as great Variety of Incidents of the greatest Importance have happen'd, during the Course of the last Year, this House, with Hearts full of Duty and Gratitude, and touch'd with a just Sense of the impending Dangers, will, as often as these momentous Affairs shall come under their Consideration, give his Majesty such Advice as becomes dutiful and faithful Subjects, and such Support and Assistance, as shall be most conducive to the Honour and true Interest of his Majesty's Crown and Kingdoms, and to the maintaining of the Balance and Liberties of *Europe*; [to return his Majesty the Thanks of the House for his Royal Care in prosecuting the War with *Spain*] and that, in Order to answer these great and necessary Purposes, this House will grant such effectual Supplies, as shall enable his Majesty to support and assist his Friends and Allies, at such Times and in such Manner as the Exigency and Circumstances of Affairs shall require; and to defeat any Attempts that shall be made against his Majesty, or against those, who being equally engag'd with his Majesty by the Faith of Treaties, or united by common Interest, shall, from a just Sense of the common Danger, be willing to concert such Measures, as shall be found expedient.

This Address, which in my Opinion will contain both a proper Answer to his Majesty's Speech, and a decent Declaration of our Gratitude and Duty, will not, I hope, be opposed. For surely it cannot be charged with asserting any Thing that is either false or mean, with bestowing any unnecessary Panegyric, or with maintaining any Fact that is not generally allowed.

Mr Herbert was seconded by Mr Trevor, as follows: Mr Trevor.
Sir,

As the Necessity of an Address to his Majesty cannot be disputed, the only Question on this Occasion must be, whether the Address now proposed be such as it may become this House to offer in the present Conjuncture of Affairs.

In an Address, Sir, it is necessary to preserve at once the Respect due to our Sovereign, and the Dignity which may justly be assumed by the Representatives of the People of *Great Britain*, a People whose Birthright gives them a Claim to approach their Sovereign, not indeed without the utmost Respect, but with Language, which absolute Monarchs never hear from the Slaves by whom they are surrounded.

This Respect and Dignity appear to me to be very happily united in the Address now proposed, in which we join
with

An, 15, Geo. II. with our Professions of Duty, our Offers of Advice, and assert our Claim to the Direction of the national Expences by our Promise to grant the necessary Supplies.

Debate thereon.

'As there cannot therefore in my Opinion, Sir, be any thing added to the Address now offered, and there appears to me no Necessity of any Alteration or Omission, I second the Motion.

Lord Noel Somerset.

Hereupon Lord Noel Somerset stood up and spoke as follows; Sir,

'Tho' I am far from intending to lessen, by trifling Objections, the Zeal which the honourable Gentleman who proposed the Address has shewn for promoting the publick Business, yet, as it is very inconsistent with the Duty of a Member of this House to prefer Civility to Truth, and to sacrifice to Ceremony or Complaisance the Interest of his Country, I think it necessary to declare my Opinion, that though the Address proposed may admit of many Amendments, which I leave to other Gentlemen to make, I think the Addition of one Clause absolutely necessary; That his Majesty may be desired not to engage this Nation in a War for the Preservation of his Foreign Dominions; Dominions which, as they are in themselves independent on the Crown of *Great Britain*, and govern'd by different Laws, and by a different Right, have been separated by an express Clause from these Kingdoms, in the Act * to which his Majesty owes his Title to the Throne.

'This Request, Sir, is at this Time particularly expedient when the Continent is in Confusion, and the Territories of *Hanover* are endangered by the Approach of the *French* Forces. Besides, as nothing is more fatal than groundless Expectations of Assistance, it may contribute to the Safety of that People, to shew them that they are to depend upon their own Strength, to call their Forces together, to fortify their Towns, and guard their Avenues; and that, if they sit indolent and careless, in Confidence that the Power of *Great Britain* will be employ'd in their Defence, they will only give their Enemies an easy Conquest, and enslave themselves and their Posterity to a Foreign Power: I move therefore that his Majesty be desired in our Address, *not to engage these Kingdoms in a War for the Preservation of his Foreign Dominions.*

Lord

* By the Act 12 and 13 Will. III. For the further Limitation of the Crown, and the better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, it was Enacted, 'That in case the Crown should come to any Person, not being a Native of England, this Nation shall not be obliged to War for Defence of Dominions not belonging to this Crown.'

Lord Noel Somerset was seconded by Mr Shippen thus:

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Sir,

I know not how successfully I may repeat Assertions in this House, for which I have formerly been censured*, and which few other Members have hitherto maintained; but I rise with Confidence that I shall be at least acknowledged to act consistently with my self in seconding the noble Person who spoke last; and I am convinced, that many who differ from me in Opinion, would be glad to boast of resembling my Steadiness of Conduct.

But Steadiness, Sir, is the Effect only of Integrity; he that speaks always what he thinks, and endeavours by diligent Inquiry to think aright before he ventures to declare his Sentiments; he that follows, in his Searches, no Leader but Reason, nor expects any Reward from them but the Advantage of discovering Truth, and the Pleasure of communicating it, will not easily change his Opinion, because it will seldom be easy to shew that he who has honestly enquired after Truth, has failed to attain it.

For my Part, I am neither ashamed nor afraid to affirm that thirty Years have made no Change in any of my political Opinions; I am now grown old in this House, but that Experience which is the Consequence of Age has only confirmed the Principles with which I enter'd it many Years ago; Time has verified the Predictions which I formerly utter'd, and I have seen my Conjectures ripen'd into Knowledge.

I should be therefore without Excuse if either Terror could affright, or the Hope of Advantage allure me from the Declaration of my Opinions; Opinions which I was not deterred from asserting, when the Prospect of a longer Life than I can now expect, might have added to the Temptations of Ambition, or aggravated the Terrors of Poverty and Disgrace; Opinions, for which I would willingly have suffer'd the severest Censures, even when I had espoused them only in Compliance with Reason, without the infallible Certainty of Experience.

Of Truth it has been always observed, Sir, that every Day adds to its Establishment, and that Falshoods, however specious, however supported by Power, or established by Confederacies, are unable to stand before the Stroke of Time: Against the Inconveniencies and Vexations of long

VOL. XIII.

E

Life

* See CHANDLER'S History of the House of Commons, Anno 4. Geo. I. 1717. when Mr Shippen was committed to the Tower, for saying,

* That some Expressions in his Majesty's Speech seem'd rather calculated for the Meridian of Germany than of Great Britain.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Life, may be set the Pleasure of discovering Truth, perhaps the only Pleasure that Age affords. Nor is it a slight Satisfaction to a Man not utterly infatuated or depraved, to find Opportunities of rectifying his Notions, and regulating his Conduct by new Lights.

But much greater is the Happiness of that Man to whom every Day brings a new Proof of the Reasonableness of his former Determinations, and who finds, by the most unerring Test, that his Life has been spent in promoting Doctrines beneficial to Mankind. This, Sir, is the Happiness which I now enjoy, and for which those who never shall attain it, must look for an Equivalent in lucrative Employments, honorary Titles, pompous Equipages, and splendid Palaces.

These, Sir, are the Advantages which are to be gained by a seasonable Variation of Principles, and by a ready Compliance with the prevailing Fashion of Opinions; Advantages which I indeed cannot envy when they are purchased at so high a Price, but of which Age and Observation has too frequently shown me the unbounded Influence; and to which I cannot deny that I have always ascribed the Instability of Conduct, and Inconsistency of Assertions which I have discovered in many Men, whose Abilities I have no Reason to depreciate, and of whom I cannot but believe they would easily distinguish Truth, were not Falshood recommended to them by the glittering Ornaments of Wealth and Power.

If there are in this new Parliament any Men devoted to their private Interest, and who prefer the Gratification of their Passions to the Safety and Happiness of their Country, who can riot without Remorse in the Plunder of their Constituents, who can forget the Anguish of Guilt in the Noise of a Feast, the Pomp of a Drawing-room, or the Arms of a Strumpet, and think expensive Wickedness and the Gayeties of Folly equivalent to the fair Fame of Fidelity and the Peace of Virtue, to them I shall speak to no Purpose; for I am far from imagining any Power in my Language to gain those to Truth who have resigned their Hearts to Avarice or Ambition, or to prevail upon Men to change Opinions, which they have indeed never believed, tho' they are hired to assert them. For there is a Degree of Wickedness which no Reproof or Argument can reclaim, as there is a Degree of Stupidity which no Instruction can enlighten.

If my Country, Sir, has been so unfortunate as once more to commit her Interest to those, who propose to themselves no Advantage from their Trust, but that of selling it, I may perhaps, fall once more under Censure for declaring

clarifying my Opinion, and be once more treated as a Criminal An. 15 Geo. II.
 for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny; for
 maintaining the Inconsistency of *Hanoverian* Maxims with
 the Happiness of this Nation, and for preserving the Caution
 which was so strongly inculcated by the Patriots that drew
 up the Act of Settlement, and gave the present Royal Fa-
 mily their Title to the Throne.

These Men, Sir, whose Wisdom cannot be disputed, and whose Zeal for his Majesty's Family was equal to their Knowledge, thought it requisite to provide some Security against the Prejudices of Birth and Education. They were far from imagining, that they were calling to the Throne a Race of Beings exalted above the Frailties of Humanity, or exempted by any peculiar Privileges from Error or from Ignorance.

They knew that every Man was habitually, if not naturally, fond of his own Nation, and that he was inclined to enrich it and defend it at the Expence of another, even, perhaps, of that to which he is indebted for much higher Degrees of Greatness, Wealth and Power; for every Thing which makes one State of Life preferable to another, (and which therefore, if Reason could prevail over Prejudice, and every Action were regulated by strict Justice) might claim more Regard than that Corner of the Earth in which he only happened to be born.

They knew, Sir, that Confidence was not always returned, that we most willingly trust those whom we have longest known, and care for those with most Fondness, whose Inclinations we find by Experience to correspond with our own, without regard to particular Circumstances which may entitle others to greater Regard or higher Degrees of Credit or of Kindness.

Against these Prejudices, which their Sagacity enabled them to foresee, their Integrity incited them to secure us, by Provisions which every Man then thought equitable and wise, because no Man was then hired to espouse a contrary Opinion.

To obviate the Disposition which a foreign Race of Princes might have to trust their original Subjects, it was enacted that none of them should be capable of any Place of Trust or Profit in these Kingdoms. And to hinder our Monarchs from transferring the Revenues of *Great Britain* to *Hanover*, and enriching it with the Commerce of our Traders, and the Labours of our Husbandmen; from raising Taxes to augment the Splendor of a petty Court, and encreasing the Garrisons of their Mountains by misapplying that Money which this Nation should raise for its own De-
 fence,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

fence, it was provided that the King of *Great Britain* should never return to his native Dominions, but reside always in this Kingdom, without any other Care than that of gaining the Affections of his *British* Subjects, preserving their Rights and encreasing their Power.

‘ It was imagined by that Parliament that the Electorate of *Hanover*, a subordinate Dignity held by Custom of Homage to a greater Power, ought to be thought below the Regard of the King of *Great Britain*, and that the Sovereign of a Nation like this, ought to remember a lower State only to heighten his Gratitude to the People by whom he was exalted. They were far from imagining that *Great Britain* and *Hanover* would in Time be considered as of equal Importance, and that our Sovereign would divide his Years between one Country and the other, and please himself with exhibiting in *Hanover*, the annual Show of the Pomp and Dignity of a King of *Great Britain*.

‘ This Clause, Sir, however, a later Parliament readily repealed; † upon what Motives I am not able to declare, having never heard the Arguments, which prevailed upon their Predecessors to enact it, confuted or invalidated; nor have I found that the Event has produced any Justification of their Conduct, or that the Nation has received any remarkable Advantage from our Royal Expeditions.

‘ There is another Clause in that important Act which yet the Parliament has not adventured to repeal, by which it is provided, that this Nation shall not be engaged in War for the Defence of the *Hanoverian* Dominions; Dominions of which we can have no Interest in the Protection or Preservation, Dominions perhaps of no great Value into whatever Hands Chance and Negligence may throw them, which their Situation has made entirely useless to naval Power, but which, though they cannot benefit, may injure us by diverting the Attention of our Sovereign, or withholding his Affections.

‘ Whether this Clause, Sir, has not sometimes been eluded, whether the six thousand *Hessians* which we once supported were of Use to any of the *British* Dominions, and whether a double Number of the same Nation now paid

* By the before cited Statute it is enacted, ‘ That no Person, who should in Pursuance of that Act come to the Possession of the Crown, should go out of the Dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without Consent of Parliament.’

† See Sir John Cope’s Motion in the House of Commons for that Purpose, seconded by Mr Hampden, which pass’d Nem. Con. Anno 2. Geo. I. 1716. p. 105.

aid with our Money for the Defence of the Queen of *Hanover*, have not been stationed only where they might defend *Hanover*, without the least Advantage to our Confederates, whether the Nation has not been condemned to double Expences in the Support of this Alliance, by raising for the Queen's Service Troops which were only employed in the Protection of *Hanover*, and then in succouring her with pecuniary Supplies, it is perhaps at present unnecessary, though I hope, not yet too late to enquire.

It is at present unnecessary, because the Clause which is proposed cannot be denied to be equally proper, whether the Act of Settlement has been hitherto observed or violated; for the Violation of it ought to engage us in some Measures that may secure us for the Future from the like Injury, and the Observation of it is a manifest Proof how much it is approved by all Parties, since in so many Deviations from this Settlement, and the Inconstancy of Conduct of which an Example is scarcely to be found, this Law has been esteemed sacred, the Bulwark of our Rights, and the Boundary which the sovereign Power hath not dared to exceed.

As his Majesty, Sir, has in a very solemn Manner, called upon us for our Advice and Assistance, what can be more proper than to lay before him our Opinion on this important Question? War is next to Slavery one of the greatest Calamities, and an unnecessary War therefore the greatest Error which cannot be too cautiously obviated, or too speedily reformed.

If we consider, Sir, the present State of the Continent, there is nothing more probable than that the Subjects of the Elector of *Hanover* may solicit the Assistance of the King of *Great Britain*, and therefore it is necessary to inform them, that their Solicitations will be vain. If we enquire into the Suspicions of our Fellow-Subjects, we shall find them generally disturb'd with Fears that they shall be sacrificed to the Security of Foreign Dominions, and therefore it is necessary to recal their Affection to his Majesty where it is impaired, and confirm their Confidence where it has been hitherto preserved, by shewing in the most publick Manner, how vainly they have been disquieted, and how grossly they have been mistaken.

It is certainly our Duty, Sir, to give such Advice as may most truly inform his Majesty of the Sentiments of his People, and most effectually establish in the People an Adherence to his Majesty; as it is certain that no Advice will be seconded by greater Numbers than that which I now propose, nor can his Majesty by any Act of Goodness so much endear his

An. 15. Géo. II. his Government as by a ready Promise to this Nation of an
1741. Exemption from any War in Defence of *Hanover*.

‘ I hope, Sir, it will not be objected that by such Request a Suspicion will be insinuated of Designs detrimental to the *British* Nation, and repugnant to the Conditions on which his Majesty ascended the Throne, because an Objection of equal Force may rise against any Advice whatever that shall be offered by Parliament. And it may be always urg’d, that to recommend any Measures, is to suppose that they would not have been suggested to his Majesty by his own Wisdom, and by Consequence that he is defective either in Knowledge or in Goodness, that he either mistakes or neglects the Interest of his People.

‘ Thus, Sir, may the most laudable Conduct be charg’d with Sedition, and the most awful Regard be accused of Disrespect, by forced Consequences, and exaggerated Language; thus may Parliaments become useless, lest they should appear to be wiser than their Sovereign, and the Sovereign be condemn’d to act only by the Information of servile Ministers, because no publick Advice can safely be given him.

‘ That Kings must act upon the Information of others, that they can see little, with their own Eyes, through the Mists which Flattery is continually employ’d in raising before them, and that they are therefore most happy who have, by the Constitution of the Country which they govern, an Opportunity of knowing the Opinions of their People without Disguise, has yet never been denied by any who do not separate the Interest of the King from that of the People, and leave Mankind no political Distinction but that of Tyrants and Slaves.

‘ This, Sir, is the Happiness of the King of *Great Britain* beyond other Monarchs, an Advantage by which he may be always enabled to contemplate the happy and flourishing State of his Subjects, and to receive the Blessings and Acclamations of Millions that owe to his Care their Wealth and their Security.

‘ Of this Advantage he cannot be depriv’d but by the Cowardice, or the Treachery of those Men who are delegated by the People, as the Guardians of their Liberties; and surely it requires no uncommon Penetration to discover, that no Act of Treason can be equal in Malignity to that Perfidy, which deprives the King of the Affections of his Subjects, by concealing from him their Sentiments and Petitions. He that makes his Monarch hated must undoubtedly make him unhappy, and he that destroys his Happiness might more innocently take away his Life.

‘ To

To exempt myself therefore from such Guilt, to discharge the Trust conferred on me by my Country, and to perform the Duty which I owe to my King, I stand up to second this Motion.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Mr Gybbon spoke next :

Sir,

Mr Gybbon.

As it is not easy to remember all the Parts of an Address by only once hearing it, and hearing it in a Form different from that in which it is to be presented, I think it necessary to a more accurate Consideration of it, that it should be read distinctly to the House. We may otherwise waste our Time in Debates, to which only our own Forgetfulness gives Occasion, we may raise Objections without Reason, and propose Amendments where there is no Defect.

The Motion for the Address being accordingly read, Mr Gybbon went on :

Sir,

Having now heard the Address, I find by Experience the Propriety of my Proposal, having remark'd a Clause, which, in my Opinion, is necessarily to be amended, and which I had not observ'd when it was repeated before.

It is well known, that the Speeches from the Throne, though pronounc'd by the King, are always consider'd as the Compositions of the Ministry, upon whom any false Assertions would be charged, as the Informers and Counsellors of the Crown.

It is well known likewise, that whenever this House returns Thanks to the King for any Measures that have been pursued, those Measures are supposed to be approv'd by them, and that Approbation may be pleaded by the Minister in his Defence, whenever he shall be required to answer for the Event of his Councils.

It is therefore, in my Opinion, extremely unreasonable to propose, that *Thanks should be return'd to his Majesty for his Royal Care, in prosecuting the War against Spain*; for what has been the Consequence of that Care, for which our Thanks are to be with so much Solemnity return'd; but Defeats, Disgrace, and Losses, the Ruin of our Merchants, the Imprisonment of our Sailors, idle Shews of Armaments, and useless Expences?

What are the Events which are to be recorded in an impartial Account of this War; a War provoked by so long a Train of Insults and Injuries, and carried on with so apparent Inequality of Forces? Have we destroy'd the Fleets of our Enemies, fir'd their Towns, and laid their Fortresses in Ruins? Have we conquered their Colonies, and plundered

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An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

ed their Cities, and reduc'd them to a Necessity of receding from their unjust Claims, and repaying the Plunder of our Merchants? Are their Ambassadors now soliciting Peace at the Court of *Great Britain*, or applying to the neighbouring Princes to moderate the Resentment of their victorious Enemies?

' I am afraid that the Effects of our Preparations, however formidable, are very different; they have only raised Discontent among our Countrymen, and Contempt among our Enemies. We have shewn that we are strong indeed, but that our Force is made ineffectual by our Cowardice; that when we threaten most loudly, we perform Nothing; that we draw our Swords but to brandish them, and only wait an Opportunity to sheath them in such a Manner, as not plainly to confess that we dare not strike.

' If we consider, therefore, what Effect our Thanks for Conduct like this must naturally produce, it will appear that they can only encourage our Enemies, and dispirit our Fellow-Subjects. It will be imagined that the *Spaniards* are a powerful Nation, which it was the highest Degree of Rashness to attack, a Nation by whom it is Honour sufficient not to be overcome, and from whom we cannot be defended without the most vigilant Caution, and the most extensive Knowledge both of Politicks and War.

' It will readily be perceiv'd by the proud *Spaniards*, that it is only necessary to prosecute their Views a little longer, to intimidate us with new Demands, and amuse us with new Preparations; and that we, who are already satisfied with our Success, shall soon be weary of a War from which it is plain that we never expected any Advantage, and therefore shall in a short Time willingly receive such Terms as our Conquerors will grant us.

' It is always to be remember'd how much all human Affairs depend upon Opinion, how often Reputation supplies the Want of real Power, by making those afraid who cannot be hurt, and by producing Confidence where there is no Superiority. The Opinion which the Parliament ought to endeavour to promote, is a Confidence in their Steadiness, Honesty, and Wisdom, a Confidence which will not be much advanc'd by an Address of Thanks for the Conduct of the War against *Spain*.

' How justly may it be asked, when this Address is spread over the World, what were the Views with which the Parliament of *Great Britain* petition'd their Sovereign to declare War against *Spain*?

' If their Design was, as they then asserted, to procure Security for the Commerce of the *West Indies*, and Repara-

tion

tion for the Injuries which their Merchants had received, by what Fluctuation of Counsels, by what Prevalence of new Opinions have they now abandon'd it? For that they have no longer the same Intentions, that they now no more either propose Security, or demand Recompence, is evident, since tho' they have obtained neither, yet are they thankful for the Conduct of the War.

' To what can this apparent Instability be imputed, but to the Want either of Wisdom to balance their own Power with that of their Enemies, and discern the true Interest of their Country; or to a mean Compliance with the Clamours of the People, to whom they durst not refuse the Appearance of a War, though they had no Expectation of Honour or Success?

' But in far other Terms, Sir, will the *Spaniards* speak of the Address which is now propos'd. " Behold, say our boasting Enemies, the Spirit and Wisdom of that Assembly, whose Counsels hold the Continent in Suspense, and whose Determinations change the Fate of Kingdoms, whose Vote transfers Sovereignty, covers the Ocean with Fleets, prescribes the Operation of distant Wars, and fixes the Balance of the World: Behold them amused with idle Preparations, levying Money for Mockeries of War, and returning Thanks for the Pleasure of the Show. Behold them looking with wonderful Tranquility on the Loss of a great Number of their Ships, which have been seiz'd upon their own Coasts by our Privateers, and congratulating themselves and their Monarch, that any have been preserv'd. How great would have been the Exultation, and how loud the Applauses, had they succeeded in any of their Designs? Had they obstructed the Departure of our Fleets, or hindred our Descent upon the Dominions of the Queen of *Hungary*; had they confin'd our Privateers in our Harbours, defeated any of our Troops, or over-run any of our Colonies? In what Terms would they have expressed their Gratitude for Victory, who are thus thankful for Disappointments and Disgrace?"

' Such, Sir, must be the Remarks of our Enemies upon an Address like that which is now propos'd; Remarks which we and our Allies must be condemn'd to hear without attempting a Reply. For what can be urg'd to extenuate the Ridicule of returning Thanks where we ought either to express Resentment, offer Consolations and propose the Means of better Success, or cover our Grief and Shame with perpetual Silence?

' When it shall be told in Foreign Nations, that the Parliament of *Great Britain* had return'd Thanks for the Escape of the *Spaniards* from *Ferrol*, their uninterrupted Expedition

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. petition to *Italy*, the Embarrassment of their own Trade, the Captivity of their Sailors, and the Destruction of their Troops, What can they conclude but that the Parliament of *Great Britain* is a Collection of Madmen, whom Madmen have deputed to transact the publick Affairs? And what must be the Influence of such a People and such a Parliament, will be easily conceived.

‘ If I have given Way, Sir, in these Observations, to any wanton Hyperbole, or exaggerated Assertions, they will, I hope, be pardon’d by those who shall reflect upon the real Absurdity of the Proposal which I am endeavouring to shew in its true State, and by all who shall consider that to return Thanks for the Management of the War, is to return Thanks for the Rot of *Carthagera*, for the Ruin of our Merchants, for the Loss of our Reputation, and for the Advancement of the House of *Bourbon*.

‘ I hope no Man will be so unjust, or can be so ignorant, as to insinuate or believe, that I impute any Part of our Miscarriages to the Personal Conduct of his Majesty, or that I think his Majesty’s Concern for the Prosperity of his People unworthy of the warmest and sincerest Gratitude. If the Address was confin’d to the Inspection of our Sovereign alone, I should be very far from censuring or ridiculing it; for his Majesty has not the Event of War in his Power, nor can confer upon his Ministers or Generals that Knowledge which they have neglected to acquire, or that Capacity which Nature has denied them. He may perform more than we have a Right to expect, and yet be unsuccessful; he may deserve the utmost Gratitude, even when, by the Misconduct of his Servants, the Nation is distress’d.

‘ But, Sir, in drawing up an Address we should remember that we are declaring our Sentiments not only to his Majesty, but to all *Europe*, to our Allies, our Enemies, and our Posterity; that this Address will be understood, like all others; that Thanks offered in this Manner, by Custom, signify Approbation; and that therefore we must at present repress our Gratitude, because it can only bring into Contempt our Sovereign and ourselves.

Sir R. Walpole,

To this Sir Robert Walpole reply’d :

Sir,

‘ I am very far from thinking that the War against *Spain* has been so unsuccessful as some Gentlemen have represented it; that the Losses which we have suffer’d have been more frequent than we had Reason to expect from the Situation of our Enemies, and the Course of our Trade; or our Defeats such as the common Chance of War does not often produce,
even

even when the Inequality of the contending Powers is incon- An. 15. Geo. II.
testable, and the ultimate Event as near to Certainty, as the 1741.
Nature of human Affairs ever can admit.

‘ Nor am I convinc’d, Sir, even tho’ it should be allowed that no Exaggeration has been made of our Miscarriages, that the Impropriety of an Address of Thanks to his Majesty for his Royal Care in the Management of the War, is gross and flagrant. For if it be allowed that his Majesty may be innocent of all the Misconduct that has produc’d our Defeats; that he may have form’d Schemes wisely, which were unskillfully prosecuted; that even Valour and Knowledge concurring will not always obtain Success; and that therefore some Losses may be suffered, and some Defeats received, tho’ not only his Majesty gave the wisest Directions, but his Officers executed them with the utmost Diligence and Fidelity; how will it appear from our ill Success, that our Sovereign does not deserve our Gratitude? And if it shall appear to us that our Thanks are merited, who shall restrain us from offering them in the most publick and solemn Manner?

‘ For my Part, I think no Consideration worthy of Regard in Competition with Truth and Justice; and therefore shall never forbear any Expression of Duty to my Sovereign, for fear of the Ridicule of our secret, or the Reproaches of our publick Enemies.

‘ With regard to the Address under our Consideration, if it be allowed either that we have not been unsuccessful in any opprobrious Degree, or that ill Success does not necessarily imply any Defect in the Conduct of his Majesty, or debar us from the Right of acknowledging his Goodness and his Wisdom; I think, Sir, no Objection can be made to the Form of Expression now proposed, in which all sounding and pompous Language, all declamatory Exaggeration and studied Figures of Speech, all Appearance of Exultation and all the Farce of Rhetorick are carefully avoided, and nothing inserted that may disgust the most delicate, or raise Scruples in the most sincere.

Yet, Sir, that we may not waste our Time upon trivial Disputes, when the Nation expects Relief from our Counsels, that we may not suspend the Prosecution of the War by Complaints of past Defeats, or retard that Assistance and Advice which our Sovereign demands, by inquiring whether it may be more proper to thank or to counsel him, I am willing, for the Sake of Unanimity, that this Clause should be omitted, and hope that no other Part of the Address can afford Room for Objection.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Mr Pulteney stood up next.

Sir,

Mr Pulteney.

' It is no Wonder that the Right Hon. Gentleman willingly consents to the Omission of this Clause, which could be inserted for no other Purpose, than that he might sacrifice it to the Resentment which it must naturally produce ; and, by an Appearance of Modesty and Compliance pass easily thro' the first Day, and obviate any severe Inquiries that might be design'd.

' He is too well acquainted with the Opinion of many whom the Nation hath chosen to represent them, and with the universal Clamours of the People ; too accurately informed of the State of our Enemies, and too conscious how much his secret Machinations have hinder'd our Success, to expect or hope that we should meet here to return Thanks for the Management of the War ; of a War in which nothing has been attempted by his Direction that was likely to succeed, and in which no Advantage has been gained, but by acting without Orders and against his Hopes.

' That I do not charge him, Sir, without Reason, or invent Accusations only to obstruct his Measures, or to gratify my own Resentment ; that I do not eagerly catch flying Calumnies, prolong the Date of casual Reproaches, encourage the Malignity of the Envious, or adopt the Suspicions of the Melancholy ; that I do not impose upon myself by a warm Imagination, and endeavour to communicate to others Impressions which I have only received myself from Prejudice, will be proved from a Review of his Conduct since the Beginning of our Dispute with *Spain*, in which it will be found that he has been guilty not only of single Errors, but of deliberate Treachery ; that he has always co-operated with our Enemies, and sacrificed to his private Interest the Happiness and the Honour of the *British* Nation.

' How long our Merchants were plundered, our Sailors enslaved, and our Colonies intimidated without Resentment ; how long the *Spaniards* usurped the Dominion of the Seas, searched our Ships at Pleasure, confiscated the -Cargoes without Controul, and tortur'd our Fellow-Subjects with Impunity, cannot but be remembred. Not only every Gentleman in this House, but every Man in the Nation, however indolent, ignorant, or obscure, can tell what Barbarities were exercised, what Ravages were committed, what Complaints were made, and how they were received. It is universally known that this Gentleman, and those whom he has gain'd by Pensions and Employments, treated the Lamentations of ruined Families, and the Outcries of tortur'd *Bri-*

sons as the Clamours of Sedition, as design'd to confuse the People, and embarrass the Government. An. 13: Geo. II. 1748.

' It is known, Sir, that our Losses were at one Time ridiculed as below the Consideration of the Legislature; and the Distress of the most useful and honest Part of Mankind was made the Subject of Merriment and Laughter; the awkward Wit of all the Hirelings of the Town was exerted to divert the Attention of the Publick, and all their Art was employed to introduce other Subjects into Conversation.

' But their Wit was not more successful on this than on other Occasions, their Imaginations were soon exhausted, and they found, as at other Times, that they must have recourse to new Expedients. The first Artifice of shallow Courtiers is to elude with Promises those Complaints which they cannot refuse; a Practice that requires no Understanding or Knowledge, and therefore has been generally followed in his Administration. This Artifice they quickly made use of when they found that neither the Merchants, nor the Nation, were to be silenc'd by an Affectation of Negligence, or the Sallies of Mirth; that it was no longer safe to jest upon the Miseries of their Countrymen, the Destruction of our Trade, and the Violation of our Rights; they condescended therefore to some Appearances of Compassion, and promised to exert all their Influence to procure Redress and Security.

' That they might not appear, Sir, to have made this Promise only to free themselves from present Importunity, they set Negotiations on Foot, dispatched Memorials, Remonstrances, Propositions and Computations; and with an Air of Gravity and Importance, assembled at proper Times to peruse the Intelligence which they received, and to concert new Instructions for their Agents.

' While this Farce was acted, Sir, innumerable Artifices were made use of to reconcile the Nation to Suspense and Delay. Sometimes the Distance of the *Spanish* Dominions in the *West Indies* retarded the Decision of our Claims, sometimes the dilatory Disposition of the *Spaniards*, and the established Methods of their Courts*, made it impossible to procure a more speedy Determination. Sometimes Orders were dispatched to the *West Indies* in favour of our Trade, and sometimes those Orders were neglected by the Captains of the *Spanish* Ships, and the Governors of their Provinces; and when it was inquired why those Captains and Governors were not punished or recalled, we were treated with Contempt,

* See the Debate on the Petitions, relating to the Spanish Depredations, in CHANDLER'S History of the House of Commons, Anno 6, Geo. II. 1732, p. 274, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

tempt, for not knowing what had been so lately told us of the dilatory Proceedings of the *Spanish* Courts.

* In the mean Time our Merchants were plundered, and our Sailors thrown into Dungeons, our Flag was insulted, and our Navigation restrained, by Men acting under the Commission of the King of *Spain*; we perceived no Effect of our Negotiations but the Expence, and our Enemies not only insisted on their former Claims, but prosecuted them with the utmost Rigour, Insolence and Cruelty.

* It must indeed, Sir, be urged in Favour of our Minister, that he did not refuse any Act of Submission, or omit any Method of Supplication by which he might hope to soften the *Spaniards*; he solicited their Favour at their own Court, he sent Commissaries into their Country, he assisted them in taking Possession of Dominions, to which neither we nor they have proved a Right; and he employed the Natives of *Britain* to transport into *Italy* the Prince on whom the new erected Kingdom was to be conferred.

* Well might he expect that the *Spaniards* would be softened by so much Kindness and Forbearance, and that Gratitude would at length induce them to spare those, whom no Injuries or Contempt had been able to alienate from them; and to allow those a free Course through the Seas of the *West Indies*, to whom they had been indebted for an uninterrupted Passage to the Possession of a Kingdom.

* He might likewise urge, Sir, that when he was obliged to make War upon them, he was so tender of their Interest, that the *British* Admiral † was sent out with Orders rather to destroy his own Fleet than the Galleons, which, in Appearance, he was sent to take, and to perish by the Inclemency of the Climate, rather than enter the *Spanish* Ports, terrify their Colonies, or plunder their Towns.

* But to little Purpose, Sir, did our Minister implore the Compassion of the *Spanish* Court, and represent the Services we had done for them; for his Compliance was by the *Spaniards* attributed not to Kindness but to Fear, and it was therefore determined to reduce him to absolute Slavery, by the same Practices which had already sunk him to so abject a State.

* They therefore treated our Remonstrances with Contempt, continued their Insolence and their Oppressions; and while our Agent was cringing at their Court with fresh Instructions in his Hand. while he was hurrying with busy Looks from one Grandee to another, and perhaps dismissed without an Audience one Day, and sent back in the midst of his Harangue on another, the *Spanish* Guard da Costa's

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† Admiral Hofer.

continued their Havock, our Merchants were ruined, and our Sailors tortured. An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

At length, Sir, the Nation was too much inflamed to be any longer amused with idle Negotiations, or trifling Expedients; the Streets echoed with the Clamours of the Populace, and this House was crowded with Petitions from the Merchants. The honourable Person with all his Art found himself unable any longer to elude a Determination of this Affair. Those whom he had hitherto persuaded that he had failed merely for want of Abilities, began now to suspect that he had no Desire of better Success; and those who had hitherto chearfully merited their Pensions by an unshaken Adherence to all his Measures, who had extolled his Wisdom, and his Integrity, with all the Confidence of Security, began now to be shaken by the Universality of the Censure brought upon them. They were afraid any longer to assert what they neither believed themselves, nor could persuade others to admit. The most Indolent were alarmed, the most Obstinate convinced, and the most Profligate ashamed.

What now could be done, Sir, to gain a few Months, to secure a short Interval of Quiet in which his Agents might be employed to disseminate some new Falshood, bribe to his Party some new Advocates, or lull the People with the Opiate of another Expedient, with an Account of Concessions from the Court of *Spain*, or a Congress to compute the Losses, and adjust the Claims of our Merchants?

Something was necessarily to be attempted, and Orders were therefore dispatched by our Minister to his Agent at the Court of *Spain*, to procure some Stipulations that might have, at least, the Appearance of a Step towards putting an End to the Disputes between the two Nations. His Agent obey'd him with his usual Alacrity and Address, and in Time sent him, for the Satisfaction of the People of *Great Britain*, the celebrated Convention*.

That Convention, Sir, has been so lately discussed, is so particularly remembered, and so universally condemned, that it would be an unjustifiable Waste of Time to expatiate upon it. There were but few in the last Parliament, and I hope there are none in this, who did not see the Meanness of suffering incontrollable Claims to be disputed by Commissaries, the Injustice of the Demand which was made on the *South-Sea Company*, and the contemptuous Insolence of amusing us with the Shadow of a Stipulation, which was to vanish into nothing, unless we purchased a Ratification of it, by paying what we did not owe.

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* See the Debate on the Convention, with the Names of the Members who voted PRO and CON, Anno 12, Geo. II. 1739.

An. 15 Geo. II.
1741.

That Convention therefore, Sir, was so far from pacifying, that it only exasperated the Nation, and took from our Minister the Power of acting any longer openly in Favour of the *Spaniards*: of whom it must be confessed, that their Wisdom was over-power'd by their Pride; and that, for the Sake of showing all the Powers of *Europe* the Dependance in which they held the Court of *Great Britain*, they took from their Friends the Power of serving them any longer.

The *Spaniards* did not sufficiently distinguish between the Nation and the Ministry of *Great Britain*; nor suspected that their Interests, Inclinations, and Opinions were directly opposite, and that those who were caressed, feared, and revered by the Ministry, were by the People hated, despised, and ridiculed.

By enslaving our Ministry, they weakly imagined that they had conquer'd our Nation; nor, perhaps, Sir, would they quickly have discover'd their Mistake, had they used their Victory with greater Moderation, condescended to govern their new Province with less Vigour, and sent us Laws in any other Form than that of the Convention.

This last Proof of their Contempt of our Sovereign and our Nation, was too flagrant to be palliated, and too publick not to be resent'd. The Cries of the Nation were redoubled, the Solicitations of the Merchants renewed, the Absurdity of our past Conduct expos'd, the Meanness of our Forbearance reproach'd, and the Necessity of more vigorous Measures evidently proved.

The Friends of *Spain* discovered, Sir, at length, that War was necessarily to be proclaimed, and that it would be no longer their Interest to act in open Opposition to Justice and Reason, to the Policy of all Ages, and Remonstrances of the whole Nation.

The Minister therefore, after long Delays, after having run round the Circle of all his Artifices, and endeavouring to intimidate the Nation by false Representations of the Power of our Enemies, and the Danger of an Invasion from them, at length suffered War to be proclaimed, tho' not till he had taken all Precautions that might disappoint us of Success.

He knew that the State of the *Spanish* Dominions expos'd them, in a particular Manner, to sudden IncurSIONS by small Parties; and that in former Wars against them, our chief Advantages had been gained by the Boldness and Subtilty of private Adventurers, who by hovering over their Coasts in small Vessels, without raising the Alarms which the Sight of a Royal Navy necessarily produces, had discovered

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vered Opportunities of landing unexpectedly, and entering their Towns by Surprise, of plundering their wealthy Ships, or enriching themselves by Ransoms and Compositions: He knew that inconsiderable Bodies of Men, incited by private Advantage, selected with Care for particular Expeditions, instructed by secret Intelligence, and conceal'd by the Smallness of their Numbers, had found Means to march up into the Country thro' Ways which would never have been attempted by regular Forces, and have brought upon the *Spaniards* more Terror and Distress than could have been produced by a powerful Army, however carefully disciplined, or skilfully commanded.

' It was therefore, Sir, his first Care to secure his darling *Spaniards* from the pernicious Designs of private Adventurers; he knew not but some of Queen Elizabeth's Heroes might unfortunately revive, and terrify with an unexpected Invasion the remotest Corners of the *Spanish* Colonies, or appear before their Ports, and bid Defiance to their Navies and their Garrisons. When therefore a Bill * was brought into this House, by which Encouragement was given to the Subjects of this Kingdom to fit out Privateers, and by which those who should conquer any of the Colonies of the *Spaniards*, were confirmed in the Possession of them for ever, it cannot be forgotten with what Zeal he opposed, and with what Steadiness he rejected it, tho' it is not possible to assign any Disadvantage which could have been produced by passing it, and the utmost that could be urged against it was, that it was unnecessary and useless.

' Having thus discouraged that Method of War which was most to be dreaded by our Enemies, and left them little to fear but from National Forces and publick Preparations, his next Care was to secure them from any destructive Blow, by giving them Time to equip their Fleets, collect their Forces, repair their Fortifications, garrison their Towns, and regulate their Trade; for this Purpose he delay'd, as long as it was possible, the Dispatch of our Navies, embarrassed our Levies of Sailors by the Violence of Impresses; Violence which proper Encouragement and Regulations might have made unnecessary; and suffered the Privateers of the Enemy, to plunder our Merchants without Controul, under Pretence that Ships of War could not be stationed, nor Convoys provided for their Protection.

' At length several Fleets were fitted out, *Vernon* was sent to the *West-Indies*, and *Haddock* into the *Mediterranean*;
VOL. XIII. G the

* A Bill For the more effectual securing the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects in America. brought in by Mr Pulteney. See the Debate thereon in CHANDLER'S History, Anno II Geo. 1738, p. 287.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. the Consequences are so well known, that I should not mention them at this Time, had I not been called upon to it by a Proposal of Thanks for the Conduct of the War.

‘ The Behaviour of the two Admirals was very different; tho’ it has not yet appeared but that their Orders were the same. *Vernon* with six Ships destroy’d those Fortifications, before which *Hofier*’s formerly perish’d in Obedience to the Commands of our Ministry. How this Success was received by the Minister and his Adherents, how much they were offended at the Exultations of the Populace, how evidently they appeared to consider it as a Breach of their pacifick Scheme, the whole Nation will testify.

‘ Nor is it to be forgotten, Sir, how invidiously the Minister himself endeavour’d to extenuate the Honour of that Action, by attempting in the Address which was on that Occasion presented to his Majesty, to suppress mentioning the Number of Ships with which that gallant Admiral achiev’d it.

‘ In the mean Time, Sir, the Nation expected Accounts of the same Kind from the *Mediterranean*, where *Haddock* was stationed with a very considerable Force; but instead of Relations of Ports bombarded, and of Navies destroyed, we were daily informed of the Losses of our Merchants whose Ships were taken almost within Sight of his Squadrons.

‘ We had indeed once the Satisfaction of hearing that the *Spanish* Fleet was confined in the Port of *Cadiz*, destitute of Provisions; and it was even reported that they would either be destroy’d in that Harbour, or shut up, till the Want of Necessaries should oblige them to disband their Crews.

‘ We therefore, Sir, bore with Patience the daily Havock of our Trade in Expectation of the entire Destruction of the Royal Navy of *Spain*, which would have compell’d them to implore a Peace. But while we were flattering ourselves with those pleasing Dreams, we were wakened with an astonishing Account that the *Spaniards* had left *Cadiz*, and without any Interruption from the *British* Fleet, were taking in Provisions at *Ferrol*.

‘ Even this Disappointment did not deprive us of Hope, we know that the most politic are sometimes deceived, and the most vigilant may be surpriz’d; we did not expect in our Commanders any Exemption from human Frailties, and required only that they should endeavour to correct their Mistakes; and therefore waited with Patience, in Expectation that what was neglected at *Cadiz* would be effected at *Ferrol*.

‘ But

‘ But no sooner, Sir, had the *Spaniards* stored their Fleet, than we were surpris’d with a Revolution of Affairs yet more wonderful. *Haddock* instead of remaining before *Ferrol*, was drawn off by some chimerical Alarm to protect *Minorca*, and the *Spaniards* in the mean Time sail’d away to the *West Indies* in Conjunction with the *French Squadron* that had been for some Time ready for the Voyage.

‘ If we consider the Absurdity of this Conduct, it cannot but be imagin’d that our Minister must send *Haddock* false Intelligence or treacherous Directions, on Purpose that the *Spanish Fleet* might escape without Interruption. For how can it be conceiv’d that the *Spaniards* could have form’d any real Design of besieging *Port Mahon*? Was it probable that they would have sent an Army in defenceless Transports, into the Jaws of the *British Fleet*? and it was well known that they had no Ships of War to protect them. It was not consistent even with common Policy to land an Army upon an Island, an Island wholly destitute of Provisions for their Support, while an hostile Navy was in Possession of the Sea, and capable of supplying their Troops with Necessaries, and their Garrison with new Forces, while the *Spanish Army* would be itself shut up in a barren Island, without Provisions, without Recruits, without Hope of Succour, or Possibility of Success.

‘ But such was the Solitude of our Admiral for the Preservation of *Minorca*, that he abandoned his Station, and suffer’d the *Spaniards* to join their *French Confederates*, and prosecute their Voyage to the *West-Indies* unmolested.

‘ In the *West-Indies* they remained for some time Masters of the Sea, and confin’d *Vernon* to the Ports; but happily for us, Want of Provisions obliging the *French* to return, no Invasion of our Colonies was attempted which we had Reason to have apprehended.

‘ The *Spaniards* however gain’d by this Expedient Time to repair their Fortifications, strengthen their Garrisons, and dispose their Forces in the most advantageous Manner; and therefore, tho’ they were not enabled to attack our Colonies, had at least an Opportunity of securing their own.

‘ At length, Sir, lest all the World should be convinc’d that our Minister was in Confederacy with the *Spaniards*, it was determin’d, that their Territories in the *West Indies* should be invaded, but Care was taken to disappoint the Success of the Expedition by employing raw Troops, and unexperienc’d Officers. That by increasing the Number of Officers on the Establishment, he might render the War

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. more burthensome to the People, and encrease the Influence and multiply the Dependants in the Ministry.

But not content with favouring the Designs of the *Spaniards*, by the Delay which the Levy of new Troops necessarily produced, and encouraging them by the Probability of an easy Resistance against raw Forces; the Nation was not, in the Opinion of the Minister, punished sufficiently for its Rebellion against him, by being condemned to support a double Number of Troops. Some other Methods were to be used for protracting the War.

The Troops, therefore, Sir, being by the Accident of a hard Winter more speedily raised than it was reasonable to expect, were detained in this Island for several Months, upon trivial Pretences; and were at length suffered to embark at a Time when it was well known that they would have much more formidable Enemies than the *Spaniards* to encounter; when the unhealthy Season of the *West Indian* Climate, must necessarily destroy them by Thousands.

These were the Hardships to which Part of our Fellow-Subjects have been exposed by the Tyranny of the Minister; Hardships which Caution could not obviate, nor Bravery surmount; they were sent to combat with Nature, and to make War against the Elements.

In the Passage the General* died, and the Command devolved upon a Man who had never seen an Enemy, and was therefore only a speculative Warriour; an Accident, which as it was not unlikely to happen, would have been provided against by any Minister who wished for Success. The melancholy Event of this Expedition, I need not mention, it was such as might be reasonably expected; when our Troops were sent out without Discipline, without Commanders, into a Country where even the Dews are fatal, against Enemies informed of their Approach, secured by Fortifications, inured to the Climate, and well disciplin'd.

In the mean Time, Sir, it is not to be forgotten what Depredations were made upon our trading Vessels, with what Insolence Ships of very little Force approached our Coasts, and seized our Merchants in Sight of our Fortifications; it is not to be forgotten that the Conduct of some of those who owed their Revenues and Power to the Minister, gave yet stronger Proofs of a Combination.

It is not to be forgotten with what Effrontery the Losses of our Merchants were ridiculed, with what contemptuous Triumph of Revenge they were charged with the Guilt of this fatal War, and how publickly they were condemned to suffer for their Folly.

* For

* Lord Cathcart.

For this Reason, Sir, they were either denied the Security of Convoys, or forsaken in the most dangerous Parts of the Sea, by those to whose Protection they were, in Appearance committed. For this Reason, they were either hindered from engaging in their Voyage by the Loss of those Men who were detained unactive in the Ships of War, or deprived of their Crews upon the high Seas, or suffered to proceed only to become a Prey to the Spaniards.

But it was not, Sir, a sufficient Gratification of our implacable Minister, that the Merchants were distressed for alarming the Nation, it was thought likewise necessary to punish the People for believing too easily the Reports of the Merchants, and to warn them for ever against daring to imagine themselves able to discern their own Interest, or to prescribe other Measures to the Ministers, than they should be themselves inclin'd to pursue; our Minister was resolv'd to show them, by a Master-stroke, that it was in his Power to disappoint their Desires by seeming to comply, and to destroy their Commerce and their Happiness by the very Means, by which they hoped to secure them.

For this Purpose, Sir, did this great Man summon all his Politicks together, and call to Council all his Confidants and all his Dependents, and it was at length determined by their united Wisdom, to put more Ships into Commission, to aggravate the Terrors of the Impress by new Severity, to draw the Sailors by the Promise of large Rewards from the Service of the Merchants, to collect a mighty Fleet, and to dispatch it on a *secret Expedition*.

A secret Expedition, Sir, is a new Term of Ministerial Art, a Term which may have been, perhaps, formerly made Use of by Soldiers for a Design to be executed without giving the Enemy an Opportunity of providing for their Defence, but is now used for a Design with which the Enemy is better acquainted, than those to whom the Execution of it is committed. A secret Expedition is now an Expedition of which every one knows the Design, but those at whose Expence it is undertaken. It is a Kind of naval Review, which excels those of the Park in Magnificence and Expence, but is equally useless and ridiculous.

Upon these secret Expeditions, however, were fixed for a long Time the Expectations of the People; they saw all the Appearances of Preparation for a real War, they were informed that the Workmen in the Docks were retained by uncommon Wages to do double Duty; they saw the most specious Encouragements offered to the Sailors; they saw Naval Stores accumulated with the utmost Industry; heard of

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

of nothing but the Proof of new Cannon, and new Contracts for Provisions, and how much Reason soever they had to question the Sincerity of the great Man who had so long engrossed the Management of all Affairs, they did not imagine he was yet so abandon'd to levy Forces only to exhaust their Money, and equip Fleets only to expose them to Ridicule.

' When therefore, Sir, after the usual Delays, the Newspapers had informed the People that the great Fleet was sail'd, they no longer doubted that the *Spaniards* were to be reduced to our own Terms ; they expected to be told, in a few Days, of the Destruction of Fleets, the Demolition of Castles, and every one envy'd the Fortune of those, who, by being employed in their formidable Fleet, were entitled to the Treasures of such wealthy Enemies.

' When they had for some Time indulged these Expectations, an Account was brought that the Fleet was return'd without the least Action, or the least Attempt, and that new Provisions were to be taken in, that they might set out upon another secret Expedition.

' But, Sir, this Wonder-working Term had now lost its Efficacy, and it was discovered that secret Expeditions, like all other secret Services, were only Expedients to drain the Money of the People, and to conceal the Ignorance, or worse Qualities of the Minister.

' Such has been the Conduct for which we are desir'd to return Thanks in an humble and dutiful Address ; such are the Transactions which we are to recommend to the Approbation of our Constituents, and such the Triumphs upon which we must congratulate our Sovereign.

' For my Part, Sir, I cannot but think that Silence is too gentle a Censure for that Wickedness which no Language has yet provided a Name for. Murder, Parricide, and Treason are modest Appellations, when compared with that Conduct by which a King is betrayed, and a Nation ruined, under Pretence of promoting its Interest, by a Man trusted with the Administration of publick Affairs.

' Let us therefore, Sir, if it be thought improper to lay before his Majesty the Sentiments of his People in their full Extent, at least not endeavour to conceal them from him ; let us at least address him in such a Manner, as may give him some Occasion to enquire into the late Transactions, which have for many Years been such, that to even but know them is to condemn them.'

Sir R. Walpole.

' Hereupon Sir Robert Walpole stood up, and spoke as follows :

Sir, Tho' I am far from being either confounded or intimidated by this heavy Charge, tho' I am confident that all the Measures so clamorously censured, will admit of a very easy Vindication, and that whenever they are explained they will be approved; yet as an Accusation so complicated cannot be refuted, without a long Recapitulation of past Events, and a Deduction of many particular Circumstances, some of which may require Evidence, and some a very minute Explication, I cannot think this a proper Day for engaging in a Controversy, which it is my Interest should be thoroughly discussed.

At present, Sir, I shall content myself with bare Assertions like those by which I am accused, and hope they will not be heard with less Attention, or received with less Credit. For surely it was never denied to any Man to defend himself with the same Weapons with which he is attacked. I shall therefore, Sir, make no Scruple to assert, that the Treasure of the Publick has been employed with the utmost Frugality, to promote the Purposes for which it was granted; that our Foreign Affairs have been transacted with the utmost Fidelity, in Pursuance of long Consultations, and shall venture to add that our Success has not been such as ought to produce any Suspicion of Negligence or Treachery.

That our Design against *Carthagena* was defeated, cannot be denied, but what War has been one continued Series of Success? In the late War with *France*, of which the Conduct has been so lavishly celebrated, did no Designs miscarry? If we conquer'd at *Ramelies*, were we not in our Turn beaten at *Almanza*? If we destroyed the *French Ships*, was it not always with some Loss of our own? And since the Sufferings of our Merchants have been mentioned with so much Acrimony, do not the Lists of Ships taken in that War, prove that the Depredations of Privateers cannot be entirely prevented?

The Disappointment, Sir, of the publick Expectation by the Return of the Fleets, has been charged upon the Administration, as a Crime too enormous to be mentioned without Horror and Detestation. That the Ministry have not the Elements in their Power, that they do not prescribe the Course of the Wind, is a sufficient Proof of their Negligence and Weakness; with as much Justice is it charged upon them, that the Expectations of the Populace, which they did not raise, and to which perhaps the Conquest of a Kingdom had not been equal, failed of being gratified.

I am very far from hoping or desiring that the House should be satisfied with a Defence like this; I know, by observing

An. 15, Geo. II.
1741.



serving the Practice of the Opponents of the Ministry, what Fallacies may be concealed in general Assertions, and am, so far from wishing to evade a more strict Inquiry, that if the Gentleman who has thus publickly and confidently accused the Ministry, will name a Day for inquiring into the State of the Nation, I will second his Motion.

An Address agreed on.

The Clause for returning Thanks to his Majesty for the Conduct of the War against Spain, being given up without a Division, a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address of Thanks.

A Day appointed to consider the State of the Nation.

Then Mr Pulteney stood up, and mov'd for appointing a Day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the State of the Nation, and Sir Robert Walpole (according as he had declared he would) immediately seconded that Motion; whereupon it was agreed, *Nem. Con.* that the 21st Day of January be appointed for that Purpose.

On the 9th Mr Speaker acquainted the House, that in Obedience to the Commands of the House the last Session, he had transmitted to Vice-Admiral Vernon their Thanks for his Services to his King and Country in the *West-Indies*, and that he had received from the said Admiral an Answer as follows:

S I R,

Admiral Vernon's Answer to the Thanks of the House for his Services in the West Indies.

THE singular Honour done me in being thought deserving of the unanimous Thanks of the House of Commons for my Endeavours to discharge my Duty to his Majesty in these Seas, is what I cannot find Words sufficiently to express my grateful Sense of; but I shall ever retain a just Acknowledgment of the great Honour done me by the House, in their Approbation of my Services to his Majesty and my Country, and thinking them deserving of their Notice in this publick Manner.

As the publick Approbation of so august an Assembly is the highest Honour a Subject can receive, I must beg the Favour of you, Sir, to assure the House, that a grateful Sense of it will never be effaced out of my Memory; and that I shall endeavour, in all my future Conduct, by a continual Diligence, and faithful Discharge of my Duty to his Majesty in the Execution of his Orders for the Honour of the Crown, and Service of my Country, to study to preserve the Continuance of their Esteem. I am, S I R,

Your most obedient,

and most humble Servant,

E. VERNON.

Then

Then Mr *Henry Arthur Herbert* reported from the Committee their Address to his Majesty, which was read and agreed to by the House, *Nem. Con.* and is as follows:

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Great Britain* in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty, upon your safe and happy Return to these your Kingdoms, and to return our sincere Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne; and at the same Time, with Hearts full of Duty and Gratitude, cannot but acknowledge your Majesty's Regard and Attention to the Honour and Interest of this Nation.

The Commons
Address of
Thanks for the
King's Speech.

The great and impending Dangers that threaten *Europe*, under the present critical and perplex'd Situation of Affairs, have been represented by your Majesty to your Parliament, for their Advice and Assistance, with such paternal Concern, and such Affection to your People, such Confidence in your faithful Commons, and such Anxiety for the general Good of *Europe*, as cannot fail to excite in us a due Sense of your Majesty's Goodness and Condescension; and therefore we assure your Majesty, in the strongest Manner, that this House will, as often as these momentous Affairs shall come under our Consideration, give your Majesty such Advice, as becomes dutiful and faithful Subjects, and such Assistance and Support, as shall be most conducive to the Honour and true Interest of your Crown and Kingdoms.

And in order to answer these necessary Purposes, we will grant such effectual Supplies, as shall enable your Majesty, not only to be in Readiness to support your Friends and Allies, at such Times, and in such Manner, as the Exigency and Circumstances of Affairs shall require, but to oppose and defeat any Attempts that shall be made against your Majesty, your Crown and Kingdoms, or against those, who, being equally engaged with your Majesty by the Faith of Treaties, or united by common Interest and common Danger, shall be willing to concert such Measures, as shall be found necessary and expedient for maintaining the Balance of *Europe*.

A Petition of several Burgesses and Inhabitants of the City and Liberty of *Westminster**, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said City and Liberty, was ordered to be heard at the Bar.

Petition for an
undue Election
for Westminster.

VOL. XIII

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Then

* See the Account of that Election, p. 14.

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Then a Petition of *John Robins, Mayor of Boffiney*, &c.* in *Cornwall*, [See p. 3.] was read, complaining of an undue Return for the said Borough, in Pursuance whereof several Persons were ordered to attend the House.

On the 10th the House waited on the King with their Address, to which his Majesty return'd the following Answer:

Gentlemen,

The King's Answer to the Address.

" I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address; and for the Assurances you have given me at this critical and important Conjunction.

" I shall always have the greatest Regard to the Advice of my Parliament; and I make no doubt but you will act therein in such Manner, as shall be most conducive to the Honour and Interest of my Crown and Kingdoms, and give me your Support and Assistance in carrying on such Measures, as shall be judged to be necessary and expedient."

Petition for Anstruther, &c.

Dec. 11. A Petition of Major Gen. *Anstruther*, and of the Magistrates and Town Council of *Anstruther-Wester*, *Anstruther-Easter*, and of *Kilrenny*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Burghs of *Anstruther-Wester*, &c. was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the second of Feb.

For the Shire of Berwick.

A Petition of the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Esq; and also of Sir *John Sinclair*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Shire of *Berwick*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 19th of Jan.

For Hedon.

A Petition of *Algernon* Earl of *Montrath*, and *George Berkeley*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Hedon*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 16th of Feb.

For Chippenham.

A Petition of *Alexander Hume* and *John Frederick*, Esqrs, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Chippenham* [See p. 4.] was ordered to be heard at the Bar the 28th of Jan.

And Carlisle.

As also a Petition of *John Hylton*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Carlisle*, [See p. 4.] to be heard at the Bar the 26th of Jan.

The

* Boffiney is a small Village, which, with another little Hamlet called Trevena, lie in the Parish of Tintagil, and, together, make one Borough. It was impriviledged by Richard Earl of Cornwall, Brother to King Henry II. who granted, ' Quod Burgus noster de Tyntajoil sit liber Burgus.' The first Return of Members to be met with is in the Time of King Edward VI. Here are two Leets annually; the first Monday after Easter Sessions, and the other in October. Number of Electors about 25, which are limited to the Freeholders within the Borough, admitted by the Grand Jury at one of the Leets.

The Clerk of the Crown attending with the Return for An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. *Bossiney*, after an Examination of divers Witnesses, the Indenture of Return, whereby *John Sabine* and *Christopher Tower*, Esqrs. are return'd Burgesses to serve for the said Borough, sign'd by *John Robins*, and subscribed with the Names of Thirteen other Persons, as free Burgesses of the said Borough, was read: Then Mr *Foster*, one of the sitting Members, being present, withdrew, and it was resolved, by 222 Voices against 216, that the Clerk of the Crown do take off the File the Indenture of Return, signed by *Pasko Hoskin*, the same not being signed by the proper returning Officer; and that he do annex to the Writ the Indenture of Return, signed by *John Robins*, he being the proper returning Officer of the said Borough. It was, nevertheless, order'd that *Thomas Foster* and *Richard Liddel*, Esqrs. be at Liberty to petition the House touching the Election for the said Borough, within Fourteen Days.

A Petition of the several Freeholders of the County of *Denbigh*, and also of Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said County, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 4th of Feb. on a Division, 202 Voices against 193.

A Petition of *Hugh Barlow* *, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Haverford West* [See p. 6.].

Also of *Charles Cotes*, Esq; for *Tamworth* †, were severally referred to the Committee of Elections.

A Petition of *John M'Kye*, and of the Hon. *James Carmichael*, Esq; severally complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Boroughs of *Peebles*, &c. were ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 25th of Jan.

A Petition of *James Fall* Merchant, and of Sir *Heu Dalrymple*, Bar. and also of the Magistrates and Town Council of *Haddington*, *North-Berwick*, and *Lauder*, complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Boroughs of *Dunbar*, *North-Berwick*, &c. was referred to the Committee of Elections.

A Petition of *William Sclater*, Esq; one of the presiding capital Bailiffs of *Milborne Port*, [See p. 8.] also of *Michael*

1741,

H 2

Harvey

* On the 4th of July, 1715, it was resolved that the Proceeding of the Mayor and Common-Council of the Town of *Haverford-West*, in making Burgesses, without the Consent of the Commonalty, was illegal, and contrary to the Rights of the said Town; and that the Burgesses so pretended to be made, have not thereby acquired any Right of voting in any future Elections.

† On the 17th of March 1698, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot, and in such as have Freeholds within the Borough, whether resident or not.

An. 15. Geo. II. *Harvey and William Thompson, Esqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for Milborne Port**, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 23d of Jan.

Dec. 15. A Petition of Alexander Bruce, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire of Kinross: Also of Charles Gray and Samuel Savill, Esqrs. for Colchester †, [See p. 4.]

Likewise of William Carr and Matthew Ridley, Esqrs. for Newcastle upon Tyne, [See p. 8.] were severally referred to the Committee of Elections.

A Petition of Thomas Philips, Gent. late Mayor, and several other Burgesses of Wiston † in the County of Pembroke, and also of Rawleigh Mansel, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of Pembroke, were ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 6th of Feb.

A Petition of Sir Robert Monro, Bart. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Burghs of Dornock, Kirkwall, &c. was ordered to be heard at the Bar the first of March.

A Petition of several Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Cardigan, and also of Thomas Powell, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said County, was referred to the Committee of Elections.

Mr Francis Fane reported from the Committee of Supply, that it was the Opinion of that Committee, that a Supply be granted to his Majesty, which was agreed to, Nem. Con.

Then it was ordered that an Estimate of the Navy, with the Half Pay of the Officers of the Navy and Marines: Also of the Charge for Guards and Garrisons, and other Land Forces and Marines: Likewise of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land Service: And that a List of the Regimental and Warrant Officers, who are to be in Half-pay, with an Estimate of the Charge of the Out-Pensioners of Chelsea Hospital, all for the Year 1742, be laid before

* On the 8th of Dec. 1702, the Right of Election for this Borough was declared to be only in the Capital Bailiffs, and their Deputies, in the Commonalty, Stewards, and the Inhabitants thereof, paying Scot and Lot.

† On the 28th of March, 1696, it was reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, That the Right of Election was in the sworn Burgesses, not receiving Alms. On the 27th of Jan. 1710, it was resolved, that the Mayor cannot make Foreigners free without Consent of the Majority of the Aldermen and Common Council: And on the 6th of May, 1714, it was farther resolved, that the Right of making Foreigners Freemen, not having a Right thereto by Birth or Service, is in the Mayor and free Burgesses in Common-Hall assembled.

‡ On the 23d of February, 1711, it was resolved, that the Mayor and Burgesses of Wiston have a Right to vote for a Member for the Borough of Pembroke.

Petition for the
Shire of Kinross.

For Colchester.

For Newcastle
upon Tyne.

For Pembroke.

For Dornock, &c.

And for Cardi-
ganshire.

Resolutions on
the Supply.

fore the House: Also that an Account of Services incurred, An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. and not provided for by Parliament: An Account, shewing the Monies arisen within the respective half Years, ending at *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas* last, as well of the Surplus of the aggregate Fund, as of the Surplus of the *South-Sea* Fund; as also of the Surplus of the General Fund; With an Account, shewing how the Monies given for the Year 1741, have been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads, be laid before the House: And it was resolved that an Address be presented to his Majesty, to lay before the House the said Estimates, Lists, and Accounts.

Then the House proceeded to the hearing of the Matter of the Petition, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the City of *Westminster*; [See p. 11.] and, after hearing Counsel, and the last Determination of the House, concerning the Right of electing Citizens to serve for the said City, made the 15th of *November* 1680, when the House resolved, 'That the King's menial Servants, not having proper Houses of their own within the City of *Westminster*, have not a Right to give Voices in the Election of Citizens to serve in Parliament for the said City,' was also read. And the standing Order † of the House, made the 16th of *January*, 1735, for restraining the Counsel at the Bar of this House, or before the Committee of Privileges and Elections, from offering Evidence, touching the Legality of Votes for Members to serve in Parliament for any County, Shire, City, Borough, Cinque Port, or Place, contrary to the last Determination in the House of Commons, was also read, and the Counsel for the Petitioners were heard; and having examined several Witnesses, the farther hearing of that Matter was adjourned.

Dec. 16. A Petition of Gen. *James Campbell*, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire of *Air*: Petition for the Shire of Air.

Also of *George Mackenzie*, Esq; for the Shire of *Cromarty*: For Cromarty.

Likewise of *Patrick Dunbar*, Esq; for the Shire of *Caithness*: For Caithness.

And another of *Richard Williams*, Esq; for the several Boroughs of *Flint**, *Rhyddland*, *Overtown*, *Caerwys*, and *Caer-gurley*: And for the Town of Flint, &c.

Also

† See Mr Bramston's Motion for this Order in Chandler's History, Anno 8 Geo. 2. p. 94.

* On the 21st of May, 1728, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Inhabitants of the Five Boroughs above recited, paying Scot and Lot: And that the Inhabitants of Knolton and Overtown-Foreign, paying Scot and Lot in the Parish of Overtown, have a Right to vote at the said Election; but on the 5th of April, 1737, a Motion being made that the Inhabitants of the said Five Boroughs, including Knolton and Overtown-Foreign, renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof only pay Scot and Lot, have a Right to vote at the said Election; and the previous Question being put, that that Question be then put, it passed in the Negative.

An. 15. Feb. 1741.

Petition for the
Shire of Suther-
land.

For Grimsby.

For Penryn.

For Aberdeen,
&c.

For Cricklade.

For Pembroke-
shire.

For Carmarthen.

For Radnorshire.

For Denbigh, &c.

For the Shire of
Dumfries.

And for Gram-
pound.

Also a Petition of the Hon. *George Mackay*, Esq; for the Shire of *Sutherland* §; were severally referred to the Committee of Elections : But a Motion was made, and the Question being put, that it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they do hear the Matter of the last mention'd Petition the 10th of *February*; It passed in the Negative.

Then a Petition of *Matthew Boucherett*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Great Grimsby*, [See p. 6.]

Of *John Clavering*, Esq; and of the Lord Viscount *Glenorchy*, for * *Petryn*, [See p. 9.]

And of *Alexander Udney*, Esq; for the Boroughs of *Aberdeen*, *Inverbervie*, &c. were severally referred to the Committee of Elections; But it was ordered, That the Committee do hear the Matter of the last mention'd Petition on the 24th of *Feb.*

A Petition of *Charles Gore*, and also of *Welbore Ellis*, Esquires, were severally read, complaining of an undue Election and Double Return for *Cricklade* †; whereupon it was ordered that the Clerk of the Crown do attend the House the next Morning with the Return for the said Borough.

A Petition of *John Symmons*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the County of *Pembroke*:

Of *Griffith Philipps*, Esq; for the County Borough of *Carmarthen* ‡, [See p. 4.]

Of *Roderick Guynne*, Esq; for the County of *Radnor*, [See p. 9.]

Of *Arthur Trevor*, Esq; for the several Boroughs of *Denbigh*, *Ruthyn*, and *Holt*, [See p. 5.]

Of *Matthew Sharp*, Esq; for the Shire of *Dumfries* ||:

Of *Thomas Hales* and *Thomas Trefusis*, Esquires, for *Gram-pound*.

§ On the 25th of Feb. 1722, it was resolv'd, That the Right of Election is in the Heritors, Feuars, Wadsetters, and Life-Renters, possess'd of Lands in the said Shire, whether holding of the Crown or a Subject.

* The first Return of Members for this Borough was in the Reign of Queen Mary. There is a Mayor, eight Aldermen and twelve Assistants; the Number of Electors about 140, being Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot. King James II. granted them a new Charter, which vested the Election of Members in the Magistracy only; but they refused to make Use of it.

† On the 22d of Feb. 1695, it was reported from the Committee of Elections, that the Right of Election appeared to be in the Freeholders, Copyholders, and Leaseholders, for not less than three Years.

‡ On the 19th of March 1727, it was resolv'd, that the Right of Election is in the Burgesses of the said Borough; and on the 23d following, that the Execution of the Writ for electing a Burgess, and the making a Return thereof, are in the two Sheriffs of the said Borough jointly.

|| On the 13th of February, 1710, the Question being put, that *Hommer Maxwell*, and Others, who were infect of an Estate, redeemable upon the paying a Rose-Noble, had a Right to vote in the Election of Commissioner for the Shire of *Dumfries*, it passed in the Negative. -- On the 22d of Feb. 1710, the Question being put, that *Abraham Crichton* (being the Husband of an apparent Heiress, who was not infect) had a Right to vote in the Election of a Commissioner for the Shire of *Dumfries*, it passed in the Negative.

pound ||, [See p. 6.] were severally referred to the Committee An. 15. Geo. II. of Elections. 1741.

The same Day came on the Election of a Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections, when Dr Lee was chosen in Opposition to Giles Earle, Esq; * (who had been Chairman of that Committee in the two last Parliaments) by 242 against 238.

Dr Lee chosen
Chairman of the
Committee of
Privileges and
Elections.

We shall upon this Occasion give the Names of the Members who voted for each of these Gentlemen.

For Dr Lee.

A Bdy Sir Robert, Bt.
Aislaby William, Esq;
Ashby Thomas, Esq;
Aftley Sir John, Bt.
Bagot Sir Walter, Bt.
Baltimore Lord
Bance John, Esq;
Banks William, Esq;
Banks Henry, Esq;
Barrington Lord.
Barrington Sir John, Bt.
Barrymore Earl of.
Barnard Sir John, Kt.
Bayntun Edward Rolt, Esq;
Bathurst Benjamin, Esq;
Bathurst Henry, Esq;
Berkeley Norbonne, Esq;
Best Thomas, Esq;
Blagrove John, Esq;
Blacket Walter, Esq;
Bligh Hon. John, Esq;
Bludworth Thomas, Esq;
Boone Daniel, Esq;
Bootle Thomas, Esq;
Bowes George, Esq;
Bouverie Sir Jacob, Bt.
Bramston Thomas, Esq;
Browne John, Esq;
Bruce Sir John, Bt.
Buchanan Neil, Esq;
Buck John, Esq;

For Mr Earle.

A Bercromby James Esq;
Accourt Pierce, Esq;
Archer Thomas, Esq;
Archer Henry, Esq;
Arscot John, Esq;
Arscott Arthur, Esq;
Arundel Hon. Richard, Esq;
Albe Edward, Esq;
Baker Hercules, Esq;
Beauclerc Lord Vere.
Beauclerc Lord Sidney.
Bennet Philip, Esq;
Bertie Lord Vere.
Bladen Martin, Esq;
Bockland Col. Maurice.
Bond John, sen. Esq;
Bowles William, Esq;
Bodville William, Esq;
Bradshaigh Sir Roger, Bt.
Brand Thomas, Esq;
Brassey Nathaniel, Esq;
Brerston Thomas, Esq;
Bridges George, Esq;
Bristow John, Esq;
Brodie Alexander, Esq;
Broughton Sir Brian, Bt.
Browne Sir Robert, Bt.
Brudenell Hon. James, Esq;
Burrel Peter, Esq;
Burrard Henry, Esq;
Calthorpe Henry, Esq;

Bul-

|| This Borough has a Mayor, eight Magistrates, a Recorder, and Town-Clerk; the Members are elected by the Majority of the Magistrates and Freemen, about 50 in Number, being all the Inhabitants that pay Scot and Lot. The first Return was in the Reign of Edward VI.

* One of the Lords of the Treasury.

An. 15 Geo. II.
1741.

For Dr. Lee.

For Mr Earle.

Balkeley Lord Viscount.	Campbel John, Esq;
Buller James Esq;	Campbel Brig. John.
Bourgoine Sir Roger, Bt.	Cary Walter, Esq;
Bunbury Sir Charles, Bt.	Carnegie Sir James, Bt.
Butler Edward, L. L. D.	Carpenter Lord.
Bury Thomas, Esq;	Carter William, Esq;
Campbel Alex. Hume, Esq;	Charlton Job Staunton, Esq;
Carew Sir William, Bt.	Cholmondeley Col. James.
Carew Thomas, Esq;	Churchill General Charles.
Carnarvon Marquiss of.	Churchill Charles, Esq;
Cartwright Thomas, Esq;	Chute Francis, Esq;
Cave Sir Thomas, Bt.	Chute Anthony, Esq;
Cavendish Lord James.	Clayton Sir William, Bt.
Chapman Sir John, Bt.	Clayton Kendrick, Esq;
Chernoke Sir Boteler, Bt.	Cleveland John, Esq;
Chester Sir John, Bt.	Clive Edward, Esq;
Chester Thomas, Esq;	Clutterbuck Thomas, Esq;
Chetwynd Lord Viscount.	Coke Hon. Edward, Esq;
Chetwynd William, Esq;	Colebrooke Robert, Esq;
Cholmondeley Charles, Esq;	Conolly William, Esq;
Cocks James, Esq;	Cope Monoux, Esq;
Compton Hon. George, Esq;	Copleston Thomas, Esq;
Cornbury Lord Viscount	Corbet Sir William, Bt.
Cornwall Velters, Esq;	Corbet Sir Richard, Bt.
Cotton Sir John Hind, Bt.	Cornwallis Hon. John, Esq;
Cotton John, Esq;	Cornwallis Hon. Stephen, Esq;
Courtney Sir William, Bt.	Cross Sir John, Bt.
Courtney Henry, Esq;	Crowle George, Esq;
Crawford Patrick, Esq;	Danvers Joseph, Esq;
Crawley John, Esq;	Docminique Charles, Esq;
Crewe John, junr. Esq;	Doneraile Lord Viscount.
Cunningham Alexander, Esq;	Douglas Capt. Robert.
Curzon Sir Nathaniel, Bt.	Downing Sir George, Bt.
Dalrymple Sir Hew, Bt.	Downing Jacob, Esq;
Damer Joseph, Esq;	Drury Sir Thomas, Bt.
Dashwood Sir James, Bt.	Duncomb Anthony, Esq;
Dashwood Sir Francis, Bt.	Dupplin Lord Viscount.
Dawkins James, Esq;	Earle Will. Rawlinson, Esq;
Delme Peter, Esq;	Edgcumbe Richard, Esq;
Denton George, Esq;	Eliot Col. William.
Dering Sir Edward, Bt.	Euston Earl of.
Doddington G. Bub, Esq;	Evans Hon. George, Esq;
Douglas Sir John, Bt.	Evans Captain Richard.
Douglas James, Esq;	Eversfield Charles, Esq;
Drax Henry, Esq;	Eyles Francis, Esq;
Dundas George, Esq;	Fane Francis, Esq;

Eliot

For Dr. Lee.

Eliot Richard, Esq;
 Ereskine Hon. James, Esq;
 Evelyn John, Esq;
 Fazakerley Nich. Esq;
 Fellows Coulston, Esq;
 Fenwick Robert, Esq;
 Fenwick John, Esq;
 Fenwick Nicholas, Esq;
 Finch Hon. William, Esq;
 Firebrace Sir Cordell, Bt.
 Floyer John, Esq;
 Foley Thomas, jun. Esq;
 Forbes Sir Arthur, Bt.
 Fortescue Hon. Theop. Esq;
 Fortrose Lord.
 Furnese Henry, Esq;
 Gage Ld Viscount.
 Gibbon Edward, Esq;
 Gilmour Sir Charles, Bt.
 Glynne Sir John, Bt.
 Godschall Sir Robert, Kt.
 Gordon Sir William, Bt.
 Gore Charles, Esq;
 Gore Thomas, Esq;
 Gower William Leyeson, Esq;
 Gower Bapt. Leyeson, Esq;
 Granard Earl of.
 Grenville Richard, Esq;
 Grenville George, Esq;
 Grosvenor Sir Robert, Bt.
 Groves William, Esq;
 Guernsey Lord Viscount.
 Gundry Nathaniel, Esq;
 Gwyn Francis, Esq;
 Gybbon Philips, Esq;
 Hamilton Sir James, Bt.
 Hamilton Basil, Esq;
 Hamilton Charles, Esq;
 Hay Lord Charles.
 Heatcote George, Esq;
 Herbert Philip, Esq;
 Hill Andrew, Esq;
 Hill Hon. Wills, Esq;
 Holte Sir Lister, Bt.
 Hooper Edward, Esq;
 Hopton Edward Cope, Esq;

Vol. XIII.

For Mr. Barlow.

An. 15. Geo. II.

Finch Hon. Henry, Esq;
 Fitzroy Charles, Esq;
 Fitzwilliams Lord.
 Fonnerau Thomas, Esq;
 Forester Brook, Esq;
 Fox Henry, Esq;
 Frankland Sir Thomas, Bt.
 Frankland Frederick, Esq;
 French Jeffery, Esq;
 Gage Sir William, Bt.
 Gallway Lord Viscount.
 Gasbry Francis, Esq;
 Gibson Thomas, Esq;
 Gildart Richard, Esq;
 Glanville William, Esq;
 Glenorchy Lord Viscount.
 Godolphin Francis, Esq;
 Gough Capt. Henry.
 Grant Lodovick, Esq;
 Grant Sir James, Bt.
 Gregory George, Esq;
 Gulston Joseph, Esq;
 Hampden John, Esq;
 Hanbury Capel, Esq;
 Harris John, Esq;
 Harrison George, Esq;
 Hartington Marquiss of
 Hay William, Esq;
 Hayward Thomas, Esq;
 Heathcote Samuel, Esq;
 Hedworth John, Esq;
 Henley Henry Holt, Esq;
 Herbert Henry Arthur, Esq;
 Herbert Hon. Robert, Esq;
 Herbert Hon. William, Esq;
 Hoby Sir Thomas, Bt.
 Holmes Henry, Esq;
 Howard Col. Charles.
 Howarth. Sir Humphry, Kt.
 Hungerford Walter, Esq;
 Hunter Thomas Orby, Esq;
 Jenyns Soame, Esq;
 Jewkes John, Esq;
 Ingram Col. Charles.
 Jolliffe John, Esq;
 Keene Benjamin, Esq;

I

Houlton

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

For Dr. Lee.

Houbton Jacob, Esq;
 Jeffreys John, Esq;
 Inchiquin Earl of.
 Johnston Lord John.
 Irby Sir William, Bt.
 Itham Sir Edmund, Bt.
 Lambert Daniel, Esq;
 Lechmere Edmund, Esq;
 Levinz William, Esq;
 Lister Thomas, Esq;
 Lytser Richard, Esq;
 Long Sir Robert, Bt.
 Lowndes Richard, Esq;
 Lowther Sir Thomas, Bt.
 Lyttelton George, Esq;
 M'Leod Norman, Esq;
 M'Kye John, Esq;
 Mackworth Herbert, Esq;
 Mansell Hon. Bussy, Esq;
 Marshall Henry, Esq;
 Masters Thomas, Esq;
 Mellish William, Esq;
 Methuen Sir Paul, Kt.
 Montague Edward, Esq;
 Montague Charles, Esq;
 Mordaunt Sir Charles, Bt.
 Moore William, Esq;
 Morrice Sir William, Bt.
 Murray John, Esq;
 Musgrave Sir Philip, Bt.
 Newsam James, Esq;
 Newland George, L.L.D.
 Newton Sir Michael, Bt.
 Noel William, Esq;
 Noel Hon. James, Esq;
 Northcote Sir Henry, Bt.
 Nugent Robert, Esq;
 Ongley Samuel, Esq;
 Ord Robert, Esq;
 Ord John, Esq;
 Orme Garton, Esq;
 Oswald James, Esq;
 Owen John, Esq;
 Oxenden Sir George, Bt.
 Packer W. Howard, Esq;
 Poulet William, Esq;

For Mr Earle.

Kent Samuel, Esq;
 Kinaston William, Esq;
 Knight Robert, Esq;
 Lamb Matthew, Esq;
 Lambton Henry, Esq;
 Legge Hon. Henry, Esq;
 Lewis Thomas, Esq;
 Liddel Sir Henry, Bt.
 Lloyd Walter, Esq;
 Lock William, Esq;
 Lockyer Charles, Esq;
 Lumley Hon. James, Esq;
 Martin Matthew, Esq;
 Martin James, Esq;
 Martin John, Esq;
 Maule Hon. William, Esq;
 Maule John, Esq;
 Metcalfe Lascelles, Esq;
 Middleton Sir William, Bt.
 Middleton John, Esq;
 Mill Sir Richard, Bt.
 Missing Thomas, Esq;
 Mitchel William, Esq;
 Monson Charles, Esq;
 Mordaunt John, Esq;
 Mordaunt Col. John.
 Morden William, Esq;
 Morgan Thomas, Esq;
 Murray Lord John.
 Murray Alexander, Esq;
 Mussenden Hill, Esq;
 Neal Robert, Esq;
 Newnham Thomas, Esq;
 Norris Sir John, Kt.
 Norton Thomas, Esq;
 Olmius John, Esq;
 Onslow Denzil, Esq;
 Onslow Col. Richard.
 Osbaldeston William, Esq;
 Owen William, Esq;
 Palmerston Lord Viscount.
 Poulet Hon. Vere, Esq;
 Paulet Lord Harry.
 Powlet Charles Armand, Esq;
 Pelham Hon. Henry, Esq;
 Pelham James, Esq;

Peachy

For Dr. Let.

Peachy Sir John, Bt.
 Pelham Charles, Esq;
 Philips Sir Erasmus, Bt.
 Philips John, Esq;
 Pitt Thomas, Esq;
 Pitt William Esq;
 Pitt John, Esq;
 Pleydell Edm. Morton, Esq;
 Popham Edward, Esq;
 Portman W. Henry, Esq;
 Powney Peniston, Esq;
 Pratt John, Esq;
 Proby John, Esq;
 Prowse Thomas, Esq;
 Pryse Thomas, Esq;
 Pulteney William, Esq;
 Pytts Edmond, Esq;
 Quarendon Lord Viscount.
 Rashleigh Jonathan, Esq;
 Raymond Jones, Esq;
 Richards George, Esq;
 Rowney Thomas, Esq;
 Rofs Hon. Charles, Esq;
 Rudge Edward, Esq;
 Rush John, Esq;
 Rushout Sir John, Bt.
 Sandys Samuel, Esq;
 St Aubin Sir John, Bt.
 Scot David, Esq;
 Seymour Sir Edward, Bt.
 Shaftoe John, Esq;
 Shippen William, Esq;
 Shuttleworth Richard, Esq;
 Shuttleworth James, Esq;
 Slingsby Sir Henry, Bt.
 Smith Edward, Esq;
 Smithson Sir Hugh, Bt.
 Somerset Lord Noel.
 Southwell Edward, Esq;
 Spencer Hon John, Esq;
 Stanhope Hon. John, Esq;
 Stapylton Sir Miles, Bt.
 Stuart Hon. John, Esq;
 Stewart Archibald, Esq;
 Strange Lord.
 Strode William, Esq;

1741.

For Mr Earle.

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

Pelham Thomas, jun. Esq;
 Pennington Sir Jos. Bt.
 Penton Henry, Esq;
 Philipson John, Esq;
 Pilsworth Charles, Esq;
 Pitt Geo. Moreton, Esq;
 Plumer Richard, Esq;
 Plumtree John, Esq;
 Pollen John, Esq;
 Revel Thomas, Esq;
 Rider Sir Dudley, Kt.
 Robinson Luke, Esq;
 Rolle Henry, Esq;
 Sabine Joseph, Esq;
 Sackville Lord George.
 St Clair Brig. James.
 Scrope Hon. John, Esq;
 Selwyn John, Esq;
 Selwyn Charles, Esq;
 Selwyn John, jun. Esq;
 Smelt William, Esq;
 Speke George, Esq;
 Stanhope Hon. William, Esq;
 Stert Arthur, Esq;
 Stewart Col. James.
 Steele William, Esq;
 Strickland William, Esq;
 Stone Andrew, Esq;
 Stuart Capt. William.
 Sundon Lord.
 Talbot Hon. John, Esq;
 Thompson Edward, Esq;
 Thompson William, Esq;
 Tower Christopher, Esq;
 Townsend Joseph, Esq;
 Townshend Hon. Roger, Esq;
 Townshend Hon. Thomas, Esq;
 Treby George, Esq;
 Trevor John Morley, Esq;
 Tuffnel Samuel, Esq;
 Turner Sir John, Bt.
 Tyrrell James, Esq;
 Vere Thomas, Esq;
 Wade General George.
 Wager Sir Charles, Kt.
 Walker Thomas, Esq;

I 2

Sydenham

An. 15th Geo. II.

1741.

For Dr Lee.

Sydenham Humphry, Esq;
 Thomas Sir Edmund, Bt.
 Thrale Ralph, Esq;
 Thursby John Harvey, Esq;
 Trelawney Charles, Esq;
 Tucker John, Esq;
 Turner Sir Edward, Bt.
 Twisden Sir Roger, Bt.
 Tyrwhitt Sir John, Bt.
 Vane Hon. Henry, Esq;
 Vaughan William, Esq;
 Vernon Geo. Venables, Esq;
 Vyner Robert, Esq;
 Waller Harry, Esq;
 Waller Edmund, Esq;
 Warren Borlace, Esq;
 Watson Hon. Thomas, Esq;
 Webster Whistler, Esq;
 Wentworth Godfrey, Esq;
 Whichcote Thomas, Esq;
 Wigley James, Esq;
 Wilbraham Randle, Esq;
 Winford Thomas, Esq;
 Wodehouse Armine, Esq;
 Wright George, Esq;
 Wortley Edward, Esq;
 Wynn Sir Watkin Will. Bt.

Total ——— 242

For Mr Earle.

Wallop John, Esq;
 Walpole Sir Robert, Kt.
 Walpole Horatio, Esq;
 Walpole Edward, Esq;
 Walpole Horatio, jun. Esq;
 Walker Peter, Esq;
 Wardour William, Esq;
 West James, Esq;
 White John, Esq;
 Whitmore Thomas, Esq;
 Whitmore William, Esq;
 Wilson Daniel, Esq;
 Williams Sir Nicholas, Bt.
 Wilmer William, Esq;
 Wilkinson Andrew, Esq;
 Winnington Thomas, Esq;
 Wynn Thomas, Esq;
 Wynne Sir George, Bt.
 Wynn John, Esq;
 Young Sir William, Bt.
 York Hon. Philip, Esq;
 Yorke John, Esq;
 Young Hitch, Esq;

Total ——— 238

Another Petition
 for Flint.

Dec. 17. A Petition of several Burgesses of the Towns of Flint, Rhjallan, Overton, Caerwys, and Caergrwley, complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Shire-Town of Flint, [See p. 53.] was referred to the Committee of Elections.

For the Shire of
 Rofs.

Of Hugh Rose, Esq; for the Shire of Rofs *.

And for Retford. East Retford †, [See p. 9.]

Of Sir Robert Clifton and of Stephen Soame, Esq; for

Also

* January 28, 1708, Resolved that there ought to have been Twelve Days exclusive between the Day of Election of a Commissioner to serve in Parliament for the said Shire, and the Day appointed by the Writ of Summons for the Meeting of the Parliament.

† April 15, 1701, The Right of Election was declar'd to be as well in the Burgesses non-resident, as in the Burgesses resident within the said Borough. March 17, 1701-2, it was resolved that the younger Sons of Freemen of the Borough, have not a Right to demand their Freedom of the said Borough. Nov. 28, 1702, That Persons not inhabiting in the Borough, are incapable of being made free of the said Borough by Redemp-

tion

Also of the Hon. *William Stuart*, Esq; for the Stewartry An. 13. Geo. II. of *Kirkcudbright*, were severally referred to the Committee of Elections. 1743.

Then the House proceeded to the further Hearing of the Petition for the City and Liberty of *Westminster*, and, after the Examination of several Witnesses, that Affair was farther adjourn'd.

Dec. 18. Ordered that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, to explain and amend an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the Preservation of the publick Roads in England*, and that Mr *Bathurst*, the Lord *Baltimore*, Mr *Sandys*, Mr *Powney*, and Mr *Grenville* do prepare and bring in the same: And that a Committee be appointed to consider the Laws in being, with Respect to the Repair and Preservation of the publick Roads in England. Bill for preserving the Roads.

A Petition of *Richard Lloyde*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Cardigan* *. Petition for Cardigan.

And of *Benjamin Hyet*, Esq; and others, for the City of *Gloucester*, were referred to the Committee of Elections. For Gloucester.

A Petition of *Edmund Hungate Beaghan* and *Samuel Yeake*, Esqrs. for *Winchelsea*, was ordered to be heard at the Bar on the 20th of Jan. For Winchelsea.

A Petition of the Bailiff and Burgesses of *Knighton*, &c. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *New Radnor* †, was referred to the Committee of Elections. For Radnor.

Then it was resolved that an Address be presented to his Majesty, to give Directions, that there may be laid before the House, Copies of all Memorials, Representations and Declarations ‡, sent either to his Majesty or his Ministers by the Queen of *Hungary* or her Ministers, or by his Majesty or his Ministers. An Address for Copies of Memorials, &c. to or from the Queen of Hungary.

tion; And that all Sons of Freemen have a Right to the Freedom of the said Borough. On the 17th of Jan. 1705, The Right of Election was declared to be in such Freemen only as have a Right to their Freedom by Birth, as eldest Sons of Freemen, or by serving seven Years Apprenticeship, or have it by Redemption, whether inhabiting or not inhabiting in the said Borough at the Time of their being made free. But on the 11th of Jan. 1710, it was resolved that the Right of Election is in such Freemen only, &c. [as in the last recited Resolution] inhabiting in the said Borough at the Time of their being made free.

* On the 7th of May, 1738, it was resolved, that the Burgesses of the Borough of *Tregaron* have no Right to vote for a Burgess for *Cardigan*; and that the Right of Election for the said Town of *Cardigan*, is in the Burgesses at large of the Borough of *Cardigan*, *Aberystwith*, *Lampeter*, and *Atpar* only.

† On the 12th of November, 1690, the Right of Election was declared to be in the Burgesses of *Radnor*, *Ryadar*, *Knighton*, *Knucklas*, and *Kevenllee* only.

‡ A Motion was made for adding the Word *LETTERS* after *DECLARATIONS*, but it passed in the Negative, by 237 against 227.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Letters to the Queen of *Hungary* or her Ministers, and of all Letters which have been sent to his Majesty's Ministers by the Ministers of the Queen of *Hungary*, or by his Majesty's Ministers to the Ministers of the Queen of *Hungary*, with the respective Answers, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of *Austria*, since the Death of the late Emperor. Also to lay before the House, Copies of all Memorials, &c. (*as before*) by or to the *French* King or his Ministers, with the respective Answers, from the Declaration of War with *Spain*, relating to the said War, and the Interests of the House of *Austria*.

Also to or from
the K. of France.

The like Motion
relating to the K.
of Prussia over-
rul'd.

But a Motion being made, and the Question put, That the like Address be presented for Copies of all Memorials, &c. (*as before*) to or by the King of *Prussia*, &c. with the respective Answers, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of *Austria*, since the Death of the late Emperor: And the previous Question being put, that that Question be then put, it passed in the Negative, by 232 against 208.

Petition for Mit-
chell.
For Wotton Bas-
set.
For Edinburgh.

On the 21st a Petition of *William Newland* and *Jones Raymond*, Esqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of *Mitchell**.

Also a Petition of *Nicholas Robinson*, Esq; for *Wotton Bassett*.

A Petition of *Alexander Nisbet*, Deacon Conveener of the several Incorporations of Crafts or Trades in *Edinburgh*.

A Petition of the Deacons of the *Baxters*, *Masons* and *Wrights*, *Skinner*s, *Fle*shers, *Bonnetmakers*, *Surgeon-Apothecaries*, *Goldsmiths*, *Hammermen*, *Taylor*s, and *Shoemakers* of *Edinburgh*, severally complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said City.

For Southwark.

And also a Petition of *Joseph Chitty*, Esq; for *Southwark* [See p. 10.] were severally referred to the Committee of Elections.

For Bridport.

Dec. 22. A Petition of several Electors for *Bridport*†, com-

* A small Hamlet: The first Return of Members, Anno 6, Edward VI. The Right of Election was, on the 20th of March, 1700, declared by the House to be in the Port-Reves, and Lords of the Manor, who are capable of being Port-Reves, and in the Inhabitants paying Scot and Lot.

|| On the 10th of November, 1702, the Right of Election was declared to be only in the Inhabitants, paying Scot and Lot; and on the 29th of June, 1714, a Motion being made, that Persons living in the Mint, or Rules of the Queen's Bench, and paying a Rent of 10 l. per Annum, or upwards, have a Right to vote tho' they do not pay Scot and Lot, within the said Borough: It passed in the Negative.

† The first Return for this Borough was in the Reign of King Edward I. The Corporation consists of two Bailiffs and thirteen Burgesses. The Right of Election is in the Inhabitants at large, being Housekeepers, who are upwards of 200. It was resolved, Anno 1628, that the Commonalty in general ought to have Voices in the Election, and that the Election was void in respect of the want of Warning to the Commonalty.

complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said Borough. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

As also of *Thomas Foster* and *Richard Lyddell*, Esqrs. for an undue Election and Return for *Bossney* [See p. 51.] Messrs. Foster and Lyddell's Petition for *Bossney*.

Then the House proceeded to the farther hearing of the Matter of the Petition for the City and Liberty of *Westminster*: Having examined several Witnesses; and the Counsel on both Sides being withdrawn, a Motion was made and the Question put, That *William Lord Sandon* is duly elected a Citizen for *Westminster*; it passed in the Negative, by 220 against 216. The Question being put, That *Sir Charles Wager* is duly elected a Citizen for the said City; it passed in the Negative, by 220 against 215, and the said Election was declared void. Westminster Election declared void,

And a Motion being made to adjourn, it passed in the Negative; and it was resolved, That *Mr John Lever*, High Bailiff of the City of *Westminster*, acted at the said Election in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, in Prejudice of the Rights and Liberties of the Electors of the said City, and in manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections.

Then a Motion being made for taking the said *John Lever* into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; it was resolved in the Affirmative, by 217 against 215. And the High Bailiff ordered into Custody.

A Motion being again made to adjourn, it passed in the Negative.

Hereupon it was resolved, that it appeared to the House, that a Body of armed Soldiers, headed by Officers, did, on the 8th of *May* last, come in a military Manner, and take Possession of the Church-Yard of *St Paul, Covent Garden*, near the Place where the said Poll was taken, before the said Election was ended [See p. 14.]: And that the Presence of a regular Body of armed Soldiers at an Election of Members to serve in Parliament, is an high Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject, a manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections, and an open Defiance of the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom. It was also ordered that *Nathaniel Blackerby*, *George Howard*, and *Thomas Lediard*, Esqrs. do attend the House on the 22d of *Jan.* next: On a Division, Yeas 206, Noes 200. Farther Resolutions thereupon.

Dec. 23: A new Writ was ordered for *Droitwich* (a), in the Room of *Mr Winnington*, who made his Election for *Worcester*: And another for a Knight of the Shire for *Sussex* (b), in the Room of *James Butler*, Esq; deceas'd: For New Writs issued.

(a) Lord George Bentinck was elected.

(b) The Earl of Middlesex, who had been chosen at the general Election for *East-Grinstead*, but whose Seat was vacated by the Acceptance of a Place, was elected in his Room,

An. 15. Geo. II. a Knight of the Shire for *York* (a), in the Room of *Henry Lord Viscount Morpeth*, deceas'd: For a Knight of the Shire for *Hereford*, in the Room of *Edward Harley* (d), Esq; now Earl of *Oxford and Mortimer*: For a Burgess for *Whitchurch*, (e), in the Room of Mr *Wallop*, who made his Election for *Andover*: For a Burgess for *Thetford* (f), in the Room of Lord *Augustus Fitzroy*, deceas'd: For a Burgess for *Lynton* (g), in the Room of Lord *Nassau Paulet*, deceas'd: For Citizens for *Westminster* (h), in the Room of *William Lord Sundon* and Sir *Charles Wager*, whose Election for the said City had been declared void: For a Burgess for *Higham Ferrers* (i), in the Room of *Henry Finch*, Esq; who made his Election for *Malton*: For a Burgess for *Malton* (k), in the Room of Lord *James Cavendish*, deceas'd: For a Burgess for *Huntingdon* (l), in the Room of Mr *Hill*, who made his Election for *Warwick*: For a Burgess for *Spulby* (m), in the Room of Mr *Doddington*, who made his Election for *Bridgewater*: And for a Burgess for *Old Sarum* (n), in the Room of *George Lyttelton*, Esq; who made his Election for *Oakhampton*,

Insolvent Debtors
Petition.

A Petition of the Prisoners confined for Debt in his Majesty's Goal for the County of *Hereford*, and also in the Castle of *York*, were ordered to lie upon the Table.

Dec. 24. Ordered a new Writ for a Burgess for *Downton*, in the Room of the Rt. Hon. *John Verney*, Esq; (o) deceas'd.

Petitions for
Cricklade and
Winchelsea
withdrawn.

Charles Gore, Esq; who was returned in the double Return for *Cricklade*, withdrew his said Petition; as did also *Wellbore Ellis*, Esq; and the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to rase out the Name of *Charles Gore*, Esq; *Edmund Hungate Beagban*, and *Samuel Jeake*, Esqrs, also withdrew their Petitions for *Winchelsea*.

Mr *Batburst* presented to the House a Bill to explain and amend an Act of last Session, *For the Preservation of*

(c) The Candidates were *Cholmley Turner*, Esq; who poll'd 8005,
George Fox, Esq; 7049.

(d) *Thomas Foley*, Esq; was elected.

(e) *William Sloper*, Esq; was chosen in his Room.

(f) He was Captain of a Man of War in the West Indies, in Admiral *Vernon's* Squadron. Lord *Harry Beauclerk* was elected in his Place.

(g) *Charles Paulet*, Esq; was chosen.

(h) Lord *Percival* and *Charles Edwin*, Esq; were elected.

(i) *Henry Conway* Esq; was elected.

(k) *John Mostyn*, Esq; was elected.

(l) *Albert Nisbet*, Esq; was elected.

(m) Sir *Charles Wyndham*, Bar. was elected.

(n) *James Grenville*, Esq; was elected.

(o) He was Master of the Rolls. *Joseph Wyndham Ash*, Esq; [See p. 3.] was elected in his Place.

the publick Roads in England, which was read the first Time, An. 15, Geo. II. and ordered a second Reading, and also to be printed. Then the House adjourn'd to the 18th of January. 1741.

Jan. 18. Ordered a new Writ for a Burgess for *Tatnesh*, in the Room of Sir *Charles Wills* (p), deceased : Another for a Knight of the Shire for *Argyle*, in the Room of *Charles Campbell*, Esq; (q) deceased : For a Knight of the Shire for *Roxburgh*, in the Room of *John Rutherford* (r), Esq; made Captain of one of the Independent Companies : For a Burgess for *East-Grinstead*, in the Room of the Earl of *Middlesex* (s), who accepted the Office of Head Steward of his Majesty's Honour of *Oxford* in *Kent*.

New Writs ordered.

A Petition of the poor Prisoners for Debt in the Sheriff of *Cornwall's* Ward or Prison, in *Bodmyn*, was ordered to lie on the Table. Petition of the Debtors in *Bodmyn*.

Mr Comptroller (t) presented to the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty, a Copy of the Queen of *Hungary's* Letter to the King, 29th Dec. 1740, and of the King's Letter to the Queen of *Hungary*, 29th Jan. 1740-1, with several other Letters, Memorials, &c. with a List of the said Papers, which was ordered to lie on the Table, to be perused by the Members.

Letters, &c. presented.

Then it was ordered, That *William Myddleton*, Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *Denbigh* at the last Election, do attend the House on the 4th of Feb.

The same Day *Matthew Boucherett*, Esq; withdrew his Petition for *Grimby*. Petition for *Grimby* withdrawn.

Jan. 19. The Commons ordered a State of the Debt of his Majesty's Navy, as it stood at *Christmas* last ; Also an Account of the Number of Seamen in the Royal Navy, from *December* 31st, 1740, to *December* 31st, 1741 : An Account of what Arrears of Land-Taxes, and Arrears of Duties upon Houses were standing out at *Christmas* last, to be laid before the House. Accounts ordered.

Mr Secretary at War (u) presented to the House, pursuant to their Address, an Estimate of the Charge of Guards, Garrisons, and other Land Forces ; also of the Charge of a Regiment of Foot raised in *America*, for the Service in the *West Indies* ; and also an Estimate of the Charge of Ten Regiments of Marines for the Year 1742, all which were ordered to lie upon the Table. Estimates presented.

Vo L. XIII.

K

Order-

(p) Sir John Strange, Kt. Solicitor General was chosen.

(q) He was Captain of Marines, and died at Cuba. The Hon. Stewart M'Kenzie was chosen in his Place.

(r) William Douglas of Cavers, Esq; was chosen in his Room.

(s) John Butler, Esq; was elected.

(t) Sir Conyers Darcy, Knight of the Bath.

(u) Sir William Yonge.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Accounts order-
ed.

40,000 Seame n
voted for 1742.

Election for Ber-
wickshire deter-
min'd.

The Sheriff-De-
pute order'd in-
to Custody.

New Writs.

Estimates, Let-
ters, &c. pre-
sented.

Petition of Deb-
tors in York.

Petition from the
London Mer-
chants relating
to the Conduct
of the War with
Spain.

Ordered that an Account of what Ships of War have been in Commission from Jan. 1740, to 31st Dec. 1741: And also an Account of the Number of Ships of War, distinguishing their Rates, as they stood at Christmas, 1741, to be laid before the House.

Mr Francis Fane reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions: I. That 40,000 Men be employed for the Sea Service for the Year 1742. II. That 4 l. per Man, per Month, be allowed for maintaining the said 40,000 Men; which Resolutions were agreed to by the House.

Then the House proceeded to the hearing the Petitions of the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Esq; and Sir *John Sinclair*, Bar. severally complaining of an undue Election and double Return for the Shire of *Berwick*, when, after an Examination of several Hours, it was resolved, without a Division, that the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Esq; was duly elected and returned; and that *David Hume*, Sheriff-Depute for the said Shire, having accepted and returned to the Clerk of the Crown an Indenture of Return, not signed by the proper Clerk, had acted arbitrarily and illegally, in Defiance of the Laws of the Land, and in Breach of the Privilege of this House; And he was ordered into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Jan. 20. A new Writ was ordered for a Burgefs for *Tavistock*, in the Room of Lord *Sherard Manners* (a), deceased: Also for a Burgefs for *Tregony*, in the Room of *Thomas Watts* (b), Esq; deceased.

Sir *Charles Wager* (c) presented to the House the ordinary Estimate of the Navy for the Year 1742.

Mr Comptroller presented to the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty, several Letters, Memorials, &c. and other Papers, all which were ordered to lie upon the Table.

Mr *Rawlinson Earle* (d), presented to the House an Estimate of the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Land-Service for the Year 1742.

A Petition of the Prisoners for Debt in *Onze-Bridge Goal*, *York*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Then Sir *Robert Godschall* presented to the House, a Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, setting forth, ' That the Petitioners, with the utmost Concern, have found themselves under the Necessity of representing to

(a) Lord Limerick was elected in his Place.

(b) George Cooke, Esq; was chosen in his Room.

(c) First Commissioner of the Admiralty.

(d) Clerk of the Ordnance.

to the House, that the Navigation and Commerce of these Kingdoms have been continually exposed to the growing Insolence of the *Spanish* Privateers, from the Commencement of this just and necessary War; that during its whole Progress and Continuance, notwithstanding the repeated Applications of the suffering Merchants for Protection and Redress, their Losses and Misfortunes have considerably increased of late, to the impoverishing of many of his Majesty's Subjects, the great Detriment of Trade in general, the Diminution of his Majesty's Revenue, and the Dishonour of the Nation; that upwards of Three Hundred Ships and Vessels have been already taken, (the greatest Part of them in or near the *British* Channel and Soundings) and carried into *St Sebastian*, and other adjacent Ports; by which Numbers of his Majesty's most useful Subjects have been reduced to Want and Imprisonment, or compelled by inhuman Treatment, and despairing of a Cartel for the Exchange of Prisoners, have enlisted in the Service of *Spain*; that the Petitioners apprehend, that most of these Misfortunes might have been prevented, considering the Weakness of our Enemy at Sea; had a few of his Majesty's Ships of War been properly stationed, and the Commanders kept strictly to their Duty; a Neglect, which appears the more surprising, as there was a Precedent of an Act of Parliament in 1707, expressly made for those Purposes, intituled, *An Act for the better securing the Trade of this Kingdom, by Cruizers and Convoys*; that by Means of this Neglect, and the many valuable Prizes the *Spaniards* have made, they have been encouraged and enabled to fit out such Numbers of Privateers from *St Sebastian* and *Bilboa*, exclusive of other Ports, as to render the Navigation to and from these Kingdoms every Day more and more dangerous; and that the present great and unexpected Power of the Enemy in the *Mediterranean*, gives the Petitioners Reason to apprehend, that their Trade is become extremely precarious in those Parts; that there have been various Neglects and Delays in the Appointment and sending out of Convoys; and that out of those few which have been granted, some of the Commanders have paid so little Regard to the Ships under their Care, that they have deserted them at Sea, and left them as a Prey to the Enemy; and praying Leave further to represent, that the Navigation to and from several of his Majesty's Colonies has often been much exposed to the Enemy; and that many Ships have been taken in the *American* Seas by their Privateers, principally owing, as the Petitioners presume, to a Want of a sufficient Number of Ships, or a proper Care in some of his Majesty's Commanders, stationed in

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

those Parts ; that many Ships have been brought into Danger, by the arbitrary impressing of their ablest Hands out of the Homeward bound Ships before they had made the Land, or arrived to a Place of Safety, and out of the outward bound Ships in the Prosecution of their Voyages ; and praying Leave to assure the House, that they do not complain of such Captures as are the unavoidable Consequence of a War, but of such only as have been occasioned by a Want of due Care for the Protection of Trade, which has, during the whole War, labour'd under an apparent Neglect and Disregard ; nor shall they ever be induced, either by their past Misfortunes, or future Apprehensions, so far to forget their Duty to his Majesty and the Legislature, as once to repine or murmur at the present War with *Spain*, which his Majesty and these Kingdoms are so necessarily engaged in, and upon the vigorous Prosecution of which the Interest of the *British* Trade, and the Freedom of Navigation so evidently depend ; and praying the House to take the Premises into their Consideration, that such Provision may be made for the future Protection of the Trade and Navigation of these Kingdoms, as the House shall think fit, and that the Petitioners may be heard by themselves or Counsel thereupon.

Which is referred to a Committee, with other Petitions of the same Import.

Ordered, That the said Petition be referred to a Committee of the whole House ; and that the Petitioners be heard by themselves or Counsel on the 27th Instant : As were likewise the Petitions from the Merchants of *Bideford, Southampton, Liverpool, Lancaster, Bristol, Exeter, and Glasgow.*

Several Accounts order'd in Pursuance of the Merchants Petitions.

Then the Commons ordered an Account of his Majesty's Ships of War, employed since the first of *January*, 1740, as Cruisers for the Protection of the Trade of this Kingdom on this Side *Cape Finisterre*, with the Stations of such Ships, and how long ordered to continue thereupon, with the Times of their going to Sea, and their returning into Port : Also the Journals of the Commanders of such Ships of War : Likewise an Account of Ships of War built in any of his Majesty's Yards, or in private Yards for his Majesty's Service, since the 10th of *July* 1739, and of Ships purchased for his Majesty's Service, all since the 10th of *July*, 1739, distinguishing the Times when launch'd, purchased, when first put to Sea, and on what Services employed : Likewise an Account of the Ships of War appointed as Convoys to Foreign Parts, since the Commencement of the present War with *Spain*, distinguishing the Ships appointed, and their Services ; the Notices given to the Traders of their Time of sailing, and when they failed : And resolved to present an Address to his Majesty to give Directions to lay before the House

House a Copy of the Report of the Commissioners of the Admiralty to his Majesty in Council, on the Petition of the Merchants relating to their Losses during the War.

Ordered in a Bill *For taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts*; and that Sir John Rushout, and Sir John Hinde Cotton do prepare and bring in the same.

Bill for stating the Publick Accounts.

On the 21st the House resolved, that towards raising the Supply, the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry be continued from *June 23, 1742, to June 24, 1743*, and order'd in a Bill accordingly.

Malt-Tax voted for 1743.

Voted an Address to his Majesty for Copies of all Applications to his Majesty, or to either of the Secretaries of State, or to the Admiralty, since the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, for Cruizers or Convoys, together with what has been done thereupon respectively: Also for Copies of all Complaints made to his Majesty, his Secretaries of State, or Commissioners of the Admiralty, relating to the Commanders of Ships of War, for leaving the Trade under their Convoy, or the Station in which they were appointed to cruize, or for impressing of Seamen out of any outward-bound Ships after their leaving their Port of Clearance, or any homeward-bound Ships before they arrived at the Port of delivering of their Cargo, and for any other Misbehaviour or Injury done by them to the Navigation of this Kingdom, and what has been done thereupon respectively.

Copies of Applications, Petitions, Lists, Accounts, &c. relating to the War, order'd in.

Ordered a List of the Names of the Merchant Vessels, which the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships have given Instructions to, and have proceeded under their Convoy, distinguishing the Names of the Commanders, and of his Majesty's Ships, and the Voyages respectively, and whether they proceeded the whole Voyage, or only Part of the Voyage: Also of the Names of the Merchant Ships that have negligently delay'd the Convoys, from whom they had taken sailing Orders, or that abandoned the same, or have been disobedient to their Instructions: Likewise Copies of the Reasons given in Writing by such Commanders of his Majesty's Ships as have been appointed as Cruizers on this Side Cape *Finisterre*, for leaving their Station, or for coming in to Port, before the Time required by their Orders.

Then it was further resolved to address his Majesty for Copies of all Memorials, Petitions, or other Papers delivered or transmitted to either of the Secretaries of State, the Commissioners of the Admiralty, or the Commissioners for sick and wounded, relating to a Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners with *Spain*, or the Condition and Usage of such as have been taken Prisoners by the *Spaniards*, together with what has been done thereupon.

Ordered,

An. 15 Geo. II.
1741.

The Place-Bill
order'd in.

Ordered in a Bill For the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments; by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons; and that Mr Sandys, Sir Wathin Williams Wynne, Mr Charles Gholmondeley, and Mr Philips do prepare and bring in the same.

Then a Motion being made by Mr Pulteney, that the several Papers presented to the House on Monday and Yesterday by Mr Comptroller, be referred to a select Committee, and that they do examine the same, and report to the House what they find material therein: It occasioned a great Debate. Mr Pulteney introduc'd his Motion with the following Speech:

Mr Speaker,

Mr Pulteney's Motion for referring to a select Committee the several Papers laid before them relating to the Conduct of the War.

' I have always thought, that when Papers of State are called for by this House, as well as when such Papers are laid before us without being called for, it should be with some Sort of View or Design. We know very well, that when Treaties, Estimates or Accounts are laid before us without being called for, it is generally with a Design to demand a Sum of Money, or Vote of Credit; and such Demands have of late Years been usually complied with, I believe, by most Members of this House, without so much as looking at any one of the Papers or Estimates, which were laid before us as the Foundation of that Demand. This Practice, Sir, must be allowed to be a little extraordinary; but our late Practice, with regard to those Papers that are expressly called for, has been much more surprising; for after the Papers called for have been laid before us, they have been ordered to lie upon the Table, and there they have generally lain, without the least Examination, as if we had had no View in calling for them, but that of increasing the Bulk of our Votes by long Lists of Letters, Instructions and Memorials. Experience has shewn, that when such Papers are ordered to lie upon the Table for the Perusal of the Members, they are seldom perused with Attention by any, and when they are perused seperately and distinctly by a few particular Members, none of them have Authority enough to prevail with the House to enter into a strict Inquiry, or to take into Consideration the Errors, Mistakes or Blunders, they may from such Papers have discovered.

' For this Reason, Sir, and that the Nation may see we do not put the Administration to the Trouble and Expence of laying Piles of State Papers before us, without any View or Design, either for the Service or Satisfaction of the Publick, I think, when we call for any Papers of Importance, and they are accordingly laid before us, they ought of course to be referred to a select Committee, that they may examine

examine

examine them strictly, and report their Remarks, Observations, or Objections, to the House; for the Examination of such a Committee must always be more exact and full, and their Report will have more Weight, than the Examination or Report of any single Member, who peruses the Papers upon our Table, without any Direction or Authority from the House.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

When I argue in this Manner, Sir, I hope no Gentleman will think, that I am arguing against this or any other Administration; for a wise and just Administration will always be glad to have its Conduct inquired into in the most strict, regular, and authentick Method; and if the Administration be weak or wicked, it is then the Duty of Parliament to take that Method, which is the most regular, and the most proper for rescuing the Nation out of the Hands of such an Administration; therefore every Gentleman must, with me, suppose one of these two Things; Either, that the Doctrine I have advanced will be approved by those who have the Honour of being our present Ministers, or that their opposing it ought to be a prevailing Argument with every independent Member of this House for agreeing to it; and consequently, I must look upon it as an established Maxim, that all the Papers which are laid before this House, and deemed to be of great Importance, ought to be referred to the Consideration of a select Committee.

This, Sir, is a Maxim which will hold good at all Times, and in all Circumstances; but when the Nation finds itself involved in great Difficulties, when our Affairs both abroad and at home are apparently in great Distress, and when a general Suspicion prevails against the Conduct of our Administration; this Maxim ought not only to be approved, but in every Instance, without Hesitation, pursued; and that this is our Case at present, I shall endeavour to demonstrate. With regard to our Trade and Manufactures, they have been upon the Decay for several Years: Every Man is now sensible of this Decay, and every Man is now convinced, that it is owing to the Taxes we have upon the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life. By these Taxes the Subsistence of poor Labourers and Manufacturers is rendered more expensive in this than in any foreign Country, which of course renders it impossible for them to work so cheap, and this must necessarily make our Manufactures come dearer to foreign Markets than the Manufactures of any other Country. This has gradually diminished the Quantity of our Exports to all Parts of the World, except to our own Plantations, and must, at last,
put

An. 15. Feb. II.
1741.



put an entire Stop to our exporting any one Sort of Manufacture ; for other Nations will by Degrees fall into the Method of rivalling us in every Sort, and as fast as they do, our Export of that Sort of Manufacture must cease.

' We may talk, Sir, against the Exportation of our Wool, and busy ourselves in forming Schemes for preventing it ; but unless we can, by abolishing many of our Taxes, enable our Poor to work as cheap as the Poor in other Countries do, it will be impossible for us to prevent it, any other Way than by diminishing our Produce ; for if we can work up none of our Wool, but barely what is necessary for home Consumption ; and if a greater Quantity be produced than what is necessary for this Demand, the Surplus must be exported, or it must rot upon the Hands of the Owners, which would render it impossible for many of our Farmers to pay their Rents ; and this might, in a little Time, make the Cry as loud for the Exportation of our Wool, as it is now against it.

' The bad Effects of our Taxes, and the great Decrease in the Export of our Manufactures, were most sensibly felt, Sir, before the breaking out of our present War with *Spain* ; but they then began to be more sensibly felt than ever, because that War put an entire Stop to our Exportation of any Manufactures to *Spain*, and made it more dangerous to export them any where else, which of course enhanced the Price, and, consequently, diminished the Sale at every other foreign Market. This at once threw Numbers of our poor Labourers and Manufacturers out of their usual Way of subsisting, and brought them and their Families upon their respective Parishes, which has, in many Parishes, raised the Pools Rates to a Height never known before in this, nor, I believe, in any other Kingdom.

' This, Sir, is the present desperate State of our Trade, and God only knows when, or if ever we shall recover ; but this is far from being the only dire Effect of the long Continuance of our many heavy Taxes. Our People bore with Patience the Loads they groan under, as long as they had any Hopes of seeing our Debts paid off, and our Taxes abolished ; but they have now lost all Hopes, and this creates a general Uneasiness, which, if not speedily removed, must end in the Subversion of our Liberties, and, perhaps, the Overthrow of our present happy Establishment. If this unhappy State had been the necessary Consequence of a long and unavoidable War : If by the extraordinary Expence we have put ourselves to for twenty Years past, the Balance of Power in *Europe* had been settled upon a solid Foundation : If we had established such a Confidence among our Allies, and such a Respect at all the Courts of *Europe*, as to prevent any

any one of them from daring to insult or injure us, the People would have had some Consolation, and would still have had Reason to hope, that, at last, we might have been able to have paid off our Debts, and abolished most of our Taxes. But can this be said to be the Case? We have been engaged in no War: We have had no Occasion to put ourselves to any extraordinary Expence; for I will venture to say, that if we had not for these twenty Years past sent one Minister or Courier abroad, nor kept one marching Regiment on foot at home, the Balance of Power would have been more secure than it is at present, and we should have been more confided in by our Friends, and more dreaded by our Enemies, than we are at this Time, or have been at any Time within that Period.

‘ It is something surprising, Sir, but it is what the whole Nation is now convinced of, that every extraordinary Article of Expence we have put ourselves to for twenty Years past, every Negotiation we have entered into, and every Treaty we have concluded, has contributed to embroil more and more our Affairs, both at home and abroad, and to render the Balance of Power in *Europe* more precarious than it was before. By this Conduct, Sir, we at last found ourselves involved in an open War with *Spain*, and threatned and dictated to by *France*, without one Ally to assist us, and without one Fund for carrying on the War, except an additional *two Shillings* upon Land; for we can no more call the Sinking Fund a Fund for carrying on a War, than we can call the Funds appropriated to the Payment of the Interest growing due to our publick Creditors a Fund for that Purpose; because the Sinking Fund was so solemnly, as legally, and as authentically appropriated to the Payment of their Principal, as ever the other was to the Payment of their Interest.

‘ In these Circumstances we were, Sir, nay, I may say, in worse, when the late Emperor died; for *France*, by sending her Squadrons to the *West-Indies*, and the Manifesto she published upon that Occasion, had in some Measure openly declared against us; and considering what little Success we have had against *Spain* alone, what Success could we have expected against *France* and *Spain* united together against us? From this immediate Danger we were set free by the Accident of the Emperor’s Death; for *France* then foresaw she might have a better Game to play, and was therefore willing to keep fair with this Nation for a Time; but how were we set free, Sir, from this immediate Danger? Sir, by the Balance of Power’s being brought into the most imminent, and in all human Probability, the most unavoidable Danger; for, in my Opinion, nothing less than a Miracle

An. 15. Geo. II. ^{1741.} has hitherto prevented the utter Ruin of the House of *Austria*, considering the many Powers which *France* has found Means to unite against it, and the little Assistance it has received from those who were both in Honour and Interest obliged to support it. This, Sir, I say, has for a Time prevented our having *France* avowedly united with *Spain* in the present War against us. If the *Emperor* had lived, we should probably, before now, have been obliged to submit to such Terms of Peace with *Spain*, as *France* pleased to prescribe, or we should have been now standing single, and alone, against the joint Force of the two powerful Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*; for considering how we had deserted the *Emperor* in the Year 1733, he would probably have rejoiced at our Distress; considering how we have treated the King of *Prussia* for several Years past, he would certainly have refused to give us any Assistance; and the *Dutch* durst not have ventured to have joined us, without a powerful Confederacy in *Germany*. By good Conduct, and the Assistance of Providence, we might, perhaps, by ourselves, have been able to have supported such a War, especially if we had by our former Oeconomy paid off our Debts, and freed our publick Revenue from Mortgage. We might have carried it on with Glory, and ended it with Honour; but considering what a powerful Navy *France* might have fitted out, if she had no Way been obliged to divert her Strength by a Land War, and considering how we should have been obliged to divide our Naval Force, for the Protection of our Trade in every Part of the World, and for the Defence of our Dominions in the *Mediterranean*, and in *America*, as well as at home, it must be allowed, that such a War, supposing the best Conduct on our Side, would have been extremely heavy and dangerous; and if it had been left to the Management of those, who have hitherto managed with so little Success our War against *Spain* alone, we should certainly, before this Time, have been undone.

From hence we may see, Sir, that tho' the *Emperor's* Death, at the Time it happened, was unlucky for *Europe*, and may, at last, prove unlucky for this Nation, yet it suspended, or put off for a Time, the imminent Danger we were then exposed to; but are we now free from this Danger? Does not every Man of common Penetration foresee, that if *France* be allowed to settle the Affairs of *Germany* to her own Likeing, this Danger will recur upon us with redoubled Force? She may then dictate to most of the other States of *Europe*: She may compel those that formerly would have remained neuter, to join with *Spain* and her against us; and thus, unless we submit to whatever *France* shall please

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please to prescribe, we shall have not only *France*, but most of the States of *Europe*, united with *Spain* in a War against us. Such a War it would be impossible for us to support. We should then have no Alternative : We must submit ; and in such a Case, who can tell what Sort of Submission *France* might require ?

This, Sir, is a most disagreeable, a most melancholy Prospect, and it becomes the more so when we consider, that in the present distressed Condition of this Nation, and confused State of *Europe*, it is hardly possible to prevent the Danger, or to disperse the Cloud that hangs over us ; for unless we can break that Confederacy which *France* has, by our Blunders, found Means to form against the Queen of *Hungary*, I am afraid, it will be impossible for us to form any counter Confederacy ; and considering the present Load of Debt we groan under, and the general Uneasiness thereby occasioned, it will be impossible for us to afford such a powerful Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, as may enable her to make Head against such a mighty Confederacy. Thus, Sir, I hope, I have demonstrated, that at present we labour under great Difficulties, and that our Affairs are in the utmost Distress both abroad and at home. This of itself is sufficient for raising a general Suspicion against the Conduct of our Ministers. From the many expensive Negotiations we have of late Years carried on : From the many expensive and unprofitable Treaties we have concluded : From the vast Expence we have put ourselves to, for giving Weight to those Negotiations, or for enforcing the Observance of those Treaties, the People of this Nation expected, that the Liberties of *Europe* would have been by this Time secured, beyond a Possibility of being attacked, and the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom secured beyond a Possibility of being interrupted ; and, consequently, that from this Time we might have disbanded our Armies, laid up our Squadrons, dismissed our foreign Auxiliaries, and applied ourselves sincerely and effectually to the paying off our Debts, and abolishing our Taxes. This, I say, the People expected : This they had Reason to expect ; and now, when they find themselves disappointed in every one of these Particulars, they cannot but suspect, they do most generally, and most violently suspect, both the Wisdom and Integrity of those who, for so many Years, have had the Direction of our publick Affairs, and who have never been refused any Sum they thought necessary for securing the Success of their Measures.

‘ The Difficulties we labour under, the Distresses we are drove to, and the Danger to which the Liberties of *Europe*,
 1741. L 2 and

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

and, consequently, the Liberties of this Nation, now lie exposed, may be owing to Causes of a different Nature. They may be owing, Sir, to the Folly or Ambition of foreign Courts, or to Events that could not be foreseen or provided against: It may appear, that our Ministers have done all that human Wisdom could direct, for preventing these fatal Effects; but the present Face of Affairs, both at home and abroad, affords such a strong Presumption against them, that it is become the Duty of Parliament to make an Inquiry into their Conduct. If they are conscious of no Neglect, Weakness, or Crime, they will promote that Inquiry, they will assist us in every Step that is necessary for making that Inquiry satisfactory to the Nation. If they behave otherwise, it will add Strength to the Presumption against them, and consequently, ought to make us more zealous in performing our Duty to our Country.

‘ Thus, Sir, if at all Times, it ought to be look’d on as a Maxim, that all such Papers of Moment as are laid before this House, ought to be referred to a Select Committee, this Maxim ought, in our present Circumstances, to be most religiously observed, and therefore, I shall conclude with moving, ‘ That the several Papers presented to this House on *Monday* last, and, likewise, the several Papers presented to the House *Yesterday*, by Mr. Comptroller, be referred to a Select Committee; and that they do examine the same, and report to the House, what they find material in them.’

Mr H. Pelham.

This Motion being seconded, Mr. *Henry Pelham* stood up, and spoke as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

‘ If a Parliamentary Inquiry into our past Conduct could be carried on without any Interruption or Prejudice to our future, no Man should be more ready than I to agree to it: No Man should be more zealous in promoting it; because I am convinced, it would terminate in a full Justification of those lately concerned in our Administration, against all the Aspersions and Calumnies that have been cast upon their Conduct. But a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of Ministers always has been, and always must be attended with great Warmth; for the most innocent Minister will always have a Party in Parliament zealous to condemn, and the most guilty will generally have a Party zealous to acquit. This of course raises a Warmth within Doors, and this Warmth within Doors will always occasion Heats and Animosities without, which may rise to such a Height as to break out in a Civil War. Of this we had such a late Instance, that it can escape the Notice of no Gentleman in this House. I believe, few Gentlemen will now pretend to justify the Con-
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duct of those, who were our Ministers during the last four Years of Queen Anne: I believe, most Gentlemen are now convinced, they were guilty of very high Crimes and Misdemeanors; and yet, we all know, a Parliamentary Inquiry into their Conduct, was the Occasion of a Civil War in the Kingdom, which might have been fatal to us, if we had at that Time been engaged in a foreign War, or if Europe had been in such a Situation as it is in at present.

I had then, Sir, the Honour to be a Member of this House, and I was zealous for the Inquiry then set on Foot, because I thought the Ministers guilty, and because I thought we had then an Opportunity to inquire into their Conduct, without exposing the Nation to any foreign Danger. But for as much as I was convinced of the Misconduct of those Ministers, if the Nation had been at that Time involved in a dangerous foreign War, or if the Liberties of Europe had been as much in Danger as they are at present, I should have been for suspending our Resentment against the Guilty, till we had fully provided for the Safety of the Innocent; and the Event shewed, that this Sort of Conduct would have been the most prudent.

This ought always, in my Opinion, to be a Rule for our Conduct, even when we are convinced that Ministers are criminal, or have been guilty of some Piece of Misconduct: How much more ought it to be a Rule for our Conduct, when we are convinced of their Innocence, or have but a bare Suspicion of their Guilt. When a Parliamentary Inquiry is set up, Innocence may be a Safeguard, but it is far from being a Safeguard in which a Minister can securely and quietly put his Trust. He must not sit with his Arms across, and trust to the Honesty of his Prosecutors and Impartiality of his Judges. He must be watchful that no false Evidence shall be brought or given against him, and diligent and expeditious in detecting and exposing it when it is. He must take Care to make his Innocence appear in every Instance where it is attacked, and for this Purpose he may very probably be obliged to discover Secrets which may be of great Prejudice to the Nation. At the same Time, he must in every Step be watchful, lest any Point should be carried against him by a factious Cabal, and for this Purpose he must diligently and earnestly solicit the Attendance of all his Friends. These Considerations, Sir, must shew, that during such an Inquiry, no Administration can have Leisure to mind the publick Business as they ought; and besides, the Necessity Ministers are in such Cases reduced to, of divulging the Secrets of Government, in order to justify their Conduct, may be of infinite and irreparable Prejudice to the Publick;

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Publick; therefore, I think, we ought to lay it down as a Rule for our Conduct, never to consent to a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of an Administration, unless we be convinced, that some of those concerned have been guilty of very great Crimes or Misdemeanors.

A common Rumour, or a bare Suspicion, however general, can be no sufficient Ground for setting up such an Inquiry; because such Rumours and Suspicions are spread against the best, as well as against the worst Ministers. Nay, a good Minister is more liable than a bad one to such Rumours and Suspicions. If he be frugal of the publick Treasure, and cautious in granting publick Favours: If he prefers meritorious Modesty to clamorous Impudence, he must raise to himself a great Number of Enemies; for every Man who is refused any Suit, however justly, becomes a secret or declared Enemy to the Minister, and of course endeavours to propagate Calumnies against him; and the Misfortune is, that the most Impudent and Clamorous are generally most listened to by the unthinking Part of Mankind. Tho' this be by far the most numerous Part of Mankind, yet, I hope, there are none of them in this House, and therefore, whatever Rumours or Suspicions may be spread without Doors, I hope, they will not be listened to here, unless they appear to be founded upon indisputable Facts, or very strong Presumptions.

As to Facts, Sir, notwithstanding the many Rumours that are spread without Doors, I have never yet heard a Proof offered of any one criminal Fact against those concerned in our Administration; and as to the Presumptions that have been suggested, I do not think there is the least Foundation for any one of them. That this Nation labours under great Difficulties, and that the present Posture of Affairs, both at Home or Abroad, is far from being agreeable, I shall readily grant; but to every one who, with Candour, examines the History of this Nation, and of *Europe*, for Twenty Years past, it must appear evident, that neither of these Misfortunes can justly be imputed to any Design or Misconduct in our Ministers. Our Debts were all contracted long before the present Administration had a Being. At least, if any new Debt has been contracted, a much greater old one has been paid off; for when our present Ministers first came into Power, the National Debt was larger than it is at present, and what was worse, our publick Credit, by an ill managed Project, was almost entirely sunk. They, by their Wisdom and good Management, soon restored the publick Credit of the Nation, and they have since paid off

as much of the publick Debt as it was possible, without An. 15. Geo. II.
loading the People with some new or additional Taxes. 1741.

If we had kept up no Army; if we had kept up no Navy; if we had been put to no Expence by the ambitious Projects of foreign Princes, I shall admir, Sir, that a much larger Share of our publick Debt might have been paid off, and, perhaps, many of our heavy Taxes abolished. But will any one say, that at any Time for this Twenty Years past, it would have been prudent or safe to disband our Army? Will any one say, that we ought to have left our Navy to rot and fall to decay? Will any one say, now that we so sensibly feel a Want of Seamen, that we ought not always to keep a large Number of Seamen in Pay? Will any one say, that when we were threaten'd with an Attack, we ought not to have provided for our Defence? By so doing, Sir, we have always prevented the Attack, and thereby preserved our domestick Tranquility for these Twenty Years past; and surely it will be allowed, that it is both safer and cheaper to prevent than to repel an Invasion.

Therefore, Sir, if a greater Share of our publick Debt has not been paid off; if none of our heavy Taxes have been abolished, it is not owing to any Mismanagement in our Ministers, but to the publick Necessities, which annually required a larger Expence than had been foreseen. If our Ministers had taken upon them to be sole Judges of those Necessities, there might have been some Pretence for finding Fault with their Conduct; but they have regularly laid these Necessities before the Parliament, and have never put the Nation to one Shilling Expence, but what has been previously authorised, or afterwards approved of by a Majority in both Houses; therefore an Inquiry into their Conduct upon this Head, may properly be called an Inquiry into the Conduct of Parliament, and if you should give Sentence against the former, it will be a Condemnation of the latter, which, with Regard to the Respect due to Parliament, may have a very bad Effect upon all Degrees of Men in this Kingdom.

Now, Sir, with regard to the present Posture of Affairs at Home and Abroad, I shall grant, it is a Misfortune to this Nation to be involv'd in a War with *Spain*: I shall grant it is a Misfortune to *Europe*, to have so many of its Princes united for destroying that Balance of Power upon which their own Independency, at least the Independency of all of them but one, most absolutely depends. But can either of these Misfortunes be imputed to any Misconduct in our Ministers? Our being involv'd in a War with *Spain*, is owing to nothing but the Pride, Haughtiness, and Obstinacy of that Nation. Did our Ministers advise his Majesty to
declare

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

declare War against *Spain* without a Cause? Did they precipitate the Nation into that War, without having first tried every Method for obtaining Satisfaction by peaceable Means? We all know that their Backwardness in commencing Hostilities was exclaimed against by many in this Nation, and even by those who now endeavour to load them with the Misfortune of our being involv'd in War. Thus, Sir, if Ministers pursue pacifick Measures, their Conduct is found Fault with, and if they pursue warlike Measures their Conduct is found Fault with; if they provide for our Defence at Home, and thereby prevent an Attack, their Conduct is found Fault with, on Account of the Expence; and if, by their neglecting to provide for our Defence, the Nation should be invaded, their Conduct would certainly, and, I am sure, with more Reason, be found Fault with. This, Sir, makes me think, it is not so much their Conduct, as their continuing to be our Ministers, that is the real Ground of Complaint; and this will be a Ground of Complaint against all future, as well as against our present Ministers; for no Man that serves the Crown will give up his Employment, as long as the King inclines he should keep it, and desires nothing of him, inconsistent with his Honour, or the Good of his Country, which, it is well known, his present Majesty will never desire of any Man that serves him; and this, perhaps, makes Gentlemen so fond of getting into Employment, but it is, in my Opinion, an ungrateful Return in Gentlemen, to endeavour to distress his Majesty's Affairs, in order to force themselves into his Service.

Thus, Sir, I think, it must appear, that no one who has the Honour of having a Share in his Majesty's Councils, can be blamed for the Misfortune of our being involved in a War with *Spain*, and as little can they be blamed for the present unhappy State of Affairs in *Europe*, which is entirely owing to one of these two Causes: Either to a fatal, I may say frantick Ambition in some of the Princes of *Germany*, who, rather than not extend their Dominions, seem resolved to render themselves dependent upon the Crown of *France*; or it is owing to an unaccountable Obstinacy in the Court of *Vienna*, who, rather than do Justice to their neighbouring Princes in *Germany*, seem resolved to bring themselves, and the whole *German* Empire, into a Sort of Subjection to his Most Christian Majesty. Which of these two Causes the present Misfortune of *Europe* is owing to, I shall not pretend to determine; but let it be which it will, our Ministers cannot be blamed. It was not, it cannot be supposed to have been in their Power to govern the Ambition of the Princes of *Germany*, or to overcome the Obstinacy of the Court of *Vienna*.

* I hope, I have now shewn, Sir, that neither the Difficulties we labour under, nor the present dangerous Situation of Affairs, can afford any Presumption of Misconduct in those, who for some Time past, have had the Honour of being in his Majesty's Councils; and as no particular Crime has yet been charged against them, nor the least Proof offered of any Fact, if there are any Suspicions without Doors, those Suspicions can have no solid Foundation, and ought not therefore to have such Weight within Doors, as to lead us into a Parliamentary Inquiry, which is always troublesome, and, at this Juncture, would be extremely dangerous. If this Nation be in Distress, if the Affairs of *Europe* be in Distress, as they certainly are, it should be an Argument with us to avoid all personal Altercations and Animosities, and to unite heartily among ourselves, both in Council and Action, for retrieving Affairs both abroad and at home. The Case of this Nation, the Case of *Europe*, is not yet, thank God! so desperate, but that both may be restored, if proper Remedies be speedily applied. Our publick Credit is yet in a flourishing Condition: We may yet raise large Sums for the Support of a necessary War; and if the Tranquility of *Europe* be restored, and established upon a solid Foundation, we may soon pay off old Arrears, as well as what we may be obliged to contract for that salutary Purpose. The Confederacy formed against the Queen of *Hungary* is so unnatural, that it must of itself be dissolved, unless the Princes of *Germany* be kept firm to *France*, by seeing it impossible or dangerous to break from her. This may be prevented, if we immediately unite amongst ourselves, and interpose with the whole Strength of the *British* Nation; but if, like ignorant and contentious Physicians, we sit accusing one another of Malpractice, the Patient may expire in the Interim.'

' I must, therefore, conjure Gentlemen to give over all personal Animosities, and think of nothing but giving his Majesty that Advice, and those Aids, which may be thought proper and necessary for providing against the Calamity that threatens us. If any Thing has been done amiss, we may soon find a proper Time for inquiring into it, but the present is far from being so; and if no immediate Inquiry be designed, we have no Occasion for referring any Papers to the Consideration of a Select Committee; for I cannot agree with my honourable Friend in thinking, that every important Paper, or Parcel of Papers, that are, or may be laid before the House, should be referred to a Select Committee. If this were laid down as a Rule for our Conduct, we should have Time to do nothing, but to hear and consider the Reports from such Committees. It would therefore be impossible to ob-

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

serve the Rule, and it has never been the Practice. When Gentlemens Curiosity prompts them to desire a Sight of any Papers of State, they move for having them laid before the House, and their Motion is always complied with, when consistent with the publick Safety. When the Papers thus called for are laid upon the Table, they examine them: If they find nothing material, their whole Design is answered; but if they find any Thing they think worth the Notice of the House, they acquaint the House with what they have observed, and if a Majority be of the same Opinion, the House either enters into the immediate Consideration thereof, which they may easily do, because the Papers are upon the Table; or refer the Whole to the Consideration of a Committee, perhaps a Select Committee.

' This, Sir, is the usual Method of proceeding in such Cases, and as no Observations have been made upon any of the Papers referred to in this Motion, nor any one Fact mentioned from them for inducing us to take any of them into our Consideration, I must suppose, that those Gentlemen who have perused them, for I confess I have not, have found nothing in them, they think worth the Notice of the House; and if they have not, I can see no Reason why we should give any Committee the Trouble to peruse and examine them.'

' But, besides seeing no Reason for referring these Papers to a Select Committee, there are, I think, strong Reasons against it. If this Motion should be complied with, it will immediately spread an Opinion abroad, that instead of taking proper Measures for the Time to come, we are going to enter upon an Inquiry into past Measures; this will certainly raise Divisions amongst us, and may produce a Civil War in the Kingdom, or, at least a Breach between his Majesty and his Parliament, which will of course disable us from giving our Friends abroad any Assistance, or interposing any Manner of Way in the Affairs of *Europe*; and the Consequence of such an Opinion's being spread abroad, may be most fatal. The Princes now united in an Alliance with *France*, will then see it impossible to break off from that Alliance: The other Princes and States of *Europe* will see it impossible to form any Confederacy, capable of giving a Check to the Designs of *France*: The Queen of *Hungary*, despairing of any Relief or Assistance, will immediately submit to such Terms as *France* shall please to prescribe; and the Court of *France*, being free from the Fear of Controul, will set no Bounds to their Ambition. Suppose their present chief Minister should be moderate in his Views; suppose he has no other Intention than to reduce the Power of the House of *Austria*, with-

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out adding to the Power of the House of *Bourbon*, yet in such a Case, it would be impossible for him to stem the Torrent of *French* Ambition, or to govern a Court where that Passion has always so much prevailed.

AN. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

' The spreading such an Opinion abroad is, therefore, Sir, what we ought most carefully to prevent; but if this Motion should be agreed to, it would be impossible to prevent a most strict Inquiry, and a most violent Prosecution's being set on Foot. There are many Gentlemen, I hope, both within Doors and without, of a moderate Disposition, and such as have a greater Regard for the Safety of the Publick, than for any personal Resentment. Those Gentlemen may, as yet, be able to govern and moderate the Temper of the Nation, or, at least of this House; but if a Select Committee were once named, I am afraid, it would be out of their Power. That Committee would think it incumbent upon them to do something: The Papers now proposed to be referred to them would give them an Inclination to see others, and those again would make them think it necessary to see more, till they had got all the State Papers, even the most secret before them; and in order to succeed in all their Motions for this Purpose, and to have their Report approved of, they would endeavour to raise, and would probably succeed in raising a most violent and revengeful Spirit, both without Doors and within, which might fall heavy upon some innocent Men, as well as upon the Guilty. The former, his Majesty would certainly, from his known Justice and Resolution, endeavour to protect, and what might be the Consequence of such a Contest God only knows.'

' Thus, Sir, as I can see no Reason for this Motion: As, I think, it would be attended with the most dangerous, the most fatal Consequences, I must therefore be against it, and hope the honourable Gentlemen will not insist upon their Motion; for even their insisting upon it may have a very bad Effect upon his Majesty's Negotiations abroad.'

The Hon. *Alexander Hume Campbell* spoke next.

Mr Alex. Hume
Campbell,

Sir,

' The honourable Gentleman who spoke last, has made me consider the Motion now before you with great Attention, and that the House may do the same, I desire, it may be again read by the Clerk at your Table.'

The Motion being read, he went on thus.

' I cannot conceive, Sir, how the honourable Gentleman could from this Motion take Occasion to talk of Inquiries or personal Piques and Resentments. Is there any Word, is there any Expression in the Motion, that seems to insinuate, as if an Inquiry were intended, or that can be thought

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

to carry any personal Resentment? If an Hon. Gentleman near him had talk'd so upon this Question, I should not have been surpris'd, because, I believe, there is nothing he dreads so much; and when one's Mind is strongly possess'd with the Fear of any thing, the Imagination often presents the Phantom when there is no real Appearance; but as I am convinc'd, the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last can dread no Inquiry, with respect to himself at least, I am amazed how this Question came to present to his View the Phantom of an Inquiry.*

* Sir, there is nothing more in this Question, nor, I believe, any thing more intended by it, than a proper Examination of those Papers, which were certainly call'd for with the Design of having them properly examined; and as they cannot be properly examined without referring them to a Select Committee, I hope to shew such Reasons for our complying with the Motion, as cannot be suppos'd to proceed from any personal Resentment, but I must beg Leave to say a Word or two about Inquiries in general, which the Hon. Gentleman has represented in so hideous a Light. He has told us, Sir, that Parliamentary Inquiries always raise Divisions, Heats, and Animosities, and have sometimes rais'd a Civil War in the Kingdom. On the contrary, I will venture to affirm, from the whole Tenor of our History, that the Preventing or Opposing of a Parliamentary Inquiry has always had that Effect; and that the giving Way to a Parliamentary Inquiry, when the Majority of the Nation call'd for it, never rais'd any. The Rebellion at the Beginning of the late Reign, was not occasioned by the Parliamentary Inquiry then set on Foot, but by a *Jacobite* Spirit which at that Time but too universally prevail'd in the Nation. Whatever Transgressions the former Ministers had been guilty of, they had found Means to set themselves at the Head of a very numerous and powerful Party in the Nation, who were attached to them, not by Bribery and Corruption, or any selfish View, but from a real, tho' very wrong Principle. That Party wanted nothing but a Head for flying to Arms, and the Inquiry, indeed, furnish'd them with what they wanted. But is this the Case at present? Can it be said, that our present Ministers have any Party attached to them from Principle? They have no Party but such as are attached to them from Motives of Self-Interest, and as soon as you take from them the Distribution of the Loaves and Fishes, their Followers will desert them of course.

* We have therefore, Sir, nothing to fear from setting up a Parliamentary Inquiry, but a great deal from our neglecting it. The whole Nation, at least all those who dare speak their

their Minds, call loudly for it, and if it should be prevented, An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.
or defeated by a Court Majority in Parliament, it will raise a general Disaffection to our Government. Will our Friends abroad put any Trust or Confidence in such a Government ?

Can our Enemies dread any Thing from such a Government ? Sir, it is well known, both abroad and at home, that an unpopular Government in this Kingdom never did, nor, I hope, ever can act with Vigour or Spirit. I say, I hope, it never can ; for this must be the Case as long as there is the least Relick of Liberty amongst us. All those fatal Consequences therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to prognosticate from our entering upon an Inquiry into our late Conduct, may more naturally, and more reasonably be prognosticated, nay, must necessarily ensue, from our not giving the Nation the Satisfaction they expected from this new Parliament. Our Friends abroad will despair : Our Enemies will rejoice. For this Reason, Sir, so far as I can judge at present, I shall give my Vote for an Inquiry as soon as it shall be proposed ; and I shall be for carrying it through with all possible Strictness, without any personal Prejudice. I have no Resentment against any but those who are suspected of being the Enemies and Betrayers of their Country, and against such I shall always have a Resentment, till I see them cleared by an honest and fair Inquiry.

‘ But I beg Pardon, Sir, for taking up so much of your Time upon this Subject ; for the present Question is not about an Inquiry, it has nothing to do in the Debate ; much less with Admonitions against personal Piques and Animosities ; for from what is now proposed, no Man can fear a personal Attack, unless he be conscious, that from these Papers something criminal in his Conduct may be discovered ; and I hope no Member of this House will refuse doing his Duty towards his Sovereign, for fear some Crime should thereby be discovered in any Minister. I say, doing his Duty towards his Sovereign, Sir, for whether we shall do so or no, is the Question, and the only Question now before us. His Majesty, in his most gracious Speech from the Throne, has expressly required our Counsel and Assistance ; Can we give him either without first knowing how ? Can we know how, without first examining into the present State of Affairs both abroad and at home ? Would not a Physician be a Madman, to prescribe to a Patient, without first examining into the State of his Distemper, the Causes from which it arose, and the Remedies that had before been applied ? This is our Case at present. His Majesty has desired our Counsel : If he had not, we are bound to give it, considering the present melancholy State of Affairs ; and for this Purpose we ought to examine into it as narrowly as we can. ‘ I

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

I have not Sir, perused many of the Papers mentioned in this Motion: Neither shall I, unless this Motion be agreed to; for who would peruse such Piles of Papers, without an Expectation at least, that his Perusal might probably be attended with some good Effect. But from the very Titles of them, I can see, that it is absolutely necessary to have all these Papers, at least, narrowly look'd into, before we can know any Thing about the political Distemper which at present threaten the Liberties of this Nation, as well as the Liberties of *Europe*, with an immediate Dissolution. We are by Treaty obliged to assist the Queen of *Hungary* against the *French* and *Bavarians*, because they directly attack the *Pragmatick Sanction*; but we are not obliged by Treaty to assist her against the King of *Prussia*, because he asserts only what he pretends to be the antient Rights of his House. We are therefore both in Honour and Justice obliged to inquire into the Foundation of this Dispute; for if *Prussia's* Claim be just, and the Queen of *Hungary* obstinately refuses to do him Justice, it will free us from the Engagement we are under, of assisting her against the *French* and *Bavarians*; because, tho' we have guarantied the *Pragmatick Sanction*, yet if she by her Obstinacy makes it more difficult and dangerous for us to perform that Guaranty, than it would have been otherwise, it frees us both in Equity and Honour from that Engagement.

This, Sir, must shew how absolutely necessary it is for us to examine strictly into the Contents of the Letters, Memorials, and Papers presented to us, before we can give any Advice to his Majesty, with regard to the present State of Affairs in *Europe*; and particularly, Sir, I must mention the Treaty between his Majesty and the Queen of *Hungary*, dated at *Hanover*, June 13, 1741. Surely this Treaty, with every Paper, previous and consequent, relating to it, ought to be examined in the strictest Manner, before we can judge how Matters stands between us and the Queen of *Hungary*.

Then, Sir, with regard to our War with *Spain*, as there have been many Disputes between *France* and us, on Account of that War, and as its Continuance very much depends upon the impartial as well as neutral Behaviour of the *French*, we ought certainly to examine carefully the Papers, before we offer any Advice to his Majesty, relating to the future Conduct of the War. The Case may stand between the King of *Prussia* and Queen of *Hungary*, so as to free us from any Obligation to assist her; but if it should appear, that the *French* have assisted the *Spaniards* as much as they could in an underhand Manner, we may from thence judge,

judge, that they will declare openly against us, as soon as they have settled the Affairs of *Germany* to their Mind. This should make us, without any other Consideration, resolve to assist the Queen of *Hungary* in the most strenuous Manner, let the Consequence be what it will. Nay, I don't know, but that it should make us immediately declare War against *France*; for it would be better to declare against her, whilst she is engaged in War with the Queen of *Hungary*, than to wait for her declaring against us, after she has reduced the Queen of *Hungary* to her own Terms.

These Arguments, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman cannot say proceed from any personal Resentment. It is not possible for any one to suppose, that a Parliamentary Prosecution would be the Consequence of this Motion, without first supposing, that our Ministers have been guilty of some criminal Sort of Conduct; and this is a Supposition which I shall not make, lest the Hon. Gentleman should say, it proceeds from particular Prejudice: Surely the Parliament may offer Advice, and take the proper Methods for being able to do so, without setting up an Inquiry. None of the Arguments he has made use of against an Inquiry can, therefore, operate in the least against this Motion, which tends merely to enable us to perform, as we ought, that Duty his Majesty has required of us; and the sooner we set about the Performance of that Duty, it will be the better both for ourselves and our Friends. The publick Affairs of this Nation have for many Years past, been solely directed by his Majesty's inferior Councils, for his great and supreme Council has never once offered any Advice, but such as was dictated by the Minister: Both the Affairs of this Nation, and the Affairs of *Europe*, are at last brought into the utmost Distress: Whether the Advice his Majesty has received from his inferior Councils has any Way contributed to this Distress, I shall not pretend to determine; but it is certain, their Advice has not prevented it, nor have they applied so much as one Remedy, tho' the Distress has been apparent for above this Twelvemonth. It is therefore high Time for his Majesty's great Council to interpose with its Advice. From such an Interposition our Friends will conceive Hopes, our Enemies Apprehensions.

This, Sir, makes me extremely solicitous about the Success of this Motion; because the Fate of *Europe*, as well as of this Nation, in a great Measure, depends upon it. If this Motion be agreed to, I shall expect to see the Queen of *Hungary* continue to resist the Torrent of Enemies that have broke in upon her, with that surprising Firmness of Mind she has hitherto manifested: If this Motion should be rejected, especially

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

ally if by a great Majority; I fear, it may have a most mischievous Effect upon her Councils, by making them despair, and consequently submit; I shall therefore heartily give my Affirmative to the Question.

Mr Winnington. Hereupon Mr *Winnington* * spoke to the following Effect:

Mr Speaker, Whatever Gentlemen may pretend, it is evident, that the Motion now under our Consideration, must produce an Inquiry, and a very general one too. You are desired to appoint a Select Committee, and, I suppose, the next Motion will be to make it a Secret one; to do what? To examine the several Papers mentioned in the Motion, and to report what they may think material in them. Is not this a Motion for an Enquiry into the Affairs which those Papers relate to? It is certainly therefore a Motion for a particular Inquiry. But can any one imagine the Inquiry will cease there? An Inquiry into those Affairs will naturally, and even necessarily, produce an Inquiry into other Affairs, and those again into others; so that the Inquiry will, at last, become general, and may extend itself farther back than most People now dream of; for there is such a Concatenation between State Affairs, domestick and foreign, precedent and subsequent, that it is impossible to judge of one without a thorough Insight into all the rest, till you arrive at a certain Crisis, when the whole Affairs of the Nation began to take a new Turn, which probably will be as far back as the Accession of his late Majesty to the Throne.

* Whether we can find Twenty-one Persons in this House, fit to be intrusted with all the Secrets of our Government, is what I very much question, but this I am sure of, that when a Secret Committee is once named, and invested with the usual Powers, no one can tell how far they will go. The Mind of Man is naturally curious, and fond of diving into Secrets, especially when they think they may thereby raise their Character, pursue their Interest, or gratify their Resentment. We may therefore suppose, that this Secret Committee will extend their Inquiries as far as possible, and that in every Report they make, they will refer it to some Affair not yet inquired into. This will give them a Pretence for desiring an Extension of Power, and as the Majority of the House will probably be as curious as they, their Desire will be readily granted. Thus the House, instead of putting a Stop to their Progress, will probably encourage it, and his Majesty can put an End to it no other Way than by a Dissolution or Prorogation, either of

* Cofferer of his Majesty's Household.

of which would throw all Things into Confusion. From An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

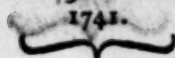
whence we may see, that our agreeing to this Motion must necessarily terminate in a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, for God knows how many Years past; and this, besides discovering all the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies, would certainly raise great Animosities and Heart-burnings amongst us, which at a Time when we are in open War with *Spain*, and when the Liberties of *Europe* stand so much in need of our Assistance, might be attended with Consequences which I tremble to think of.

‘ A Civil War, Sir, is in itself a most terrible Evil, but considering the present Circumstances of Things, that would be one of the least Evils we should have to fear; for while we were engaged in cutting one another’s Throats, the Liberties of *Europe* would be undone, and the Nation itself would fall a Prey to its most antient and most inveterate Enemy. That an Inquiry into the past Conduct of our publick Affairs would have such a Tendency, has, I think, been confessed by those who have spoke in Favour of this Motion. It has been allowed, that the Inquiry at the Beginning of the late King’s Reign, furnished a Head for the disaffected Party; and that this was the Cause of the Rebellion must likewise be allowed, for without a Head, the Disaffected, or if you please, the Party attached to the former Administration, could never have had Recourse to Arms. How are we sure, that an Inquiry at this Time may not produce the same Effect? It is *gratis dictum* to say, that no Man is attached to our present Administration but from Motives of Self Interest: I might as well say, that none but Jacobites and Republicans are against it.

‘ All those who approve of our publick Measures, and are convinced that nothing has been done amiss, must be attached to the Government from a Principle of Justice, and would, nay ought to stand up against their being unjustly condemned by a prevailing Faction in Parliament; we are not therefore to suppose, that our present Ministers would be deserted by all their Friends, upon a Censure’s being unjustly passed against them in Parliament. And as Secret Committees generally pique themselves upon finding Fault, and upon getting their Opinion approved of by a Majority, such a Censure would probably be the Consequence of an Inquiry, which might put the Friends of our Ministers upon defending them by Arms, since they found they could not defend them by a Majority of Voices in Parliament.

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.



• To this I must add, Sir, the Danger of his Majesty's being prevailed on to think, that the Prosecution of his Ministers proceeded from a Jacobite or Republican Spirit in Parliament, and that tho' the Attack was first made upon his Ministers, it was principally designed against himself, or against the most essential Prerogatives of his Crown. This Belief his Majesty may the more easily be brought into, from the Example of the Parliament of the Year 1640. That Parliament, or at least the principal Leaders of it, had certainly, from the very Beginning, a Design against the Crown itself, but they covered their Design under the Cloak of a Desire to punish guilty Ministers, and a Zeal for that very Constitution which they intended to destroy. They attack'd the King's Ministers, and those Ministers, perhaps, deserved the Attack, but the Consequence shewed, that their chief Design was against the Crown. In this, it is now certain, they were encouraged by the Court of *France*, and some of them, perhaps, were bribed by *French Gold*. May not the same Thing happen again? May not the Majority of this House be influenced by a Jacobite or Republican Spirit, supported by *French Promises* and *French Gold*? If this should happen to be the Case, his Majesty would be obliged to defend himself and his Ministers by Force of Arms; and suppose this were not really the Case, yet if his Majesty supposed it were, the Effect would be the same.

• We should therefore, Sir, be extremely cautious of going upon an Inquiry into the Conduct of Ministers, unless we have some very strong Proofs of their being guilty, and such as may give our Sovereign Reason to think they are so. Such Proofs are necessary not only in Justice to our Ministers, who ought not to be subjected to the Trouble and Danger of a Trial, without any Sort of Proof, but also in respect to our Sovereign, and in order to prevent his having any Suspicion, that the Inquiry proceeds from Disaffection to him, or from a concealed Design against his Crown and Dignity. Such a Caution is necessary at all Times, but especially at present, on Account of the Circumstances of our Affairs, both domestick and foreign. With regard to our domestick Affairs, it is well known, that there is still a very strong Spirit of Jacobitism in the Country, and therefore, when a Spirit of Inquiry prevails in Parliament, the King has Reason to believe it proceeds from a Spirit of Jacobitism, unless by the Proofs upon which that Inquiry is founded, he should be convinced, that there are very good Reasons to suspect his Ministers having been guilty of Misconduct. Then with regard to the Circumstances of our Affairs abroad, we are in open War with *Spain*, and upon very bad Terms with

France,

France, because of her Apprehensions lest we should defeat her ambitious Designs in *Europe*, by giving effectual Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*. A Dissension between his Majesty and his Parliament would prevent our being able to prosecute the War against *Spain* with Vigour, or to give any Disturbance to the Projects of *France*: It is therefore the Interest of both, to raise, if possible, such a Dissension; and for that Purpose to procure an Attack upon the best Ministers of the Crown. This his Majesty has, at this Time especially, great Reason to be jealous of; and if he should see any of his Ministers attacked in Parliament without Proof, without so much as an Allegation of any particular criminal Fact, would not he have great Reason to conclude, that the Attack proceeded from *French* and *Spanish* Gold, and that according to the old Maxim, *Principiis obsta*, he was obliged, both for his own Safety, and the Safety of his Kingdoms, to stifle it in its Infancy.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

But the Inquiry now proposed is not, it seems, with a Design to attack any of his Majesty's Ministers, or to discover any Crimes or Oversights in their Conduct, but merely to enable us to give his Majesty our Counsel and Advice upon the present Posture of Affairs. Sir, if the Advocates for this Motion have such a Knowledge of our ancient Constitution as they pretend, they must know, that to counsel or advise is the proper Business of the other House: Our Business is to consent: Our very Writs shew, that this is our proper Province; and therefore, I think, we ought not to be forward in offering our Advice, except when it is particularly and expressly ask'd by his Majesty. In his Speech from the Throne his Majesty has, 'tis true, told both Houses, for this Part of the Speech is addressed to both, that the Posture of Affairs makes our Counsel and Assistance necessary. Whether these two Words ought to be taken jointly or separately is the Question? According to our antient Constitution, they ought to be taken separately: The Word *Counsel* ought to be supposed to be directed to the other House, and the Word *Assistance* to this. The Peers are to advise such Measures as they think necessary: The Commons are to assist by granting such Sums as are necessary for carrying those Measures into Execution. But suppose the Words were to be taken jointly, we are not from hence to conclude, that we are to determine what Points we are to give our Advice upon. We ought to suppose, that his Majesty will afterwards communicate to us, by Message, the Points upon which he desires our Advice; and when he does so, he will certainly order all the necessary Papers to be laid before the House, or if they are of so secret a Nature

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

that they ought not to be laid before such a numerous Assembly, he will desire us to appoint a Secret Committee for inspecting such Papers as he may think fit to communicate. To wait for such a Message would be acting in our proper Sphere, and with due Respect to our Sovereign, agreeably to our antient and real Constitution. To act otherwise, would be a Breach of our Duty to our Sovereign, and such an Incroachment upon our Constitution, as might at this Juncture be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of *Europe*, as well as the Liberties of our native Country.

‘ After what I have said, Sir, I believe, I may freely declare, that I neither think it my Duty, nor do I think I have any Call to examine how Affairs stand between us and the Queen of *Hungary*, and much less between her and the King of *Prussia*; nor do I think we ought to examine how Matters stand between *France* and us with regard to our War with *Spain*. When his Majesty desires our Advice, it will then, and not till then, be necessary to examine the Papers already laid before us, or such as may hereafter be laid before us, relating to any of the Points upon which that Advice is desired; and if his Majesty should require it, but not otherwise, I shall be for appointing a Select and Secret Committee for examining into such Papers as his Majesty tells us are not proper to be divulged to the whole House.

‘ Thus, Sir, it must appear, that if the Motion now before us be design’d as a Foundation for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our Ministers, it ought not to be complied with; and if it be design’d only as a Step towards enabling us to give his Majesty our Advice, it is too early. Let us examine it therefore in what Light we will, it appears to be improper. This is my sincere Opinion of it, and for this Reason, I hope the honourable Gentleman will excuse me, if I give my Negative to his Motion.’

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

Mr *Winnington* was answered by Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne*:

Sir,

‘ If the House were to be directed by such Reasoning as an Hon. Gentleman has made use of against this Motion, we should never inquire into the Conduct of any Minister, nor into the State of any publick Affair, foreign or domestick, but when the Minister should please to give us Leave; I say Minister, Sir, for there has always been a Sort of Gentlemen in this House, who make use of the Word Sovereign instead of Minister, in order to give an Appearance of Reason to an Argument which would otherwise appear in itself ridiculous

diculous. To confirm what I say, I shall repeat the Arguments which the Hon. Gentleman has made use of, and by substituting the Word Minister, which is the only proper Word to be made use of in this House, when we talk of any publick Affair, instead of the Word Sovereign, you will then see his Arguments in their true Light.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

He says, we ought never to inquire into the Conduct of Ministers, or to speak more properly, of one sole Minister, unless we have such Proofs against him as must convince that Minister of his having been in the wrong; and the Reason for this, he says, is, lest that Minister should suspect, or rather pretend, that the Inquiry into his Conduct proceeded from a Jacobite or Republican Spirit, or from the Influence of Foreign Gold. Sir, upon such a Principle could the Parliament ever inquire into the Conduct of any Minister? A Minister may be conscious of his Crimes or Misconduct; but could the Parliament, previous to any Inquiry, ever have such Proofs against him, as would induce him to confess his having been weak or criminal? If the Weakness of his Conduct were from its Effects apparent to the whole Nation, he would pretend, that those Effects proceeded from Accidents that could not be foreseen or provided against, or from the Ambition, Obstinacy, or Weakness of Foreign Courts, and not from any Weakness in the Measures he had pursued. Suppose we had positive Evidence against him: Suppose we had Letters under his Hand, for proving his having been guilty of the most treasonable Practices; a guilty Minister would pretend, that the Letters were forged, or that the Witnesses were Jacobites, or Republicans, or brib'd by Foreign Gold, and therefore not to be credited. In short, Sir, the more guilty a Minister is, the more positively, the more arrogantly, will he insist upon his Innocence, and that therefore he ought not be put to the Trouble of defending himself against a Parliamentary Inquiry. Thus we must never inquire into the Behaviour of any Minister while he continues in that Station, unless it be at his own Desire, and with a View to justify and applaud his Wisdom and Conduct; nor into the Behaviour of any discarded Minister, unless it be to satisfy the Revenge of some succeeding one; and what a pretty ministerial Tool this Argument would make of a Parliament, I shall leave to the Consideration of those Gentlemen who make use of it.

For my Part, Sir, I shall always be of Opinion, that the least Suspicion of Wickedness, the least Suspicion of Weakness, in the Conduct of any publick Affair, or in the Conduct of our publick Affairs in general, is a sufficient Foundation for a Parliamentary Inquiry. Nay, such Inquiries ought

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

ought to be often set on Foot, even when there is no Suspicion of any Misconduct. Shall a Minister say, I have been a very honest and faithful Minister, and therefore I ought not to be put to the Trouble of having my Conduct inquir'd into. Sir, a Steward may as well say, I have been a very honest Man and a good Steward, and therefore ought not to be put to the Trouble of passing my Accounts. Every Gentleman knows, that the proper, and indeed the only Way to keep a Steward honest, is to make him frequently pass his Accounts. A good Steward will desire it, and so will a good Minister; for a Minister is but a Steward for the Publick; and therefore when I find a Minister using all his Art to evade or prevent a Parliamentary Inquiry, it will always give me a Suspicion of his Conduct, and consequently will with me be a prevailing Argument for setting up immediately an impartial and strict Inquiry. This, Sir, was the Maxim of our Ancestors: By this Maxim they have handed down to us our Liberties and Properties. Without this Maxim we shall hand nothing down to our Posterity, but Slavery and Poverty.

A Civil War, I shall grant, Sir, is a terrible Misfortune; but it is far from being the most terrible; for I had rather see my Country engag'd for twenty Years in a Civil War, than to see it tamely submit but for one Year to ministerial Bondage; therefore, if this Country should ever be reduc'd to the fatal Dilemma of being oblig'd to give up its Liberties, or engage in a Civil War, I hope no *true Briton* would balance a Moment in his Choice. Thank God! this is not our Case at present. I hope the Fate of this Question will shew it is not our Case; for from our Inquiry into the Conduct of our present Ministers, no Civil War, I am sure, can ensue. If they are innocent, an impartial Inquiry will justify their Conduct. To suppose otherwise, would be offering the highest Indignity to this House, which has never impeach'd, nor pass'd any Censure upon a Minister without a justifiable Cause. If our Ministers are guilty, they ought to be punish'd, and his Majesty has too much Wisdom to think of protecting a guilty Minister against the Justice of the Nation. To suppose otherwise, would be offering the highest Insult to the Crown.

What Motives Gentlemen may have for being attach'd to our present Ministers, I do not know, nor shall determine; but when Gentlemen possess'd of Posts which they got by his Favour, and perhaps hold at his Pleasure, are almost the only Persons that appear in his Vindication; the Presumption militates strongly against the Disinterestedness of their Behaviour, as well as against the Uprightness of his Con-

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duct; and whatever such Gentlemen may pretend, if his An. 15. Geo. II.
 Majesty should give his Minister up to national Justice, I 1741.
 believe, no Man in the Kingdom apprehends, that any of
 them would attempt drawing their Swords in his Defence.
 The Danger of a Civil War is therefore not in the least to
 be apprehended from a fair Inquiry into our Minister's Con-
 duct; but considering the Suspicions and Expectations of the
 People, if this Session of Parliament should end without such
 an Inquiry, a Civil War may very probably be the Conse-
 quence. The People will not, but his Majesty may suppose,
 that our Neglect to inquire proceeds from our Opinion of
 his Innocence. The People feel the Effects of his Miscon-
 duct, and may, perhaps, feel them every Day more and
 more: This will make them imagine, that our Neglect to
 inquire proceeds not from our having a good Opinion of his
 Conduct, but from our having a Share in his Plunder. On
 the other hand, his Majesty neither does, nor can feel those
 Effects: At least he cannot feel them till it is too late to
 prevent the Consequences; and as he has a good Opinion
 of his Parliament, he will naturally suppose the Conduct of
 his Minister to be wise and upright, because his Parliament
 has neither condemned it, nor so much as inquired into it.
 Thus his Majesty may be prevailed on to continue him at the
 Head of the Administration, notwithstanding the People's
 being generally convinced, that he is every Day undermining
 their Liberties, by Means of a venal and corrupt Parlia-
 ment; and if this should be the Case, I must conclude, that
 a Civil War will certainly ensue, or I must form a much
 more disagreeable Conclusion, which is, that the People of
 this Country have so much degenerated from the Virtue and
 Courage of their Ancestors, that they chuse rather to submit
 tamely to Slavery, than to run the Risk of asserting their
 Liberties by the Sword.

* A Republican and Enthusiastical Spirit join'd together,
 was, 'tis true, Sir, the ultimate Cause of the Ruin of King
Charles the First, but it was far from being the Original.
 The first and original Cause of the Ruin of that unfortunate
 Prince, was his allowing himself to be governed, for the
 first fifteen Years of his Reign, by Ministers that were
 hateful to the People, and protecting those Ministers against
 all Inquiries and Prosecutions in Parliament. By this means
 he raised and fomented a Republican Spirit in the Nation,
 to such a Degree, that the People would not be satisfied
 with the Sacrifice of a few. They had conceived such a
 Jealousy of the Power of the Crown, by the ill Use his
 Ministers made of it, that nothing would satisfy them but
 a Diminution of that Power; and his taking Arms in De-
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An. 15 Geo. II.
1741.

fence of that Power, and in Opposition to the prevailing Spirit of this Nation, was what brought him at the last to the fatal Catastrophe he met with: His untimely End ought to be a Warning to all future Ministers, that have any Regard to their Master, to submit in Time to a fair Inquiry, or if they be conscious of Guilt, to fly from that Fate which such an Inquiry must bring them to; and, I hope, it will be an Example to all future Kings of this Country, to let their Favour towards a Minister have the same Period with the Favour of the People. In a free Country the Prince's Favour ought to proceed from the Favour and Esteem a Man has acquired among the People, and it must have the same Period, or the Liberties of the People must be overturned; for a free People will not be governed by a Man they hate or despise.

' This, we know, his present Majesty is fully sensible of, and therefore we need be under no Apprehensions, that He will obstruct an Examination, or endeavour to protect a Minister after he has been found guilty upon a fair Inquiry into his Conduct; but suppose we were so unlucky as to have a Prince upon the Throne, that would obstinately protect a weak or wicked Minister against the Justice of his Parliament, and the Resentment of his People, should we sit here, and patiently see the Nation ruined by the Minister's Weakness, or our Liberties undermined, and the People plundered and oppressed by his Wickedness? Should we, I say, patiently bear this, for Fear of involving the Nation in a Civil War? I hope, I shall never hear such a cowardly Doctrine inculcated within these Walls. It is a Doctrine that breathes nothing but Slavery, and such as will never, I hope, be harbour'd in the Breast of any *British* Subject.'

' The Fears, therefore, which the Hon. Gentleman has been pleased to instill into us, are either fantastical, or they are such as no Member of this House ought to allow to have the least Influence upon his Conduct, with regard to the present Question. Suppose a general Inquiry should be the Consequence of our appointing the Select Committee now moved for: Suppose that Inquiry should extend itself as far back as the Hon. Gentleman seems to apprehend, could it be of any bad Consequence to the Nation? On the contrary, it would be of great Service, because it would shew our future Ministers, that however quietly they might pass through the Course of their Administration, their Conduct would some Time or other be impartially inquired into; and as former Administrations have not been free from Suspicions, no more than the present, I hope it would be of Service to them

them too, by convincing the World that those Suspensions *An. 25. Geo. II.*
were groundless. 1741.

‘ I hope I have now shewn, that the Hon. Gentleman’s Arguments against this Motion are of no Weight, even upon the Supposition of its being intended as the first Step towards a general Inquiry ; and his Argument against it, upon the Supposition of its being intended only as a necessary Step towards enabling us to give his Majesty proper Advice in the present Posture of Affairs, will appear to be of no greater Weight, especially, if by the same Change of Words, we state his Argument in its true Light. He has told us, that if we are to give any Advice to our Sovereign, for whether we ought to do so seems with him to be a Doubt, we ought not to think of giving Advice, unless his Majesty not only desires it in general Terms, by his Speech from the Throne, but likewise by Message, directs us to the particular Point upon which we are to give our Advice. We all know, Sir, that Speeches from the Throne, and Messages from the Crown, are in this House supposed to be the Speeches and Messages of the Minister ; and therefore, to put this Argument in the Language of Parliament, it will stand thus :
‘ Let us be never so fully convinced of our Sovereign’s being
‘ misled by his Minister, we ought not to give him any Ad-
‘ vice, unless that Minister points out to us by Message, the
‘ Subject upon which we are to give Advice.’ I hope it will be granted, Sir, that an Address to remove a Minister is a Sort of Advice, and often a very wholesome Piece of Advice, but according to this Doctrine, we can never advise our Sovereign to remove any Minister.’

‘ I am really sorry, Sir, for being obliged to set the Absurdity of this Doctrine in such a strong Light ; but in Justice to my Country I could not avoid it. If we are never to advise our Sovereign in any Case, but such as is pointed out to us by his Minister, no Minister will ever desire the Advice of Parliament but when he is assured, they will advise just as he has before resolved, and such Advice can never be of any Service to the King, tho’ it may be to the Minister, by taking the Odium of a bad Measure off of his Shoulders, and fixing it upon the Parliament ; but I hope I shall never see such a Parliament in *Great Britain*.

‘ Now, Sir, with regard to the Right we have, or the Obligation we lie under, of offering our Advice to our Sovereign ; as the honourable Gentleman seemed to doubt of it, I hope, I shall be indulged a few Words upon the Subject. To consult and advise is, I shall grant, the Business and the Duty of the other House, perhaps more properly than of this ; but when the other House happens to be de-

An. 15. Dec. 11.

1741.

icient in this Respect, it is our Duty to make good that Deficiency. We must know better than the other House what may be agreeable or disagreeable to the People, and it is our proper Province, to give our Advice in Favour of what we think will be so, and against what we think will be otherwise. But suppose we were in no Case to advise, are not we to consent, and have not we a Right to refuse that Consent to any Measure we think inconsistent with the publick Good? Is it not then our Duty to examine every publick Measure, especially when it is attended with a publick Expence, which is the Case at present? And can we examine it so as to determine whether we ought to consent to it or no, without strictly examining all the Letters and Papers that relate to it?

* Suppose we should in this Session be called on, as we probably may, to grant a Sum of Money for the Assistance of the Queen of *Hungary*; can we determine what Sum to grant, without knowing how Affairs stand between *France* and us, as well as between us and the Queen of *Hungary*? For if we stand upon bad Terms with *France*, we ought certainly to be the more zealous, and to grant the more liberally, for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*. Thus, Sir, it must appear, that even if we had no Inclination to inquire into the Conduct of past Affairs, nor to advise about the Conduct of future, yet still we ought to examine the Papers mentioned; and as this cannot be done without referring them to a Select Committee, I shall therefore be for agreeing to the Motion.

Sir Will. Yonge.

Sir William Yonge * spoke next:

Mr Speaker,

* That this House has a Right to refuse, as well as to give its Consent, to every Measure proposed to us by the Crown, or recommended by the other House, is what no Man will deny; but that for this Reason we ought to pry into such Secrets as relate to foreign Affairs, cannot be admitted, because it would be attended with infinite Prejudice to the Publick. As our Business relates chiefly to domestick Affairs, we ought to keep within that Province, unless his Majesty communicates to us some foreign Treaty, Expedition, or Transaction, in order to have our Approbation, or Assistance; and then we ought to content ourselves with such Lights as his Majesty may be pleased to furnish us with; for in all such Cases his Majesty will communicate the necessary Papers, so far as is consistent with the publick Safety. From them we ought to judge, for we can judge from none other; and as the Crown must be supposed to know

* Secretary at War.

know more of foreign Affairs than have been, or can be communicated to us; we ought to have a Bias in Favour of that which appears to be the Opinion of the Crown.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

This, Sir, may perhaps, by some Gentlemen be called a slavish Doctrine; but it is such as will be followed by all who have a greater Inclination to serve their Country in Parliament, than to find fault with the Conduct of their Sovereign or the Conduct of Ministers, call it which you will, for I do not know how to distinguish, unless it be, that we ought to impute to our Sovereign every Thing we think right, and to his Ministers every Thing we think wrong. With regard to domestick Affairs, we have a much greater Latitude; because we may more freely call for all Papers relating to any such Affair, and have greater Reason to suspect, that Ministers will, in Affairs of this Kind, give such Advice as may most conduce to their own private Advantage. But it cannot be said, that the Papers proposed to be referred to a Select Committee, have the least Relation to any Affair of this Kind. If we should be desired to grant Money for the Assistance of the Queen of *Hungary*, it will then be Time enough to consider whether we ought to do so. For determining this Question, I think we have no Occasion to examine any Papers of State, our common News Papers must convince us, that we ought to comply with such a Demand; and as to the *Quantum* of that Grant, we must be convinced, that she stands in Need of more than this Nation can afford to give.

Sir, we can have no Occasion to refer the Papers mentioned in this Motion to a Secret Committee, unless we have a Mind to make that Committee a Committee of Inquiry, and to enable them to inquire into the Conduct of all our Publick Affairs both foreign and domestick, for many Years past. This I believe to be the real Intention of the Motion, and for this Reason I cannot agree to it; because the establishing of such a Committee at such a critical Conjunction, would be of the most dangerous Consequence to *Europe* in general, as well as to this Nation in particular. By this the whole Frame of our Government would be altered, and would continue so, during the Continuance of that Committee. It would be an establishing *Imperium in Imperio*, or rather a Government set up by this House, distinct from, and superior to our constitutional Government; for this Committee must either consist of such as are Friends to the King's Ministers, or such as are their declared Enemies. If of the former, it would give no Satisfaction to the People, and if of the latter, they would probably in a short Time get the entire Management of

An. 15. Geo. II
1741.

this House, and take upon them to accuse and imprison every Minister at their own Will and Pleasure.

‘ In short, Sir, I should expect to see the Scene of 1641 acted over again. To see all his Majesty’s present Ministers imprisoned or forced into Exile, and every new Officer he should name without their Direction, with all those that appear’d as Friends to the Crown, declared Delinquents. What this Confusion might end in, God only knows ; but in such Circumstances, I am certain, we could neither prosecute the War against *Spain* with Vigour, nor assist in restoring the Ballance of Power in *Europe*. Nay, we could not even defend ourselves : Our Plantations, with our Possessions in the *Mediterranean*, would become a Prey to the *Spaniards*, and the Nation itself would, at last, become a Province to the *French*, who might send the Pretender to us for a Vice-Roy.

‘ In the Year 1715, Sir, we had no fatal Consequences to fear from the Secret Committee then appointed. The Nation was not engaged in any War, nor was the Ballance of Power in Danger. The Committee was not to inquire into the Conduct of the then Administration : They were to inquire into the Conduct of a Set of Ministers, who had most justly been dismissed by his late Majesty, with the Contempt they deserved. When the Proposition was made for appointing a Secret Committee, it was evident from the Complexion of the House, that it would consist of such as were Friends to the then Administration ; consequently there was no Confusion in our Government to be apprehended ; for as we were then situated, I do not think the Rebellion was a fatal Consequence, since the Disaffected thereby furnish’d the Government with an Opportunity to crush them. If they had not declared themselves, they would have had a great Influence upon all future Elections, and by being joined by discontented Whigs, might, before this Time, have got a Jacobite Parliament, which would have brought our present Establishment into greater Danger than it could be by an open Rebellion.

‘ Gentlemen must thus see, Sir, that there is a very great Difference between our present Circumstances, and those of 1715 ; and surely no Man will say, there is now the same Necessity for an Inquiry. I am one of those who think there is not the least Occasion for it, and I am convinced there are many such in the Nation. Suspensions have been most artfully propagated against our present Administration, as there will be against all ; and if I thought they could be removed by an impartial Inquiry, I should be for it ; but, I am sure, they cannot. Those Suspensions are entertained by none but the Disaffected and Disobliged, and no-

thing,

thing, I know, will satisfy the former but a Sacrifice of An. 13. Geo. II. our present happy Establishment; and the latter nothing but a Sacrifice of our present Ministers, whether they deserve it or no. A Justification of their Conduct, which would be the Consequence of an impartial Inquiry, would be so far from allaying the Heats and Animosities without Doors, that it would increase them, and would be made a Handle for raising Suspicions against the Honour of this House, as well as against the Conduct of our Ministers; and this, I hope, will prevail with the House to put a Negative upon this Motion.

Lord Percival spoke next in Favour of the Motion :

Lord Percival.

Sir,

' As this is the first Time I have had the Honour of offering my Sentiments, I hope to meet with the Indulgence of the House; and I do assure you, Sir, however great I may find it, it shall not induce me to be often troublesome.

' I have the greater Reason to intreat this Favour, as I had not received the least previous Intimation, upon what Point the Debate of this Day was like to have turned. But I have endeavour'd to supply this Want of Information, by a diligent Attention to what has been urged on both Sides the Question; and the State of the Case before us appears to me in this Light, That Gentlemen on the one Side suspect the Conduct of the Administration, and desire the Assistance of this House to clear up those Suspicions; while on the other Side, the Gentlemen in the Administration, knowing themselves suspected, labour all they can to prevent the House from affording that Assistance.

' Now, Sir, as I stand in this House by the Favour of my Constituents*, as independent as any Man can be, and as God has placed me in a Condition of Life to maintain that Independence, I have nothing to induce me to be partial in this Question. I am governed by no Views of Party: I am influenced by no Prejudice.

' On the one Hand, those who suspect the Conduct of the Ministry, are not only warranted by the Constitution to entertain Suspicions of this Kind, with regard to any Administration, but urged by the universal Voice of the whole Nation to distrust the Conduct of the present. They are farther warranted by the visible Decay of Trade, by the Distress of all our foreign Affairs, and by the ill Success of a War, in which we have been above two Years engaged, with great Superiority of Force against a contemptible Enemy: A War in which we have hitherto reaped neither Honour nor Advantage, and in which, from the Manner
of

* Member for Westminster. [See before, p. 63.]

An. 15. Geo. II. of its Management, we have no Prospect of acquiring either, tho' none was ever supplied with greater Liberality by the Nation. Thus the Gentlemen on one Side of the Question seem to act no other Part than what is fair and just, essential to the Honour of this House, and to the Interests and Expectations of their Country.

Give me Leave to review the Conduct of the Gentlemen who are thus unhappily suspected. — These urge even these Suspicions as an Argument to excite their Friends to support them, as in a Case of great Extremity; It is their great Endeavour, to be left in the State of being still suspected. — Is it possible that any Man confident in his own Integrity, innocent of what is imputed to him, should exert himself in such a Manner, to prevent your receiving Informations, which might tend to set his Character in its true Light. No, Sir, this Conduct is by no Means consistent with this favourable Supposition. Ministers, how great soever they may be, know the Importance of a good Reputation: Therefore it is impossible for any Man in his Conscience not to be convinced, from this uncommon Struggle, that the Papers now contended for, contain somewhat that will fix either Guilt or Error upon those who have engrossed the Direction of the publick Affairs; and in either Case, it is our Duty to inquire, that we may be able to do Justice to our Country, or, at least, to prevent future Mischief.

The Necessity, therefore, of some Inquiry being apparent, as well from the Nature of the Thing, as from the Conduct of those who endeavour to prevent it, I shall take no farther Time to enforce that Point; but I must beg Leave to Answer the Objections, made to the Manner of Inquiry now propos'd.

One Hon. Member has told you, that twenty one Persons cannot be found among the Members of this House, proper to be intrusted with so great a Power; and yet, it seems, that one Man may be found proper to be intrusted, for twenty Years together, with the whole Revenues, the sole Direction of all Affairs both abroad and at home, the sole Power of this Government without Controul. The same Gentleman has told us, that the Commons cannot delegate such a Power to a Committee. Upon other Occasions I have also heard that Hon. Gentleman assert, that this was not a proper Business for the House, who were too numerous to be trusted with those important Secrets, which must, in Consequence, be laid before them. If, therefore, neither the House ought, nor a Committee can peruse the Papers, necessary for an Examination into the Measures of a Minister, the Result is plainly this, that Ministers must be left to act in what Man-

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ner they think fit, without any Apprehension of being called to Account.

Another Gentleman has said, that the Authority of such a Committee would be greater than any ministerial Authority ever known in this or any other Reign. I am very much surprised, that this Gentleman should so soon forget the many Instances of like Nature, already urged in this Debate; but I am more surprised, that he should not remember that famous Committee, consisting of the same Number, and invested with the same Powers, appointed by this House at the Beginning of the Reign of the late King. Surely that Hon. Gentleman, whose Friends seem to think him the Object of this Debate, will not forget it; for if I am not mistaken, he was himself Chairman * of it.

Gentlemen seem not to reflect to whom they speak, when they advance such Doctrines. Sir, I am confident that the very youngest and most unexperienced Member of this House knows, that no Committee of any Kind has Power farther than to prepare Matter for the House: That no Act of a Committee is of any Force, till confirmed and ratified by the House: That its Powers are derived from the House, and must revert to the House again; and God forbid! Sir, that the Time should be now come, when they shall not be found greater than any ministerial Authority known in this Kingdom.

Men of Sense, Sir, will not be frightened at these Phantoms. Our Constitution knows far greater Powers; The Charter of King *John* directs, in Cases of Extremity, not that twenty one Persons shall be appointed to inspect the publick Papers, and to report to this House the Matter which they shall discover therein, but prescribes, that *five and Twenty* Persons may be appointed to take the Regency into their own Hands, and to exercise the highest Functions of this Government, in which the whole Nation is required to maintain them, till the publick Grievances shall be totally redressed. This is a Power which was not only prescribed, but often exercised in the Reigns of King *John*, King *Henry* the Third, King *Edward* the Second, and *Richard* the Second. This is, indeed, a Power of a very high Nature, and which I should be very sorry to see exerted again in this Country; but, perhaps, a proper Use of that moderate Power which we now contend for, may be the only Means to prevent the Necessity of having Recourse to the other hereafter.

Sir, I am sensible I have troubled you too long, but when I found a Motion that is so reasonable, so violently opposed

* See the Names of that Committee, of which Sir R. Walpole was Chairman, in CHANDLER'S History, Anno 1716; P. 19.

An. 15. Geo. 11.
1741.

posed ; and as I see a great Necessity for the Inquiry itself, and nothing new or dangerous in the Manner of that proposed, I shall heartily give my Affirmative to the Question.

The Motion for a Select Committee over-
rul'd.

There was, upon this Occasion, the fullest House known for many Years ; for, the Debate being over, and the Question put upon Mr *Pulteney's* Motion, it passed in the Negative by 253 against 250.

Memorials, Letters, &c. to and from the K. of Prussia address'd for.

Then it was resolved to address his Majesty for Copies of all Memorials, Representations, Declarations, and Letters, sent to his Majesty, or his Ministers, by the King of *Prussia* *, or his Ministers ; or by his Majesty, or his Ministers, to the King of *Prussia* or his Ministers ; or such Letters as have been sent from hence to his Majesty's Minister at the Court of *Prussia* ; with the respective Answers, relating to the State of the War in the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of *Austria*, since the Death of the late Emperor.

Address for a State of the Land Forces in the West Indies, and Lists of the Officers at Gibraltar and Minorca.

Jan. 22. Resolved, That an Address be presented to his Majesty for the last Returns of the State of the Forces under Major-General *Wentworth*, with Copies of all Orders for reforming or compleating the same, and for sending any Supply of Forces to him since the first of *May* : Also for a List of the Officers of the Regiments in *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* : Likewise a List of the Officers belonging to the Establishment of *Gibraltar*, distinguishing which are upon the Place, which absent, and how long absent.

The same Day Mr *Blackerby*, Mr *Howard*, and Mr *Lediard*, having confessed at the Bar, that they sent for, on the eighth of *May* last, a Body of armed Soldiers, headed by Officers, in a military Manner, who did take Possession of the Church-Yard of *St Paul, Covent-Garden*, near the Place where the Poll for the Election for the City of *Westminster* was taken, before the said Election was ended, and having acknowledged their Offence, were ordered to attend the House the next Day, to be reprimanded by Mr *Speaker*, which they did accordingly, and Mr *Speaker* reprimanded them as follows :

Messrs. Blackerby, Howard, and Lediard reprimanded by Mr Speaker.

Mr *Blackerby*, Mr *Howard*, Mr *Lediard*,

YOU having, at the Bar of this House, Yesterday, confessed, that you did send for, and cause to come, on Friday the Eighth Day of *May* last, a Body of armed Soldiers

* A Motion to the same Effect had been made the 18th of Dec. but it then passed in the Negative by a Majority of 24 ; [See p. 62] And the Reason of its being now agreed to without Opposition, was supposed to be owing to the above Motion having been carried, by a Majority only of Three, in so full a House.

ers, headed by Officers, in a Military Manner, who did take An. 15, Geo. II. Possession of the Church-Yard of St Paul, Covent-Garden, near the Place where the Poll for the Election of Citizens to serve in this present Parliament for the City of Westminster, was taken, before the said Election was ended; and you having acknowledged your Offence therein, the House did order you to attend this Morning, to be brought to the Bar, to be reprimanded on your Knees by me for the said Offence.

I cannot better describe to you the Nature of this Offence you have been guilty of, than in the Words of the Resolution this House came to, upon their Examination into that Matter, which are,

‘ That the Presence of a regular Body of armed Soldiers, at an Election of Members to serve in Parliament, is an high Infringement of the Liberties of the Subject, a manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections, and an open Defiance of the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom.’

And it is impossible, if you well consider the Terms of this Resolution, but that you must have in your Breasts the deepest Sorrow and Remorse for this rash Act of yours; which, if it had not been animadverted upon, might have given the most dangerous Wound to the Constitution of this Free Country, that perhaps it had ever felt. — This Country, Free, because this House is so; which this House can never be, but from the Freedom of Elections to it: And amidst the too many Ways for violating that, none can be more pernicious, because none more quick, decisive and permanent, than what you might unhappily have set a Precedent for, and which might have grown to an Extremity, under the specious and ready Pretences of Fears and Necessity, that supersede all Law; a Precedent, that would have received an Authority from the Place it began in—The Seat of the Government and Legislature of this Kingdom.

Necessity, which is to take Place of Law, must be left to the Circumstances of every particular Case. The Act must be presumed to be wrong, inquired into as such, and excused only by the clearest Proofs, that the Necessity of it was real.

What you have done, is against one of the most essential Parts of the Law of the Kingdom. Has any real Necessity been shown for it? There might be Fears, there might be some Danger; but did you try the Strength of the Law to dispel those Fears, and remove that Danger? Did you make Use of those Powers the Law has invested you with, as Civil Magistrates, for the Preservation of the publick Peace? No—you deserted all that; and wantonly, I hope inadvertently, re-

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

sorted to that Force, the most unnatural of all others, in all Respects, to that Cause and Business you were then attending, and for the Freedom of which, every Briton ought to be ready, almost to suffer any Thing — More might be said — But you have acknowledged your Offence, and have asked Pardon for it. This has disposed the House to Lenity: Use it not to lessen the Sense of your Crime; but to raise in your Hearts that Sense of Gratitude you owe to the House, for that gentle Treatment you have met with on this Occasion: In Expectation of which you are discharged, paying your Fees.

Who has the
Thanks of the
House thereupon.

Then it was resolved that the Thanks of the House be given to Mr Speaker for the said Speech, and that he be desired to print the same.

State of the British Prisoners in the Spanish Ports.

Ordered Copies of the Returns, from Persons empowered to pay his Majesty's Bounty to the *British* Subjects, Prisoners in the Ports of Spain in Europe and Africa, distinguishing the Number of Men paid each Month, and what Ships or Vessels they belonged to when taken by the *Spaniards* respectively, to be laid before the House.

The High Bailiff of Westminster discharged.

Jan. 25. John Lever, High Bailiff of Westminster, was brought to the Bar, received a Reprimand from Mr Speaker, and was ordered to be discharged, paying his Fees.

Ordered that a State of the yearly Revenue and Expence of Greenwich Hospital; Also an Account, shewing how the Monies granted last Session of Parliament, for the said Hospital, have been disposed of, and what Money hath been received by the Treasurer thereof, from *Christmas* 1740, to *Christmas* 1741, and how applied, be laid before the House.

Account of the Disposal of Money for Greenwich Hospital, and also for the Navy.

Also that the Treasurer of the Navy do lay before the House an Account of what Money hath been ordered by the Commissioners of the Treasury, and received by him for any Services of the Navy, from the 31st of December 1740, to the 31st of December 1741, and how applied.

Petitions for Milborn Port, and for Peebles withdrawn.

The same Day Michael Harvey, William Thompson, and William Sclater, Esqrs. withdrew their Petitions, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Milborn-Port*: [See p. 8] As did also the Hon. James Carmichael, and John M'Kye, Esqrs. for the Burghs of Peebles, &c. [See p. 51] and Mr Carmichael's Name was ordered to be raised out of the double Return.

King's Answer to the Address of Letters, &c. to and from the K. of Prussia.

Mr Comptroller reported to the House, that their Address of Thursday last, [See p. 104] had been presented to his Majesty, and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint the House, ' That the Subject Matter of this Address being of the greatest Importance, his Majesty, who is always desirous

desirous of granting the Requests of his faithful Com-
mons, will take it into his most serious Consideration, and
has directed all the Transactions, to which it relates, to
be carefully examined, in order to see how far the same
may be complied with, without Prejudice to the Publick,
and consistently with the Confidence reposed in him by
other Princes.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Then it was resolved that an humble Address be presented
to his Majesty, for Copies of all Memorials, Representati-
ons, Declarations, and Letters, &c. sent to his Majesty,
or his Ministers, by the States General, or their Ministers,
or by his Majesty's Ministers to the States General; also
Copies of all Letters from either of his Majesty's Principal
Secretaries of State to his Majesty's Minister at the *Hague*,
as far as they relate to Conferences with, and Communica-
tion to or from the Assembly of the States General, with
the Answers thereunto, relating to the State of the War in
the Empire, and the Support and Interests of the House of
Austria, since the Death of the late Emperor, to be laid be-
fore the House.

Address for Me-
morials, Letters,
&c. to and from
the States Gene-
ral, relating to
the Austrian In-
terests.

Jan. 26. A Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen,
and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council
assembled, was presented to the House and read, complaining
of the ill Conduct of the War with *Spain*, &c. which was re-
ferred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the
Petition of the Merchants of *London*, *Biddeford*, *Southamp-*
ton, *Liverpool*, *Lancaster*, *Bristol*, *Exeter*, *Glasgow*, *Poole*,
and *Barnstable*, presented before to the House, had been
referred.

Petition from the
City of *London*,
relating to the
War with *Spain*.

Then the House proceeded to the hearing the Petition of
John Hylton, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and
Return for *Carlisle* *; and the Counsel for the Petitioner
having proposed to produce Evidence, to prove that the Pe-
titioner was elected by a Majority of legal Votes, the sitting
Member, Mr *Stanwix*, declared in his Place, (no Counsel ap-
pearing for him) that he was satisfied the Petitioner had a
Majority of legal Votes, and that he himself had no Right
to sit in the House; whereupon it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.*
that *John Hylton*, Esq; was duly elected.

Proceedings on
the Petition for
Carlisle.

Ordered a new Writ for a Burgefs for *Milborn-Port*, in
the Room of *Thomas Medlycott*, † Esq; who, since his Elec-
tion, had accepted the Office of one of the Commissioners
for licensing Hawkers and Pedlars.

A new Writ for
Milborn-Port.

1741.

P 2

Resolved

* The Mayor withdrew before one Third of the Voters had polled,
and the Poll was continued by the Justices of the Peace. [See p. 4.]

† Michael Harvey, Esq; who had petition'd, was elected in his Place
without Opposition.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Accounts relating to the Sea and Land Service address'd for.

Resolved to address his Majesty for the Regulations and Instructions relating to his Majesty's Service at Sea, established in Council: Also that a List of the General Officers, with an Account how many are now employed, and where present: Likewise of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, second Lieutenants, Cornets, and Ensigns on the *British* Establishment, and on the Establishment for *Gibraltar*, *Minorca*, and the *British* Plantations in *America*: And also of the Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets, and Ensigns on the *Irish* Establishment; with the Dates of all their respective Commissions as such, and the Dates of their first Commissions in the Army, might be laid before the House.

Mr Corbet, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented to the House the several Accounts ordered and address'd for on the 21st. [See p. 69.]

Several Accounts, Letters, &c. presented.

Mr Comptroller presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 21st Inst. several Letters and other Papers, which were ordered to lie upon the Table, to be perus'd by the Members.

Sheriff of Berwickshire discharged.

Jan. 27. David Home, Sheriff-Depute of Berwickshire, [See p. 66.] having, at the Bar, received a Reprimand from Mr Speaker, was ordered to be discharged, paying his Fees.

Mr Corbett, from the Treasurer of the Navy, presented to the House the Account ordered on the 25th.

Petition for Dunbar, &c. withdrawn.

Mr Fall, and Sir Hew Dalrymple return'd in the double Return for the Burghs of *Dunbar*, &c. and the other Petitioners, withdrew their said Petitions, and the Clerk of the Crown took off the File the Indenture, by which Mr Fall† was returned.

Mr Corbett, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented to the House the Book and Accounts address'd for on the 26th, which were referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, &c. was referred.

A Petition of the Merchants of *Whitehaven* was also referred to the said Committee.

Bill passed for preserving the publick Roads.

An ingrossed Bill to repeal so much of an Act passed last Session, *For the Preservation of the publick Roads*, &c. as obliges Persons, not travelling for Hire, to make use of Wagons with Wheels bound with Streaks or Tyre of a certain Breadth, or the said Streaks to be fastened with Nails of a certain Size, was read the third Time, pass'd, and carry'd up to the Lords.

Mr

† He was, a few Days after, appointed Receiver of the Episcopal Rents in Scotland.

Mr Secretary at War presented to the House, a Copy of An. 15. Geo. II. the last Return from Major General *Pentworth*, and several other Papers, Lists, &c. pursuant to their Address of the 22d. [See p. 104.]

Several Accounts presented.

Resolved to address his Majesty for a List of the Officers belonging to the Establishment of *Minorca*, distinguishing which are on the Place, and which absent.

Address relating to the Officers at *Minorca*.

The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Petition of the subscribing Merchants and Traders of the City of *London*, &c. it was ordered, that the Accounts addressed for on the 20th, and presented on the 27th, be referred to the said Committee.

Then the House resolved itself into the said Committee, of which the Lord Mayor || of *London* was Chairman; and Mr *Glover* *, an eminent Merchant, open'd to the Committee the Reasons of their Petition, which he declared to be produced, not by a Spirit of Discontent, or by the Rage of Faction, but by an Apprehension that they had long been denied that Regard which they might justly claim in common with their Fellow Subjects, and that Protection, which is the End of every Government.

Proceedings of the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition, which is opened to the Committee by Mr Glover.

The several Facts asserted in the Petition were proved by Papers and Witnesses, and after six Days spent in Examinations, Mr *Glover* proceeded to sum up the Evidence, and to shew from collective Attestations, that the Merchants had been exposed to the Insults and Rapine of the *Spaniards*, not by Inattention or Accident, but by one uniform and continued Design.

A List of 337 Ships taken was proved authentick by the Officers of Insurance, and by the Commanders of the Vessels. Captain *White* saw 173 Vessels brought into *St Sebastian's* Port in 18 Months, and one private Insurer paid 22,000 *l.* for Prizes taken by the *Spaniards*.

He alledged, 'That the List of 1146 Ships, taken by the *French*, and laid before the Parliament in 1707, could not be produced as an Apology for the late Captures; because these were taken by whole Fleets, or by the Ships of War of an Enemy, equal in Naval Power to ourselves; because our whole Trade was equally exposed; and because *France* and *Spain* were then united.

He insisted, 'That our present Losses are brought upon us by single Privateers, and by little more Power than that of two Towns, *St Sebastian's* and *Bilboa*.

' That

|| Sir Robert Godschall.

* Author of a celebrated Poem to the Memory of Sir Isaac Newton, prefix'd to Dr Pemberton's View of Sir Isaac's Philosophy; and of another intituled, *Leonidas*.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

That the Traders of *Bilboa* never equipped any Privateers against their Correspondents of *England* before, but continued in Friendship with them, even when they were not at Peace; nor could any Reason be assigned for their Change of Conduct, but that the Prospect of uncommon Profit from the uncommon Negligence of the *English* Ministry, was too powerful for Kindness and Respect.

That the exchanging Prisoners had been so long delayed, that Multitudes have languish'd and perish'd in Captivity; and some who have upon the Prospect of Exchange obtain'd their Liberty, had been oblig'd to preserve their Honour or indemnify their Sureties, by returning to their Enemies.

That these Delays were wholly to be imputed to the *English* Administration, it being proved, that the Intendant of the Marine in *Biscay*, had always had the Power of exchanging Prisoners; that he had omitted no Measures to facilitate the Exchange, till he was discouraged by a Breach of Faith on our Part, and that almost all the *English* Captives were within the Limits of his Jurisdiction.

That the *Spaniards*, taken in the *Stamboline*, were detained for nine Months after the *English*, whom they considered as equivalent, had been set at Liberty.

That Captain *Maxey* solicited the Admiralty and Secretary's Office eight Months, without obtaining the Discharge of three *Spanish* Prisoners, in Return for himself and two others, and that it was not granted him till the very Day, on which the Merchants presented their Petition, it appearing that the Affair must come before the Parliament.

That two Commanders of Merchants Ships were discharged by the Intendant, and only two Fishermen demanded in Exchange. Mr *Da Costa* undertook to solicit their Release, and the Lords of the Regency immediately ordered that they should be discharged. Soon after the Commissary of the *Spanish* Prisoners proposed to him to forge a new Order from the Admiralty, and insert another Name, which he refused, and was in a few Hours told that the Order was countermanded, but could not find, upon Inquiry, that the Countermand was issued, either by the Regency, or the Admiralty, or Secretary's Office. The Commissary visited him again, and offered him Fifty Pounds to comply with his former Proposal, and again met with a Refusal; a second Order for their Discharge was obtained, which was likewise countermanded.

That scarcely any Ship of War has been ever seen on the Cruize.

That no Ship was station'd off Cape *Clare* in *Ireland*, a very important Post, till eight Months, nor any Ship ordered to cruize before *St Sebastians*, till nine Months after the

Declara-

Declaration of the War: That Vessels stationed for impressing in Places where no Privateer was ever heard of, are set down as Cruizers: That the mighty Fleet sent out in November, under the Command of two Admirals, a Fleet which filled the World with Expectations, and seemed designed to decide the Fate of Nations, was in this List declared to have been fitted out against Spanish Privateers.

That the Portugal Fleet was detained near twelve Months by evident Misconduct, in which Time the French introduced their Woollen Manufactures; the Dutch sent two Men of War to carry Gold from Lisbon; and an English Packet with 15000*l*. in Gold Coin being taken, and the rest in Danger, the French have set up a Packet between Lisbon and Havre de Grace to share in this Gold Traffick.

That one Commander took 27 Ships under his Convoy from Lisbon, but brought none into England; and that a Master of a Ship introduced by several Merchants, with his Complaint of being deserted by his Convoy, was refused to be heard.

That the Commander of the Tartar suffered the Spaniards to seize three Ships out of four under his Convoy; and when the *Phoenix*, which was to protect the Trade of North Carolina, was known by the Admiralty to want Repairs, they ordered the other Ship off the same Station, and so left the Colony intirely naked.

That the Abuse of the Practice of impressing was such as could not be recollected without Horror.

That when the Misconduct of Officers has been complained of, no Answer had been returned, but, *What would you have done with this Captain, would you have him turn'd out, and the Master of a Merchantman put in his Room?*

That when the Coast has been represented defenceless, no Guard has been ordered; when the Law has been openly and contemptuously violated, no Redress has been obtained; when the Destruction of our Trade was mentioned, they were told by one of the Commissioners, *It is your own War, and you must take it for your Pains.*

He concluded with addressing himself to the Committee in the following Terms: 'To whom then could we appeal for Relief, but to you, the Redressors of Grievances, and Guardians of the Publick? Could we have Recourse to those, who had treated our Misfortunes with Indifference and Scorn, and who had openly declar'd themselves to be a Board of Execution only, and not of Order? Upon your Protection the British Trade throws itself this Day; the Sailor, the Merchant, and the Manufacturer are all soliciting your Justice, imploring your powerful Interposition to shield them from the Malice of their Enemies

AN. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

Enemies at Home, and from the Artifice of their foreign Rivals, who are watching to take Advantage of their undressed Misfortunes: Thousands of his Majesty's most useful Subjects, with equal Anxiety and Submission, are humbly and earnestly entreating, that you will not suffer them to sink utterly in Ruin, nor gratify the pernicious Views of those who envy them Abroad, and of those who hate them at Home; that you will take their Cause into Consideration, that you will provide for their future Security by a Law, that you will humble and punish their Oppressors, that you will restore Discipline, infuse new Spirit and Vigour into the Administration of the Navy, and, by your Wisdom and Justice render the very Thought of injuring the *British* Trade again a Terror to all succeeding Times. But the Ways and Means of accomplishing these great Ends are, with all Humility, submitted to the Wisdom of this House.

The Malt-Bill
pass'd.

Jan 28. An Ingrossed Bill for granting to his Majesty certain Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder and Perry, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords.

Several Accounts
from the Admiralty
presented,
and others order-
ed.

Mr *Corbett*, from the Admiralty, presented to the House, pursuant to their Order of the 21st Instant, a List of the Names of the Merchant Ships, &c. [See p. 69.] Then it was ordered that an Account of what *Spanish* Prisoners have been released since the Commencement of the present War with *Spain*, by what Orders, and on what Conditions: Also of the Number of Men, who have been put sick on Shore, from his Majesty's Ships, into the Hospitals of this Kingdom, from the 1st of *January* 1740, to the 31st of *December* 1741: Likewise of the Number of Men borne and muster'd, from the 25th of *March* 1739, to the 31st of *December* 1741, on Board any of his Majesty's Ships in Commission during that Period: And an Account of the Numbers of Men, which have been discharged dead from on Board any of his Majesty's Ships, or put sick on Shore, from the 25th of *March* 1739, to the 31st of *December* 1741, be laid before the House.

Proceedings on
the Chipenham
Election.

+ *Thomas*

Then the House proceeded to the hearing the Petition of *Alexander Hume*, and *John Frederick*, Esqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Chippenham*; and, after hearing Counsel, and Examination of divers Witnesses, a Motion was made, and the Question put, That in the last Determination of this House, of the Right of Election of Members to serve for the Borough of *Chippenham*, made the 9th of *April*, 1624, which is, 'That the new Charter alters not the Custom; and that the Burgesses and Freemen, more than Twelve, have Voice in the Election,' the Words *Burgesses and Freemen*, mentioned in the said Resolution,

lution, mean only such Burgesses and Freemen, as are Inhabitants Householders of the antient Houses, called Free or Burgage-Houses, within the said Borough; it passed in the Negative, by 237 against 236.

Jan. 29. Mr Corbett, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 21st, Copies of all Memorials, Letters and other Papers, relating to a Cartel for Exchange of Prisoners with Spain, &c. [See p. 69] which were referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Merchants of London, &c. were referred.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Memorials, Letters, &c. from the Admiralty, and other Papers relating to the War, refer'd to the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition.

The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Petition of the Merchants of London, &c. It was ordered that the several Accounts presented to the House the 12th of Jan. 1740; And also that the Copies of all Applications made to the Secretaries of State, and Commissioners of the Admiralty for Cruizers, &c. presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 26th of November, 1740: Likewise that the several Papers presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 21st Inst. be referred to the said Committee.

Feb. 1. Mr Bowen, from the Treasury, at the Bar presented to the House, an Account shewing how the Money given for the Year 1741 hath been disposed of, until the 29th of January 1741-2, with the Deficiency thereupon.

Mr Hills one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded Seamen, at the Bar presented to the House an Account shewing what Spanish Prisoners have been released, since the Commencement of the War, which was referred to the Committee of the whole House on the Merchants Petition.

Mr Philipson, from the Commissioners of the Navy, presented to the House an Account of the Number of Seamen employed in the Royal Navy, from the 31st of December 1740 to the 31st of December 1741: And also of the Number of Ships of War as they stood at Christmas 1741, which were referred to the said Committee.

Mr Corbett presented to the House, pursuant to their Order of the 21st Instant, a List of the Names of the Merchant Ships, and their Masters, that had negligently delay'd Convoys, &c. [See p. 69] together with Copies of 61 Letters and other Papers; all which were referred to the Committee of the whole House on the Merchants Petitions.

Mr Comptroller presented to the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty, Copies of several Letters and Papers, all which were referred to the said Committee.

Feb. 2. Mr Corbett from the Commissioners of the Admiralty,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

miralty, presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 29th ult. Copies of all Applications, &c. to their Lordships, for Cruizers and Convoys, together with what has been done thereupon respectively, which were ordered to lie on the Table.

Chippenham Election determined.

Then the House proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petition of *Alexander Hume* and *Thomas Frederick*, Esquires, for *Chippenham*: And the Counsel for the Petitioners desired to know what Affirmative Construction the House would make of the Words *Burgesses and Freemen*, mentioned in the last Determination of the House concerning the Right of electing Burgesses to serve for the said Borough; the House having determined, that the said Words do not mean only such Burgesses and Freemen, as are Inhabitants Housholders of the ancient Houses, called Free or Burgage Houses, within the said Borough. The Counsel on both Sides being withdrawn, it was resolved, by a Majority of 241 Voices against 225, That the Counsel be called in, and directed to proceed according to the last Determination of the House, of the Right of Election of Members to serve for the said Borough, made the 9th of April 1624, and according to what the House did resolve, on the 28th ult. concerning the said Determination. Then after a farther Hearing of Counsel, the House was informed, that the Petitioners desired to give the House no farther Trouble. Hereupon it was severally resolv'd, that *Sir Edmund Thomas*, Bart. and *Edward Bayntun Rolt*, Esq; were duly elected for the said Borough of *Chippenham**.

Petition for
Grampound
withdrawn.

Account of Ships
in Commission
order'd.

Feb. 3. *Thomas Hales* and *Thomas Trefusis*, Esqrs, withdrew their Petition, complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Grampound*.

Ordered, That an Account, shewing, what Times any of his Majesty's Ships of War in Commission have been in the Ports or Harbours of this Kingdom, since the 1st of October 1739, distinguishing, how long they continued there in such Ports or Harbours, and the Number of Men borne and mustered on each Ship every Month respectively.

Resolved, That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to give Directions, that there may be laid before this House, Copies of the Commissions of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor of *Minorca* †, and of *Fort St Philip*, together with the Instructions to each of them: Also a Copy of the Powers

* The Chippenham Election being thus carried in Favour of the sitting Members, it was reported that Sir Robert Walpole publicly declared he would never enter the House of Commons more.

† See the Proceedings of the House of Lords upon that Affair, with the Protest relating thereto, in *TIMBERLAND's History*, Vol. VIII. p. 80.

ers, with which the commanding Officer of the Troops in An. 15 Geo. II. Minorca is intrusted, in the Absence of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Governor of Fort St Philip; And also an Account shewing, how long each Regiment in Minorca has been in that Island; and that a Copy of any Application for the Relief of any of the said Regiments, be also laid before the House.

1741.
State of the Forces in Minorca ordered to be laid before the House.

The same Day the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to an Act, *For continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum, Cyder, &c.* Also to an Act, *For repealing so much of an Act passed last Session, intituled, an Act for the Preservation of the publick Roads in that Part of Great Britain called England, as obliges Persons not travelling for Hire, to make use of Waggon and Wheels bound with Streaks, or Tyre of a certain Breadth, or the said Streaks to be fastened with Nails of a certain Size, and to two private Bills.*

Royal Assent given to several Bills.

After which the Lord Chancellor signified his Majesty's Pleasure, that both Houses of Parliament should adjourn themselves until the 18th of February.

The same Evening the Right Hon. Sir Robert Walpole resign'd his Place of First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, which he had held ever since April 4, 1721; in the former of which he succeeded the Earl of Sunderland, and in the latter Mr Aislaby*.

Sir R. Walpole resigns his Places,

Three Days after his Majesty was pleased to create him Earl of Orford, Viscount Walpole, and Baron of Houghton. The Right Hon. Spencer, Earl of Wilmington was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury, Samuel Sandys, Esq; made Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and one of the Lords of the Treasury, together with the Hon. George Compton, Esq; Sir John Rushout, Bart. and Phillips Gibbon, Esq; in the Room of Giles Earle, George Treby and Thomas Clutterbuck, Esqrs, and Lord Sundon.

And is created an Earl.

Upon the Removal of Sir Robert Walpole, and the Alterations in the Ministry, there were publick Rejoicings in London and Westminster. — But of the Advantages to the Nation by the Change, our Posterity will be the best Judges. — Fresh Instructions likewise were sent to the Members by their respective Constituents, viz. the Counties of Suffolk, Oxford, Aberdeen, Renfrew, Air, Dumfries, Lanerk, Hereford, Flint, Devon, Denbigh, Montgomery, Gloucester, Cromartie, Edinburgh, Anglesey, Kincardine and Chester; the Cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Canterbury, Bath, Edinburgh, Lichfield, Coventry, Chester, Hereford,

Instructions sent to the several Members upon the Alterations in the Ministry.

1741.

Q 2

and

* See Chandler's History of the Commons, Anno 1721, p. 242.

An. 13. Geo. II. and Peterborough; the Boroughs of *Bishop's-Castle, Aberdeen, Preston, Monmouth, Tewkesbury, Newcastle under Line, Hinton, Dumfries, Annan, Stirling, Caermarthen, Minehead, Reading, Flint and Marlborough.*

As those from the County of *Devon* comprehend every Article insisted on by the rest, We shall give them as a Specimen of the whole.

To Sir William Courtenay, Bart. and Theophilus Fortescue, Esq; Representatives in Parliament for the County of Devon.

WE the High Sheriff and Grand Jury return you Thanks for your faithful Services, and for your having so heartily contributed to the now pleasing Prospect of Affairs.

Persevere in your Integrity, and let the Constitution in Church and State be inviolably preserved.

Restore Triennial Parliaments, the best Security of British Liberty; use your utmost Endeavours to limit the Number of Placemen in, and exclude Pensioners from the House of Commons.

Be it your particular Care to procure a proper Law for the Security and Encouragement of the Woollen Manufacture; the Decay of which is so sensibly felt in this County.

Let numerous standing Armies in Time of Peace be abolish'd; in Time of War be made useful.

Strictly inquire into the Conduct of those who have insulted the Merchants, sacrificed the Trade, and prostituted the Honour of Great Britain, that their Punishment, upon due Conviction, may be as exemplary as their Crimes are notorious.

New Writs order'd in Room of Members prefer'd.

On the 18th the House being met pursuant to their Adjournment, a new Writ was ordered for electing a Baron for *Rye*, in the Room of *Phillips Gibbon, Esq;* For the City of *Worcester*, in the Room of *Samuel Sandys, Esq;* For a Burgess for *Evesham*, in the Room of *Sir John Rushout, Bart.* And another for *Northampton*, in the Room of the Hon. *George Compton, Esq;* Likewise for *King's Lynn*, in the Room of the Earl of *Oxford*.*

Report relating to the Woollen Manufactures;

Colonel *Bladen* presented to the House a Report from the Commissioners of Trade, in pursuance of the Address of the House of the 5th of *March* last, to direct them, during the Recess, to prepare a Scheme for the registering the

* Edward Bacon, Esq; was elected in his Place, and all the new Commissioners of the Treasury were re-chosen.

the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland, which was ordered to lye on the Table.

Am. 13, Geo. II.
1741.

Mr Corbet, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented to the House, pursuant to their Address of the 23d, Copies of all Complaints made to the said Commissioners, relating to the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships, &c.

Also Accounts from the Admiralty ;

Ordered, That an Account be laid before the House, shewing how the Money granted last Session towards repairing Westminster Abbey †, has been disposed of.

And likewise relating to Westminster Abbey, presented to the House.

Feb. 19 A Petition of the Gentlemen, principal Traders, and Inhabitants of the Town of Cullampton, in the County of Devon, complaining of the great Decay of the Woollen Manufactures, was ordered to be referred to a Committee of the whole House.

Petition relating to Wool exported.

Then received several Estimates relating to the Land Forces, which were referred to the Committee of Supply ; and the Order of the Day being read for the House to resolve itself into the said Committee, Mr Philips ‡ stood up, and spoke to the following Effect :

Debate on the Supply.

Sir,

Mr Philips.

' I never trouble you long, Sir, on any Occasion ; I shall be very short upon this. I suppose, it is understood, if we go now into a Committee of Supply, it is in order to vote an Army ; and I beg Leave to submit it to Gentlemen's Judgments, whether Matters are yet ripe for such a Vote. It was the Custom of our wise Ancestors first to redress Grievances, and then to grant Supplies ; and if their Example had been followed in succeeding Parliaments, we should not have heard of the Complaints that are now before us from our Merchants : Let us therefore now revive the long depressed Spirit of true *Englishmen*, and not be blindly led to make Grants before we make Inquiries.

' The Hon. Gentleman who moved you Yesterday to go into a Committee of Supply *, was pleased to say, ' The Business of the Nation had been long postpon'd : ' I beg Leave to ask that Honourable Gentleman, does he think the great Business of the Nation is to grant Supplies only ? Surely, Sir, I hope we are met here for other Purposes too : The granting Supplies, tho' necessary, is always laying a Burthen upon the Nation : The redressing Grievances is always salutary and pleasing. Shall we grant Men and Money, at a Time Complaints are made of Misapplications of Men and Money, without first inquiring into the Grounds of those

Com-

† See a Debate on this Subject in Chandler's History, Anno 1737. p. 86.

‡ In the Third Volume of TIMBERLAND'S History of the House of Lords is an Account of the several Alterations in the English Peerage, during the Reign of King George I. compiled by this Gentleman.

* The Hon. Henry Pelham.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. *Complaints? Shall we precipitately grant Supplies, without first considering our Ability to grant them, how they are to be applied, and who is to apply them?*

*The King calls to us for Advice, the Ministry call to us for Men and Money: Who are we first to answer? Why does the King call to us for Advice? That we may consider the State of Affairs, and know what Men and what Money to grant. Shall we then implicitly grant Men and Money, without first considering what Men and what Money it will be proper and necessary to grant? Is this Parliamentary? Can we judge of that Necessity, till we consider the State of the Nation, and the Situation we are in with Regard to Foreign Affairs? Surely no. I am as much for granting the necessary Supplies of the Government as any Gentleman in this House; but I cannot answer it to my Constituents to vote for them, till I am thoroughly satisfy'd of the Necessity of them, and that they will be better applied than the 5,267,000 *l.* granted last Year.*

*I hope therefore, Sir, we shall defer the Supply till we have been in a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the State of the Nation, which was a Measure proposed by an Honourable Gentleman over-against me, very early in the Session *, and will, I hope, be pushed.*

Sir William Yonge spoke next.

Sir Will. Yonge.

Sir
** We have heard so often, and upon so many Occasions, of the Custom of our Ancestors, that I must begin with wishing, we would in this Age observe the Custom of our Ancestors, in all our Proceedings in this House. They never opposed a just and wise Government in any of its Measures, nor did they ever talk of redressing Grievances, but when some such really existed. When this happened to be the Case, they did not leave People in the Dark, or the Government to guess what they meant: They explained particularly every Grievance they thought the People laboured under, and they proposed what they thought the most proper and speedy Remedies. Under a wise Government, this could never interfere with the granting of the necessary Supplies, because such a Government will certainly, if they can, redress every Grievance, as soon as they are properly informed of it; and if they cannot without a new Law, they will as certainly concur in the passing of a proper Law for that Purpose. The Redress of Grievances therefore never could, nor ever was with our Ancestors a Cause for postponing the necessary Supplies, but under an unjust or unwise Government, that would neither redress, nor concur in redressing those*

* Mr Pulteney.

those Grievances, which were particularly explain'd, and declar'd to be such by a Majority of the Representatives of the People. Nay, our Ancestors were upon this Head so moderate, that after they had particularly set forth the Grievances of the People, and had remonstrated against them in the strongest Terms, they seldom or never, in the same Session, refused granting the Supplies necessary upon that Occasion: After they had done their Duty in laying before the Government the Grievances of the People, they trusted to the Government for redressing them, at least till next Session; and then indeed, if they found the Government had made no Step towards that End, they had good Reason in the next Session to insist upon an immediate Redress of those Grievances they had before complained of, previous to their granting any Supplies.

AA. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

This, Sir, was the Custom of our Ancestors, the uniform Custom of our Ancestors, I believe, from the first Original of our Constitution, quite down to the Revolution. From that Time indeed we have had, and now in particular we have a Party amongst us, who talk every Session of Grievances, and of redressing Grievances before granting Supplies, without ever so much as once explaining to us any one Grievance they desire to be redressed. For my Part, I do not know any one Grievance the People are now exposed to; for I am sure no honest and loyal Subject will ever look upon those Taxes as a Grievance, which are necessary for the Security of our Government, or for paying off the Interest and Principal of those Debts which were contracted for defending us against Popery and arbitrary Power. Those Taxes, indeed, afford a Handle which the Disaffected have always endeavoured to make use of, for rendering the People discontented. They dare not avow, that the only Grievance they feel, is the Continuance of our present happy Establishment; but they exclaim against those publick Burdens, which have been made necessary by their Designs to subvert our Constitution, and to which most of them owe the Religion they profess, and all of them the Security they now enjoy, as to their Lives, their Liberties, and their Properties.

I am far from supposing, Sir, that any Gentleman in this House, is to be ranked among this Sort of People: The Oaths we have taken make such a Supposition impossible, or at least very uncharitable; but I am afraid, many Gentlemen, both within Doors and without, thro' not attending to the Dangers our Government has frequently, and from Time to Time, been exposed to, have allowed themselves to be misled by the specious Arguments, cunningly insinuated

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

infinuated by this Sort of People. They represent all the Dangers our Government has been lately exposed to as imaginary : They, indeed, have Reason to do so ; because those Dangers have been all owing to their Machinations, either abroad or at home : and from this false Gloss they put upon those Dangers, they conclude, that our Ministers have suggested them with no other View, than to put the Publick to an extraordinary Expence, that they might have an Opportunity to enrich themselves out of the Spoils of the People. This is specious, but not true ; yet false as it is, it has, I fear, imposed upon many well-meaning Men without Doors, and not a few within. The same Sort of People represent the Power of the Crown as excessive, and by much too great to be consistent with the Liberties of a free People ; tho', in reality, it is no greater than is absolutely necessary for preserving us against the rebellious or seditious Practices of those, who, should they succeed in their Designs, would neither leave the Face of Liberty, nor the Face of true Religion amongst us. This, I know, has likewise imposed upon many well-meaning Gentlemen, and has made them look upon some Parts of our present Constitution as Grievances, which are absolutely necessary for preserving us against the greatest of all Grievances, and that which would be the Source of every other Grievance a free People can apprehend, I mean, the Overthrow of our present happy Establishment.

I hope, Gentlemen will consider of these Things, when they hear Grievances thus generally talk'd of in this House, before they resolve to postpone Supplies till we have redressed Grievances which nobody knows of. I know of nothing that has as yet been declared a Grievance by a Majority of this House. Surely, before we can redress any Grievance, we must know what it is we are to redress, we must resolve that it is a Grievance which ought to be redressed. But our present Grievances, it seems, are of a very extraordinary Nature : They are such as cannot be discovered or explained, till we have resolved ourselves into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the State of the Nation. This, Sir, is really something like a Lady in the Vapours : She is in a very bad State of Health : She fancies herself oppressed with several Distempers ; but she cannot tell what they are, till she has had a Consultation of Physicians to find them out, and explain them. The Consequence generally is, that these Physicians, in order to make themselves her necessary and expensive Attendants, suggest to her Fancy Diseases she never felt, and make her swallow Pills and Bolus's till they throw her into a real Distemper.

' I wish, Sir, this may not be our Case : I wish this may not be the Consequence of our resolving ourselves into such a Committee ; however, I shall not determine myself to be against it, till I hear what Reasons may be offered for our going into that Committee ; but since it has been so long delayed, I am surpris'd to hear Gentlemen pretend, that our not having been in such a Committee is a Reason for our postponing the Supplies ; especially now that it is so late in the Year as well as in the Season. If they think our going into such a Committee necessary, why did not they move it sooner ? Could they expect that such a Motion would be made by those who do not think any such Motion necessary ? From such a Behaviour one would really suspect, that they delayed making this Motion, on purpose to have a Pretence for postponing the Supplies. I hope this is not the Case : I am persuaded it is not. They could not hope for Success in any such Project ; for, in my Opinion, no Man who considers the Danger *Europe* as well as this Nation is in at present, will upon any Consideration postpone the granting of those Supplies, which are necessary, not only for the Support of our Government, but for enabling his Majesty to take speedy and effectual Measures for preserving a Balance of Power in *Europe*.

' When I reflect, Sir, upon the dangerous, I may say desperate Situation, the Balance of Power is now in, and the consequential Danger this Nation must of course be in : When I reflect upon the precarious Situation our Trade and Navigation both in the *Mediterranean* and *American* Seas, nay, I may say in every Part of the World, must be reduced to, unless we can force *Spain* to give up that unjust Pretence for searching and seizing our Ships, even in Time of Peace, on Account of contraband Goods : When I reflect upon the wise Measures his Majesty has already taken, or is now pursuing, for redeeming *Europe*, as well as this Nation, from such a dangerous Situation : I say, when I reflect upon these Things, I cannot but be astonished, that any Gentleman should propose the postponing of the necessary Supplies, till we have redressed Grievances, which are so little felt, that they have not as yet been discovered, or at least have not as yet been declared to be such by any Resolution of either House of Parliament.

' Let us consider, Sir, the formidable Confederacy against the House of *Austria*, and the present forlorn Condition of that House. The Queen of *Hungary* has shewn a most surprising Spirit in her Distress : Her Subjects have done Wonders in her and their own Defence ; but the Confederacy is so powerful, that she cannot resist it another Campaign ; nor can we by ourselves alone give her such Assistance as will

An. 25. Geo. II.

1741.

be effectual. Some of the Princes in the Confederacy must be drawn off, and a new Confederacy formed for her Support. Neither of these can be done without Money, nor can it be done at all, if it is not speedily done. Now, Sir, suppose *France* should succeed in all her ambitious Projects both in *Germany* and *Italy*: Suppose she should establish her Vice-Emperor upon the Imperial Throne, reduce the Queen of *Hungary* to her Terms, and establish her Son-in-Law, Don *Philip* of *Spain*, in a new-erected Kingdom in *Italy*, what are we then to expect, Sir? Can we expect a happy Issue of our War with *Spain*? Must we not submit to any Terms *France* shall please to prescribe? If we do not, she will, by her Orders, or her Influence, bring all *Europe* upon our Backs; and after the bravest, the most obstinate Defence we can make, we must at last submit to what Terms our Enemies shall please to propose. The Freedom of our Trade and Navigation would certainly be the first Sacrifice to this fatal Event; and our Independency, our Religion, our Liberties and Properties would as certainly be the last; for as to our Lives, it would then be the Interest of *France*, tho' not our own, to preserve them as much, as it is the Interest of a Master to preserve the Lives of his Slaves. These are Events which I think of with Horror, and therefore I cannot agree to postpone any Thing that may prevent them. I hope the House will be of my Opinion, and, consequently, refuse to postpone any longer granting the necessary Supplies, for the sake of redressing Grievances, which are neither felt by the People, declared by this House, nor explained or particularly set forth by those that talk of them.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

Sir *Watkin Williams Wynne* spoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

I shall readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman who spoke last, that our Ancestors never opposed, or, at least, that they never ought to have opposed a just and wise Government in any of its Measures, nor ought they to have talked of redressing Grievances but when some such really existed; but I should be glad, that Gentleman, or any Gentleman, would shew me a Government, that did not assume to itself the great Character of being just and wise, or that would admit any Thing to be a Grievance which they had no Inclination to redress. *Pius, Felix, Inchyus*, were Characters assumed by the most cruel, the most brutish of the *Roman* Tyrants, as well as the most just and glorious of their Emperors; and those great Characters were more profusely bestowed by the slavish *Roman* Senate upon the former, than ever they were upon the latter. In this House, Sir, we ought never to talk of the Government, because it

is the King's; but we may talk of the Administration, we An. 15. Geo. II.
 may censure it, without any Infrachment upon our Con- 1741
 stitution. It is often our Duty to do so, and I will say,
 that no Administration had ever less Title to be called just
 and wise, than that which this Nation has been under for
 twenty Years past; so that the Behaviour of our Ancestors
 under a just and wise Administration, can be no Rule for our
 Conduct at present; nor any Argument against what my
 Hon. Friend has proposed.

‘ We ought upon this Occasion to consider, what was
 the Conduct of our Ancestors, when real Grievances not
 only existed, but were generally and loudly complained of
 by the People, which is our Case at present. In all such
 Cases, we shall find it to have been the constant Practice of
 our Ancestors to begin with an Inquiry into our Grievances,
 and to insist upon their being redressed, or upon having pro-
 per Bills pass'd for that Purpose, before they granted any
 Supplies; and this they have done even when the Nation
 was in the utmost foreign Danger. The memorable Instance
 in the Reign of *Richard the III* never can, never ought to
 be forgot by a *British* House of Commons. The *French*
 had then prepared for a most formidable Invasion upon
England: They had a great Army assembled: They had
 Transports ready for that Army: They had a naval Force
 which we could not, which we did not, pretend to oppose
 at Sea; and all this within a Day's Sail of the Mouth of
 the River *Thames*. In this Condition we were, when the
 Parliament assembled, which that King had called for grant-
 ing him the Supplies necessary for maintaining the Army
 he had prepared, and that Army was then, for want of
 Money, living at free Quarters round the City of *London*.
 In such a dangerous, in such a terrible Situation, what did
 the Parliament do? Did they grant the necessary Supplies?
 No, Sir. The first Thing they did was to present an Ad-
 dress to his Majesty, to remove the Lord High Treasurer,
 and the Lord High Chancellor, from his Councils and Pre-
 sence; and that all those through whose Hands the publick
 Money had passed, might be called to a strict Account.
 That King, by the Advice of these guilty Counsellors, re-
 turned a most haughty Answer, and order'd them, in an
 imperious Stile, to grant the Supplies he demanded; but
 this had a quite contrary Effect: It made the other House
 join with this in a Message to the King, that they would
 proceed to no Business, till his Ministers were punished ac-
 cording to their Deserts. The King was at last forced to
 comply: The Ministers were removed and punished; and
 the two Houses joined in appointing fourteen Commissioners
 to examine the publick Accounts, and to take Care of the

(124)
An. 15. Geo. II. publick Affairs, in the Name and with the Consent of the
1741. King.

I shall mention another Instance of a much fresher Date. Before the * Revolution it had been found by Experience, that the long Continuance of one and the same Parliament was a Grievance of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution. At the Time of the Revolution sufficient Care was not taken to remove this Grievance; and, therefore, the Parliament very soon resolved to supply that Defect. So early as in the Year † 1692, the famous Triennial Bill was brought in, and passed both Houses, but K. William, tho' he came here to secure and establish our Liberties, was so ill advised as to refuse it the Royal Assent. This made the Commons resolve, as soon as they met in November 1694, to have this Bill passed both Houses, and assented to by the King, before they granted any Supplies; and, accordingly, the very first Thing they did, was to order a Bill to be brought ‡ in *For the frequent meeting and calling of Parliaments*, which was accordingly brought in the 22d of that Month, and received the Royal Assent the 22d of the next. We all know, Sir, what a dangerous Situation *Europe* in general, as well as this Nation in particular, was in at that Time. We were engaged in a heavy War, upon the Success of which the Liberties of *Europe* depended: We had a very numerous disaffected Party at home, who were continually forming Plots, and encouraging the *French* to invade us; so that our Religion, Liberties, and Independency, in a great Measure, depended upon the Parliament's granting the necessary Supplies for carrying on the War; yet in these Circumstances this House insisted upon the Triennial Bill's being previously passed into a Law; and it was lucky they did so, for if they had not taken that Opportunity, when the *Dutch* were in so much Danger, we should probably have had no such Bill during that Reign, nor perhaps, to this very Day. It would have been lucky for the Nation, had the Parliament at that Time insisted as strenuously upon the other Bill, which had been refused the Royal Assent in the preceding Session, I mean the Bill *Touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament*; for tho' the Necessity of some

* One of the Compliments paid to King Charles II. not long after his Restoration, was the Repeal of the Triennial Act, which was introduced with a most Courtly Preamble, as appears in *TIMBERLAND's History of the House of Lords*, Vol. I. p. 67.

† See *CHANDLER's History of the House of Commons*, Anno 1692, and 1694, in which an exact Account is given of this whole Affair, with the King's Reasons for his first Refusal.

‡ This Bill was brought in by Robert Harley, Esq; afterwards Earl of Oxford.

some such Bill for securing the Independency of Parliament An. 15. Geo. II.
is now too apparent; yet, I am afraid, it is out of our Power
to make use of the same Method for obtaining it. 1741.

Thus, Sir, if we follow the Steps of our Ancestors, no Danger, no Inconvenience, will ever be thought a prevailing Argument for our granting all the necessary Supplies before seeing any one publick Grievance redressed. I was surpris'd, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman say, that the Party who talk of redressing Grievances before granting Supplies, have never yet explained any one Grievance they desire to be redressed. The bad Conduct of our Ministers, and their Profusion of publick Money, have been often set in a clear Light in this House, and are loudly complain'd of by all impartial and independent Men without Doors: The Septennial Act has been demonstrat'd * to be a Grievance of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution: The allowing of such a Number of Placemen, or any private Pensioners, to have Seats in this House, has been demonstrat'd to be a Grievance of the same Nature; and I could mention several other Grievances that have been fully and particularly explained, and have been exclaimed against not only by a great Party in this House, but by the whole Nation without Doors. I shall grant, that many of them have not as yet been declared to be Grievances by a Majority of the People's Representatives in Parliament, but they have been declared to be such by the general Voice of the Nation; and the Reason why the People's Representatives do not seem to be of the same Opinion with the People, is of all others the Grievance most sensibly felt, and most loudly complain'd of.

The Reason of this most surpris'g Difference in Opinion is generally suppos'd, Sir, to proceed from the Prevalence of Corruption, both at Elections and in Parliament. The Majority in Parliament has for a great many Years, been suppos'd to be biass'd in their Opinions, or directed in their Declarations, by the Posts, Pensions, or Bribes, they possess'd, received, or expect'd; and this is look'd upon by the whole Nation as the greatest Grievance, and as the Source of all our other Grievances: Nay, it has been often declared to be so by a Majority of this House. Pension and Place-Bills have often pass'd through this House, and, consequently, we must allow, that Corruption has been declared to be a Grievance by a Majority of the People's Representatives in Parliament; and that it is a Grievance that has been felt and ought to be removed, or, at least, that it is a Grievance which may be felt and ought to be prevented. As this House, or at least the Majority of us, are as independent-

* See the Debate on a Motion for repealing it, in CHANDLER's History, Anno 1734.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

pendent, and as little liable to Corruption, as any former House ever was, I hope, we shall be of the same Opinion; but as most of those Bills have been rejected by the other House, or by the Crown, we may from Experience be convinced, that we shall never be able to get any proper and effectual Law passed for preventing Corruption, unless we very speedily take the same Method that was taken in 1694 for obtaining the Triennial Bill. I say very speedily, Sir, for Corruption is of such a dangerous Nature, that like Fire, if we allow it to get to a Head, it will be impossible to extinguish it, till it has reduced to Ashes the beautiful Parbrick of our Constitution.

The Hon. Gentleman may not, perhaps, know any Grievance the People think themselves subject to, because he has never, I believe, kept Company with those that had Reason to complain: He may not, perhaps, be sensible of the Burdens the People feel themselves loaded with, because he has always had a great deal more from the Publick, than he was obliged to pay to the publick Charge. There are many other Gentlemen, and not a few in this House, in the same Case with him. I shall not attempt to derogate from the Merit of such Gentlemens Services to the Publick, but I can assure them, that the People generally think, not only that we have by far too many such Servants, but that most of them have much greater Stipends than they deserve. This is what the People look upon as a Grievance. They do not find Fault with the Taxes necessary for the Security of our Government, or for paying off the Interest and Principal of our Debts; but they think, that a great Part of the Taxes they pay, has been misapplied, by maintaining a great Number of unnecessary Officers, and paying a great Number of extravagant Salaries; that many of those Officers have purloined, and applied to their own Use, large Sums of the publick Money that passed through their Hands: The People cannot help thinking so, when they see a publick Officer grown immensely rich, notwithstanding his being known to have come into that Office as poor as a Rat, and to have spent yearly much more than his Salary, extravagant as it was, could afford. This is what the People complain of: This is what they think the Parliament ought to inquire into, before they grant any more Supplies; a great Part of which may probably, without such Inquiry, be disposed of in the same fraudulent Manner.

The People likewise complain, Sir, of our maintaining numerous Armies, fitting out formidable Squadrons, paying foreign Subsidies, and keeping foreign Troops in our Pay, none of which were necessary for the Support of our Government, however necessary they might be for the Support of our

our Administration. The People know how useful the Disposal of Commissions in our Army, and Navy, may be to a Minister at an Election or in Parliament; and they know what Parloinings may be secretly made from a foreign Subsidy, or from the Pay of foreign Troops; but they know nothing of the Dangers that have made those Expences necessary, or that were prevented by putting the Nation to such an extraordinary Charge. For these twenty Years past, has it been so much as pretended, much less proved, that there was ever any Machination or Plot contrived or set on Foot by the Disaffected, or that we have been threatened with any Invasion? For I hope, it will not now be affirmed, that there was any Ground for those Apprehensions we were terrified with, in order to make us swallow that bitter Pill, the Treaty of *Hanover*. When Gentlemen talk of the Plots and Machinations of the Disaffected, and of the Dangers we have from thence been exposed to, they do not consider, that they furnish us with one of the strongest Reasons for going upon an Inquiry into our late Conduct, before we proceed to any other Business; for as the Nation has upon that Account been every Year put to an extraordinary Charge, during the long Course of our late Minister's Administration, and as no Proofs have ever yet been offered for shewing that we were in any Danger; as Time, the Discoverer of all Things, has never yet found out any Thing of this Kind, we are under an indispensable Duty to inquire into it; for if it should appear that there never was any such Danger, we must then conclude that our late Minister and his Accomplices were in a Plot against our Constitution; and that they made use of those imaginary Dangers as a Pretence for getting Money, to enable them to carry on their corrupt Practices against our Constitution.

I hope, Sir, I have shewn that our Grievances are not such as cannot be discovered or explained till we have resolved ourselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the State of the Nation. They are such as are well known: They are such as have been, and are now severely felt by all those who have no Share in being the Cause of them. Our Distemper is therefore very far from being imaginary: It may properly enough be compared to that which is got by a Commerce with Prostitutes, which, if not speedily prevented by an effectual Remedy, either destroys the Patient, or very much weakens his Constitution. I wish this may not already be our Case. I am sure it will very soon be so, if we do not take Care to render it almost impossible for any Prostitute to have a Seat in this House; and this cannot, I think, be done, unless we resolve to defer granting all the necessary Supplies, till we see proper Bills for this

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An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

An. 15. Geo. II. Purpose not only brought in, but approved of by every
1741. Branch of our Legislature.

As some farther Demands may probably be made upon us at the present Conjunction, this may, perhaps, be a Reason with some Gentlemen for not deferring the Supply necessary for maintaining our Army. They may, perhaps, think that we shall hereafter have an Opportunity to insist upon a Redress of our Grievances, before we grant all the Supplies which our present Circumstances may render necessary; but besides its being a bad Precedent, I do not really see, Sir, how we can determine what Number of Troops may be necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year, till we have considered the State of the Nation in a Grand Committee. The Affairs of *Europe* are, we know, in a very confused and dangerous Situation: We likewise know, that we stand engaged as Guarantees of the Pragmatick Sanction; but all the Powers now confederated against the Queen of *Hungary*, except the Duke of *Bavaria* alone, are engaged to guarantee that Settlement as well as we, and if we do not perform that Engagement, we cannot be accused of any Breach of Faith, because the Breach of Faith committed by the other Parties concerned, has made the Performance on our Part impossible, at least that Sort of Performance which consists in sending Troops to her Assistance. We may send her Money, and this Method of assisting her will, perhaps, be the best for her, and, I am sure, the most convenient for us. If this should be resolved on, and this, I think, is the only Thing that can be resolved on, unless we have an Assurance of being join'd by some of the most considerable Powers upon the Continent, we ought to disband a great Many of the Troops we have now on Foot; for surely our War with *Spain* does not require our keeping up such a numerous Land-Army as we have at present, especially if no better Use should be made of it in Time to come, than has been in Time past. Therefore, till we consider the State of the Nation: Till we know what may be expected from the *Dutch*, and other Powers of *Europe*, equally, if not more concerned than we are, for preserving entire the Dominions of the House of *Austria*, it is impossible for us to determine what Number of Troops ought to be kept up for the ensuing Year: And our determining this Question, before we are duly prepared for that Purpose, will have a very bad Effect upon the Minds of the People, because it will make them imagine, that this Parliament is to give Credit to, and to act upon the bare Assertions of Ministers, as implicitly as some late Parliaments have done, which would make them despair of ever meeting with any Justice or Relief from Parliament; and no one can tell what fatal Effects the Despair of a brave People may produce.

* I am very much surpris'd, Sir, to hear Gentlemen ask, Act 15. Geo. II.
1741.
 Why did you not go sooner into a Committee upon the State
 of the Nation? Why was it not moved for by those who
 think it necessary for us to go into such a Committee? Does
 not every one know how much our Time was taken up with
 Elections of very great Importance, till the very Day before
 our last Adjournment? If no such Adjournment, which was
 no Way expected, had happened, the Question would prob-
 ably have been moved, and we should have been in a Com-
 mittee upon that Affair before this Time. Therefore, those
 who think it proper we should consider the State of the Na-
 tion, before we determine what standing Army is necessary
 to keep up for the Service of the Nation, are not to be blam-
 ed for not having made any such Motion, but those only
 who were the Advisers of that Adjournment; nor can I see
 any Reason why such a Motion might not be made by some
 of those who are our Ministers, as well as by those who are
 not; for, in my Opinion, if we had a due Regard to the
 Dignity of our Proceedings, we ought, in every Session, to
 take the State of the Nation into our Consideration, before
 we grant any Supply, or, at least, before we make any par-
 ticular Grants for that Purpose. According to our late Cust-
 om, the Ministers tell us what Number of Men they think
 necessary for the Land Service, and they give us an Estimate
 of the Charge: Upon this we go into the Committee of
 Supply, and there we agree to the Number, without inquir-
 ing whether so great a Number be necessary or no; we ap-
 prove of the Estimate, many of us, I believe, without look-
 ing upon it, and we grant the Sum Total at the End of it.
 Is this consistent with the Dignity of Parliament? Does it
 not look like putting an implicit Faith in the Wisdom and
 Integrity of our Ministers, who, I am sure, very seldom
 deserve so much Confidence? Is it not giving away the Mo-
 ney of our Constituents without knowing why or wherefore,
 tho' one of the chief Ends of sending us hither, is to take
 Care, that no more of their Money shall be granted for the
 publick Service, or any Branch of the publick Service, than
 is made appear to be absolutely necessary.

* I therefore think, that in Regard to the Dignity of our
 own Proceedings, and to that Character we ought to keep
 up among the People, the Custom should be revived and
 established, of taking the State of the Nation into our Con-
 sideration every Session of Parliament, before granting any
 particular Sums for the Supply: and I can see no Danger
 in putting off providing for our Army, for a Week or ten
 Days, that we may in the mean Time take the State of the
 Nation into our Consideration. I shall readily concur with
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An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

the Hon. Gentleman in admitting, that the Nation is in a most dangerous State; I think, it is in a most terrible Situation, with regard to Affairs both foreign and domestick. In the last two heavy Wars we spent above a Hundred Millions Sterling, we contracted above Fifty Millions of Debt, we loaded our People and our Trade with many heavy Taxes, in order to establish a System of Affairs in *Europe*, by which the Balance of Power might be preserved; and now after a Peace of thirty Years, with no one Interruption but what we brought upon ourselves, I may say, out of mere Wantonness, we find the Nation loaded with very near the same Debt, our People still groaning under the same Taxes, our Trade ruined by that Debt and those Taxes, and the System of Affairs in *Europe* turned topsy-turvy; so that unless God Almighty interposes by some extraordinary Instance of his Providence, we must submit to see our most inveterate Enemy lording it over the Continent of *Europe*, and at last over ourselves; or we must engage in a new War as heavy, as dangerous, and perhaps, as tedious as the last; and when we seriously reflect, we have the Mortification to find, that all this has been chiefly owing to our own Conduct. This is, indeed, a most melancholy, a most dreadful Situation: We have been brought into it by our Parliament's taking every Thing upon Trust from our Ministers; therefore, I hope, we shall do so no more. I hope we shall now consider first the State of the Nation; because from thence alone we can determine what Number of Troops ought to be kept up for the ensuing Year; for if there is no Appearance of our being able to form a proper Confederacy upon the Continent, we ought to disband a great Part of our Troops we have now on foot, in order to be able to encrease our Naval Force; because it is upon that alone, after the Balance of Power upon the Continent is destroyed, that we must depend for the Continuance of our future Independency.

Resolutions of
the Grand Com-
mittee relating
to the Army.

This Debate being over, the House resolved itself into a Grand Committee on the Supply, and came to the following Resolutions; *viz.* That a Number of Land Forces, for Guards, Garrisons, &c. (including 2323 Invalids) amounting to 35,554 effective Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included, be employed for the Year 1742: And that 1,004,947 *l.* 10 *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof: That 11,550 Marines, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included, employed for the Year 1741, be continued for 1742; That 206,253 *l.* 15 *s.* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof: And that 53,995 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* be granted for

for maintaining a Regiment of Foot raised in *America*, An. 15. Geo. II. for the Service of the *West Indies*, for 1742. 1741.

The same Day Major-General *Anstruther* * withdrew his Petition for *Anstruther-Wester, &c.* As did also *Alexander Udney, Esq;* for the Burghs of *Aberdeen, &c.* Petitions for Anstruther and Aberdeen withdrawn.

Feb. 22. Mr *Philipson*, from the Commissioners of the Navy, presented to the House the Account of the Number of Seamen, pursuant to their Order of the 28th ult. which was ordered to lie on the Table.

Ordered an Account of all Woollen Goods, exported from *Great Britain*, and to and from what Ports, from *Christmas* 1715, to *Christmas* 1741, distinguishing each Year, with the Value thereof : And an Account of all Wool and Woollen-Yarn imported from *Ireland* into *Great Britain*, from *Christmas* 1729, to *Christmas* 1741 distinguishing each Year, to be laid before the House. Several Accounts ordered, and Petitions presented, relating to the Woollen-Trade.

A Petition of the Mayor, &c. of *Taunton* : Also of the Master-Clothiers, &c. of *Shepton-Mallet*, in the County of *Somerset*, and of the Lord Mayor, &c. of the City of *York*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, were referred to the Committee of the whole House.

Then Mr *Phillips* stood up, and moved that the Serjeant at Arms should go into the Court of Requests, &c. and summon the Members to attend, which was ordered accordingly ; and he being return'd, Mr *Scrope* reported from the Committee on the Supply the foregoing Resolutions.

Hereupon Mr *Phillips* spoke to the following Effect :

Mr Speaker,

' I do not rise, Sir, to oppose any of the Resolutions that Mr *Phillips*'s have been now read to you, but only to take Notice, that when some of those Resolutions were agreed to in the Committee, I mean particularly those relating to the Marines, and the Regiment in *America*, the Committee was in so great a Confusion and Disorder, that it was impossible for any Gentleman who was not close to the Table, to know what was doing. It is greatly for your Honour, Sir, that you never suffer any Question to be put, without keeping the House to the strictest Attention ; and, I hope, that for the future, before Questions of this great Importance are put in the Committee, the Chairman will take Care to preserve the same Attention, that every Gentleman may have an Opportunity of giving his Dissent, as well as his Assent, and that nothing may be obtained by Surprise. Speech on the Resolutions relating to the Army, being reported.

1741

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* Lieutenant Governor of Minorca. — See his Examination before the House of Lords, relating to the State of that Island, in *TIMBERLAND's History*, Vol. VIII. p. 69.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

‘ Now I am up, Sir, give me Leave to take Notice, that the Troops voted in the Committee, which are now to be agreed to by the House, amount in the whole to 50,867 Men, which is 815 more than were voted last Year; and those are exclusive of the Troops in the *Plantations*, *Minorca*, and *Gibraltar*, which are likewise on the *English* Establishment. You have thirteen Regiments, and fourteen Companies of Invalids there, which amount to above 11,700 Men; so that in the Whole you have in the *British* Pay, besides Foreigners, above 62,500 Landmen and 40,000 Seamen, which cost the Nation above 3,611,000 *l. per Annum*; and these are exclusive of Half-pay Officers: A large Number of Forces indeed, too great, I fear, for this Nation long to support; therefore, I hope, Sir, I trust from what the Hon. Gentleman over the Way said in the Committee,* (and I repose great Confidence in what he does say) that these Troops will not only be kept up, but that they will be employed; and the Moment the Necessity of keeping them up ceases, that the Troops shall also cease, I mean all those that are not necessary for Guards and Garrisons at home. If this is done, the Nation will be convinced there is an Alteration of Measures as well as Men, and that the Troops were not kept up to awe the People into a slavish Dependence on Men in Power at home, but to retrieve the almost lost Honour and Reputation of the Nation abroad; that they were not kept up to make fine Shews in Camps, and at Reviews, but to do the Nation real Service; that they were not kept up to influence Elections in *England*, but to restore the Balance of Power in *Europe*. These Considerations will make every Man chearfully contribute his Proportion to the Expence of them.

‘ Give me Leave to say a Word more: When these Supplies are granted, I hope, we shall all join Hand in Hand to make Inquiries, to redress Grievances, and to pass such wholesome Bills as may effectually put it out of the Power of any Ministry to mislead the King, to corrupt the Parliament, or to enslave the People. If these Measures are taken, and, I hope, these Measures will be taken, *England* will again rear its Head, the mutual Confidence that ought to subsist between the King and his Subjects will be restored, and the Spirits of the People, which have been long depressed with the Weight of heavy Taxes, without any Prospect of Relief, will be revived, Trade and Manufactures will flourish, and we shall, indeed, be a new People. The Prospect of these Things, Sir, is greatly pleasing, and the more so, when we consider, that they are in our Power: Let us then

* Mr Pulteney.

then chearfully set about this great Work, and *England* will date the *Era* of its Happiness from the glorious Session of 1741. An. 13. Geo. II. 1741.

Then the said Resolutions were agreed to by the House, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, &c. and that Sir *William Young**, and Mr *Manson*† do prepare and bring in the same. Mutiny Bill order'd in.

Feb. 23. A Petition of the Mayor, &c. of *Barnstable*: Petitions relating And also of the Freeholders and Manufacturers, &c. of *Nottingham*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture. to the Woollen Manufacture. Manufacture, was referred to the Committee of the whole House.

Mr *Scrope* reported from the Committee of the whole House on the Supply, their Resolution, which was agreed to by the House, viz. That towards raising the Supply, there be issued 1,000,000 *l.* out of the Sinking Fund; and a Bill was ordered in accordingly. A Million voted out of the Sinking Fund.

Then the House proceeded to the further hearing the Merits of the *Denbighshire* Election; and the Counsel on both Sides being withdrawn, *William Myddelton*, Esq; High Sheriff of the said County at the last Election was called in, and heard; and being withdrawn, it was resolved, that the Majority of the Voters upon the Poll was for the Petitioner, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Bart. and was so declared by the High Sheriff at the Close of the Poll, and no Alteration was made in the said Poll, untill after the High Sheriff had made the Return: Also that *John Myddelton*, Esq; was not duly returned, and that Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Bart. ought to have been return'd a Knight of the Shire for the said County; and the Clerk of the Crown was ordered to amend the said Return. Then it was farther resolved, that *William Myddelton*, Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *Denbigh* at the last Election for a Knight of the Shire, having taken upon himself to return *John Myddelton*, Esq; contrary to the Majority of Votes received by him upon the Poll, and to his own Declaration of the Numbers at the Close of the Poll, without any publick subsequent Examination into the Rights of the Voters previous to such Return, and having afterwards presumed to alter the said Poll, in order to give Colour to such Return, has acted partially, arbitrarily, and illegally, in Defiance of the Laws, in manifest Violation of the Rights of the Freeholders of the said County, and in Breach of the Privilege of the House; and that he be for his said Offence, committed Prisoner to *Newgate*. The House also voted an Address to his The Denbighshire Election determined; And the High Sheriff committed to Newgate.

* Secretary at War.

† Deputy Pay-master of the Forces.

An. 15. Geo. II. his Majesty, to remove the said *William Myddelton*, Esq; from being Receiver General of the Land Revenue in *North Wales*, and also from being one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the Counties of *Denbigh* and *Flint*,
 1741.

Accounts of Seamen presented.

Feb. 24. Mr *Hills*, one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded Seamen, at the Bar presented to the House several Accounts, pursuant to their Order of the 28th ult. which were referred to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, &c. was referred.

Petitions for Kinross and Penryn withdrawn.

The same Day *Alexander Bruce*, Esq; withdrew his Petition for the Shire of *Kinross*: As did also *John Clavering*, Esq; and Lord *Glenorchy* both for *Penryn*, [See p. 9.]

Farther Resolutions relating to the High Sheriff of Denbighshire.

Then it was ordered that the Resolution of the House of Yesterday, relating to *William Myddelton*, Esq; High Sheriff of the County of *Denbigh*, be humbly laid before his Majesty by such Members as are of the Privy Council, at the same Time that they present to his Majesty the Address of the House Yesterday, relating to the said *William Myddelton*, Esq;

Then the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Petition of the Merchants of *London*, &c. and several Papers presented to the House on the 2d and 18th Inst. by Mr *Corbett*, were referred to the said Committee; and, after some Time spent therein, Sir *Robert Godschall* reported that they had heard farther Evidence.

Feb. 25. Mr *Comptroller* reported to the House, that his Majesty will give Directions for doing what is desired by the House, in Relation to *William Myddelton*, Esq;

Petition from the Dean and Chapter of Westminster referred to the Committee of Supply.

A Petition of the Dean and Chapter of *Westminster* was presented to the House, setting forth, That by several Acts of Parliament, several Sums have been issued and applied towards repairing the said Church, and a considerable Progress has been made therein, and an Account how the Money has been expended has been annually laid before the House; but that the Monies already granted being near expended, the said Works will soon be at a Stand; that the said Dean and Chapter are highly sensible of the Favours already conferred on the said Collegiate Church; and hope that the good Work, so far advanced by the Aid of former Parliaments, will meet with the like Encouragement and Assistance from the present.

Mr *Pulteney* having, by the King's Command, acquainted the House, that his Majesty recommends the said Petition to the Consideration of the House, it was referred to the Committee of Supply.

Then

Then it was ordered, *Nem. Con.* that Leave be given to An 15. Geo. II. 1741. bring in a Bill, To explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, and to restrain the Partiality and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at such Elections; and that Mr Pulteney, Mr Fauxkerley, Mr Winnington, Mr Pelham, Mr Attorney General, Mr Bathurst, Mr Scot, Mr Carew, Mr Phillips, Mr Hay, Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, Mr Grenville, and Sir Humphry Howard do prepare and bring in the same. Bill relating to Returning Officers order'd in;

A Petition of the Mayor, &c. of Tiverton, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to the Committee of the whole House.

Feb. 26. It was ordered that Leave be given to bring in a Bill For making more effectual the Laws for disabling Persons from being chosen Members of, or sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who have any Pension during Pleasure, for any Number of Years, or any Office held in Trust for them; and that Mr Carew, Lord Gage, and Mr Phillips do prepare and bring in the same. Also to disable Pensioners from being Members.

Dr Lee reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, the Matter, as it appeared to them, touching the Petition of Charles Gray and Samuel Savill, Esqrs. complaining of an undue Election and Return for the Borough of Colchester, with their Resolutions thereupon, which were agreed to by the House, viz. That the Majority of Votes received upon the Poll for the said Borough, was for the said Charles Gray and Samuel Savill, Esqrs. and was so declared at the casting up of the Numbers upon the Close of the Poll by the Town-Clerk, by the Direction of Serjeant Robert Price, Deputy Mayor of the said Borough, and no Vote was afterwards disallowed. Then it was resolved that John Olmius, Esq; and Matthew Martin, Esq; were neither duely returned nor duely elected; and that Charles Gray and Samuel Savill, Esqrs. ought to have been returned, and were duely elected Burgesses to serve for the said Borough; and the Clerk of the Crown amended the said Return. Determination of the Colchester Election.

March 1. A new Writ was order'd for Derby in the Room of Lord James Cavendish*, who accepted the Office of Auditor of all Foreign Imposts in Ireland. New Writ for Derby.

Ordered a Copy of an Order from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to the respective Captains of such of his Majesty's Ships, as from Time to Time may be in the River of Lisbon, dated the 20th of January 1739: Also of an Order, dated the 25th of March 1740, to the respective Captains then at Lisbon, or that should thereafter arrive there, bound to England: Likewise of an Order to the respective

* Lord Duncannon, eldest Son of the Earl of Besborough, was elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. *pective Captains of his Majesty's Ships, who shall have Occasion to put into the Port of Lisbon, dated the 28th of March 1741, to be laid before the House.*

Pension-Bill
read.

Mr *Carr* presented to the House the Pension-Bill, [See p. 135] which was read the first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Election for Dornock, &c. declar'd void.

Then the House proceeded to the Hearing the Petition for an undue Election and Return for the District of Burghs of *Dornock, Kirkwall, &c.* And the Counsel on both Sides being withdrawn, the said Election was declar'd void.

Accounts from the Admiralty.

March 2. Mr *Corbett*, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented Copies of the three Orders, directed to be laid before the House Yesterday. And also an Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, as it stood on the 31st of *December* 1741, which were referred to the Committee of the whole House, on the Merchants Petition.

Bill pass'd for granting One Million out of the Sinking Fund.

Then the ingrossed Bill for granting to his Majesty 1,000,000 *l.* out of the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

March 3. Ordered a new Writ for the Burghs of *Dornock*, Kirkwall, Tain, &c.*

Petition of several Wine-Merchants trading to Spain.

A Petition of several Merchants, was presented to the House, setting forth, that the Petitioners were considerable Traders to *Spain*, when in Amity with this Kingdom; and that the House having, on the 5th of *February* 1739, pass'd a Bill, for prohibiting Commerce with *Spain*, which was to commence from the 24th of *June* 1740, the Petitioners apprehended, they might with Safety order any Merchandize from thence, that could be brought into the Kingdom before the said 24th of *June*; and that in Consequence of the Orders given by the Petitioners, at different Times, to their respective Correspondents in *Spain*, (many of which were executed before the Declaration of War against that Kingdom, and the latest of them were sent from hence on or before the 14th *February* 1739) sundry Wines were bought in *Spain* for the Petitioners Account, of which there now remain unimported in the whole 1386 Tons, which were immediately paid for according to the Course of that Trade, great Part whereof was actually shipped, and the rest ready to be shipped, and would have arrived in this Kingdom long before the said 24th of *June*, according to the usual Time of performing such Voyages; and that the Bill was under the Consideration of a Committee of the House of Lords on the 26th of *February*; and the Time of the Commencement thereof was then altered from the 24th of

* Robert Craigie, Esq; his Majesty's Advocate for Scotland was elected.

of *June* to the 1st of *May*; whereupon the Petitioners did, by next Post, send Orders to *Spain*, to stop the farther Shipping of the said Wines; and that the Amendments made by the Lords being sent to this House, and taken into Consideration on the 25th of *March*, some Amendments were made to them, and Conferences with the Lords were had thereupon, which rendered it uncertain what Day would be agreed upon for the Commencement of the said Act, until the 24th of *April*, when the first of *June* was the Day fixed; but it was then too late for the Petitioners to give Orders for importing the said Wines by the 1st of *June*, as such Orders could not, according to the usual Course of the Post, reach their Correspondents in *Spain* till the middle of *May*; and that the Petitioners have given Orders to their several Correspondents in *Spain*, to export the said Wines from thence to neutral Ports; and as the King of *Spain* or his Subjects, cannot receive any Benefit or Advantage from the Importation thereof, and in regard the Loss, which will otherwise be very great, must fall wholly on his Majesty's Subjects, and the Duties payable for the same must be intirely lost, unless the said Wines are brought into this Kingdom, (which cannot be effected without the Aid of Parliament) praying the House to take the Case of the Petitioners into Consideration. Hereupon it was ordered that the said Petition be referred to the Consideration of a Committee.

March 4. The House proceeded to the Hearing the Petition of *Algernon Earl of Mountrath*, and *George Berkeley*, Esq; complaining of an undue Election and Return for *Hedon*. And a Copy of the Poll, taken at the last Election for the said Borough, being produced; the total Numbers of the Voters for the several Candidates were read; and a Witness was examined to prove, that many of the Electors were bribed, by Agents of the Sitting Members, whose Votes being deducted from the Poll, the Counsel insisted that the Petitioners had a Majority of legal Votes. And they being withdrawn, the House was informed, by a Member, that Mr *Chute*, one of the Sitting Members, being sick, had authorized him to acquaint the House, that he desires not to give them any Trouble. And Mr *Robinson*, the other Sitting Member, being absent; it was resolved, *Nem. Con.* that the Earl of *Mountrath*, and Mr *Berkeley*, were duly elected for the said Borough.

Sir *Robert Godschall* reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider of the Petition of the Merchants; the Resolutions of the said

An. 15. Geo. II. Committee, which were agreed to by the House, as follows, viz.

Resolutions of the Grand Committee on the Merchants Petition, which are order'd to be laid before the King.

Resolved, I. That notwithstanding the repeated Applications of the Merchants, for Cruizers to be properly stationed for the Protection of the Trade of this Nation, from the Privateers of the Enemy, the due and necessary Care has not been taken to keep a proper Number of his Majesty's Ships employed in that Service, more especially in and near the Channel and Soundings; for Want of which, many Ships have been taken by the Enemy, some of them of considerable Value, to the great Loss of many of his Majesty's Subjects, the great Advantage and Encouragement of the Enemy, and the Dishonour of this Nation.

II. That the Detention of the Fleet of Merchant Ships bound to *Portugal*, for near twelve Months, by the Refusal of Protections for some Time, and the Delay of Convoy afterwards, gave our Rivals, in Trade an Opportunity of introducing new Species of their Woollen Manufactures into *Portugal*, to the great Detriment of this Kingdom. It was also ordered, *Nem. Con.* That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better protecting and securing the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, and that Sir *Robert Godschall* and Sir *John Barnard* do prepare and bring in the same.

A Bill order'd for the Security of Trade in Time of War.

Then it was farther ordered, That the above Resolutions be laid before the King, by such Members as are of the Privy Council.

March 8. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Froome*, and also of *Wellington* in *Somersetshire*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen-Trade, was referr'd to the Committee.

His Majesty's Answer.

Mr *Comptroller* reported to the House his Majesty's Answer to the Resolutions of the House of the 4th Instant, That he will always have Regard to what is represented to him by the House of Commons.

Bill order'd for Relief of insolvent Debtors.

Ordered in a Bill for Relief of insolvent Debtors; and that Mr *Cornwall*, the Lord *Gage*, Mr *Foley*, Mr *Thomas Foley*, jun. Mr *Hopton*, and Mr *Winford* do prepare and bring in the same.

Mutiny Bill pass'd.

The Bill for punishing Mutiny and Desertion, &c. was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Nonson* *.

Petitions relating to running of Wooll.

March 9. A Petition of several Clothiers in *Devonshire* was presented to the House, complaining of the Practice of running Wool to *France*, which was referred to the Committee of the whole House.

Then

* Deputy Paymaster of the Army.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee on the Supply the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House: An. 15, Geo. II.
1741.

I. That 127,703 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.* be granted to his Majesty, for the Office of Ordnance for Land Service for 1742. Resolutions on
the Supply.

II. That 82,728 *l.* 9 *s.* 11 *d.* be granted, for defraying the extraordinary Expence of the said Office not provided for by Parliament.

III. That 58,737 *l.* 11 *s.* 2 *d.* 4 be granted, for making good the Deficiency of the General Fund for the Year, ended at *Michaelmas* 1741.

IV. That 4048 *l.* 14 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted, to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the Additional Stamp Duties at *Christmas* 1740.

V. That 10,000 *l.* be granted, to re-place to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the same to the Governor and Company of the Bank of *England*, for half a Year's Interest, due the 8th of *March* 1740, on the principal Sum of 500,000 *l.* by them lent on Credit of the Salt Duties towards the Supply of the Year 1735.

VI. That 263,731 *l.* 17 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted, to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Year 1741.

Then the Serjeant at Arms having in the usual Manner summoned the Members to attend, a Motion was made by Lord *Limerick*, that a Committee be appointed to enquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at home and abroad, during the last twenty Years; whereupon a great Debate ensued: His Lordship supported his Motion to the following Effect. Debate on the
Lord Limerick's
Motion for ap-
pointing a Com-
mittee to inquire
into the Conduct
of Affairs for the
last 20 Years.

Sir,

Among the many important Duties of this House, there is not one, which, when faithfully discharged, can contribute more to the Good of our Country, and the Glory and Security of our Sovereign, than that of inquiring strictly and impartially into the Conduct of those who are intrusted by the King with the executive Part of our Government. In all Countries, Sir, the real Interest of the King, and that of the People, depend so much upon one another, and are so inseparably connected, that no King, even the most arbitrary, would ever neglect, or act in Opposition to the Interest or Happiness of his People, if he were well advised, and well served by his Ministers; but as the private Views of Ministers are generally inconsistent with the true Interest of the People, they often by Flattery, or some other Means, prevail upon their Master to act in direct Opposition to his own Interest, as well as that of his People; or they encourage his Indolence, or divert his Attention, that they may

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

the more freely oppress those whom he is, both in Interest and Duty, obliged to protect. As Kings are generally beset by their Ministers, the Misfortune is, that the King seldom hears of the Grievances or Complaints of the People, till by an Insurrection he is tumbled headlong from his Throne, or forced to secure it by the Massacre of great Numbers of his Subjects; but by our happy Constitution, the Sovereign of these Kingdoms is secure against this Misfortune, because by Means of this House, while it remains independent of Ministers, the King must hear of, and may in Time redress the Grievances of his People; and if any of his Ministers have been guilty of Misconduct, it will be discovered by a fair and an open Inquiry.

Thus, Sir, it must appear, that in Duty to our King as well as our Country, we ought to enquire often into the Conduct of his Ministers. This is our Duty at all Times, but it becomes more indispensably so, when the People appear generally dissatisfied with the Administration, and call aloud for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs. From this Introduction, Sir, it may be presumed, that I am to conclude what I have to say, with a Motion for an Inquiry; but to shew, that this Inquiry ought to go as far back as I design it should, I must beg Leave to make a few Remarks upon the Conduct of our Ministers for twenty Years past; and in order to obviate the common Objection, that our Measures have been all approved of by Parliament, I shall begin with observing, that it is, and may be justly suspected, that during the Time I have mentioned, our Ministers have taken most unjustifiable Methods for gaining a corrupt Influence, both at Elections and in Parliament. While our Constitution subsists in its full Force, it is certain, that the Parliament, or at least this House of Parliament, will always be of the same Complexion with the Generality of the People. It is from this House his Majesty is to know the Sentiments as well as the Complaints of his People; therefore, when Measures generally disliked by the People, meet with an Approbation from this House, it may be justly suspected, that some illegal Methods have been taken for obtaining that Approbation; and if upon a new Election a Minister, who by his Crimes or Imprudence has rendered himself generally obnoxious to the People, should nevertheless get a Majority of his Friends, or rather Creatures, returned as Members of this House, we must suppose, that some illegal Methods were taken for obtaining those Returns.

This Consideration alone, Sir, without any other Proofs, is sufficient to convince every impartial Man, that for twenty Years

Years past an illegal Influence has prevailed both in Parliament and at Elections; for during that whole Time we have been governed by a Minister, who as soon as he got into the Administration, rendered himself unpopular, and who has every Year, since that Time, increased that Unpopularity, by pursuing Measures both at home and abroad, which were inconsistent with our Constitution, or with the Honour and Interest of the Nation. It is very well known, Sir, what a Ferment was raised in the Nation by the Execution of the *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720.* It is known, that the Ferment then raised was far from being allayed by the Measures taken, the Year following, for punishing the Guilty and restoring publick Credit. The Discontents were so great, that from his late Majesty's own Authority, in his Speech at the Beginning of the next Parliament, I can say, they gave Hopes to the Disaffected amongst us, and encouraged them to enter into a Conspiracy for overturning our present happy Establishment. The Nation being in these Circumstances, one would have expected, from the Nature of our Constitution, that the new Parliament, which was summoned in the Year 1722, would generally have consisted of such as were no Friends to the Administration; but when the Parliament assembled, this House soon appeared to be of a ministerial, instead of being of a popular Complexion; from whence one must naturally, and, I think, necessarily conclude, that our Ministers had found Means to corrupt a Majority of our Elections; and this Conclusion is very much strengthened by the large Sums granted for paying off the Debts of the Civil List before, and soon after the chusing of that Parliament; for in the Year 1720, the Sum of 300,000 *l.* was paid for this Purpose by the two Insurance Companies; in the Year 1721, 500,000 *l.* more was granted by Parliament † for the same Purpose, and in the Year 1725, ‡ another Sum of 500,000 *l.*

Besides these large Sums, Sir, which were granted openly and expressly for paying off the Debts and Incumbrances of the Civil List; by a Clause artfully slipped into an Act of Parliament in the Year 1721, an annual Sum of above 36,000 *l.* was added to the Civil List; by ordering, that the old Pensions and Annuities charg'd upon the hereditary Revenues should, for the future, be paid without being deemed to be Part of the 700,000 *l.* settled upon his late Majesty for his Life; and in the Year 1725, the Sum of 101,800 *l.* was taken from the Sinking Fund, to compleat his late Majesty's Civil List Revenue to 700,000 *l. per Ann.* and soon after

* See CHANDLER'S History, Geo. I. p. 223. — || Ibid. p. 215.
— † Ibid. p. 257. — ‡ Ibid. p. 340.

An. 15. Geo. II. after 42,200 *l.* was taken from the Post-Office Revenue.

1741.

Thus, Sir, it appears, that in the last seven Years of his late Majesty's Reign, there was no less than 1,424,000 *l.* extraordinary Grants made to the Civil List, besides its being freed from the Payment of 36,000 *l.* yearly, which it was before charged with; and it is very remarkable, that in the Year 1720, the same Minister, who has ever since, I may say, presided in our Councils, forsook being a Country-Gentleman*, as he had before professed himself, and again begun to be a Minister of State. This, I say, very much strengthens the Conclusion, that in the Year 1722, when a new Parliament was chosen, the Minister had found Means to corrupt a Majority of our Elections; and this will answer for that Parliament's having made such extraordinary additional Grants to the Civil List, without having ever so much as once enquired, in a proper Manner, into the Produce of the Civil List Revenue, or into the Management of those Revenues: It will likewise answer for that Parliament's having approved of the Treaty of *Hanover*, without appointing a Secret Committee to inquire into the Truth of the improbable Facts pretended as the Cause of that Treaty; and it will answer for the Minister's asking from, and that Parliament's granting, an Addition of 120,000 *l.* per Ann. to the Civil List, during his present Majesty's Life.

I come now, Sir, to the second Parliament which was chosen under the same Minister's Influence. By the Conduct of our Minister, and the Compliance of the last Parliament, it may be supposed, the Discontents of the People were no Way allayed: It is certain they were rather increased, when a new Parliament came necessarily to be chosen in the Year 1727. His present Majesty's happy and peaceable Accession to the Throne had, 'tis true, given great Joy to every good Subject; but that Joy had no Sort of Relation to the Ministers of the former Reign: On the contrary, it was very much increased by its being generally presumed, that the Ministers, or at least the chief Minister of the former Reign, would be dismissed and called to a strict Account; therefore it was to be expected, that the People would chuse such Representatives as were well affected to his Majesty, but it was not to be expected, if they were left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, that they would generally chuse such as were known to be attached to the former Administration. Yet, nevertheless, it soon appeared, that such Men were generally chosen, which of itself is a strong Argument against this Parliament's being freely chosen, and this Argument receives additional Strength from the memorable extraordinary

* See CHANDLER's History, Anno 3. Geo. I. 1717. p. 120.

nary Grant of 115,000 ^l* which was made to the Civil List, An. 25. Geo. II. at the Beginning of his present Majesty's Reign.

1741.

The very same Administration being continued by his present Majesty (for the few new Members added have always been look'd on as Cyphers) and this new Parliament being likewise of a ministerial, instead of being of a popular Complexion, the Civil List, by this Means, got some new Acquisitions, during this Parliament; the vast Expences the Nation was put to in paying foreign Troops, for securing us against chimerical Dangers, were approved of; and the Treaty of *Sevilla*, by which a Foundation was laid for ruining the House of *Austria*, without gaining any one Advantage to this Nation, met with a parliamentary Approbation; and the Losses and Complaints of our Merchants, occasioned by the *Spanish* Depredations, both before and after that Treaty, met with no Regard from Parliament, at least none but what was, I may say, dictated by our Ministers. Thus the Behaviour of this Parliament became, I think, a convincing Proof of the Methods by which it was chosen; and its continual Compliance gave our Minister, at last, the Courage to bring a Scheme into Parliament, which would at once have absolutely ruined our Constitution, by giving all future Ministers the Direction of most of our Elections. When I say this, Sir, I believe, every Gentleman, that hears me will suppose, I mean the Excise-Scheme which owed its Disappointment, not so much to the Virtue of this House, as to some noble Lords who not only persuaded their Friends here to be against it, but would probably have prevented its being agreed to in their House, if it had been passed in this.

This most wicked and desperate Scheme, Sir, work'd the Discontents of the People almost into Madness. It raised such a Ferment in the Nation, that the Minister and his chief Supporters in this Scheme, were burnt in Effigy at many Places in the Kingdom; and as this happened in the Summer 1733, one may easily judge, what Temper the People were in, with regard to our Ministers, the Summer following, when a general Election for a new Parliament came necessarily on; for no one can pretend, they had in the mean Time done any one Thing, either at Home or Abroad, for reconciling themselves to the People, but on the contrary, some Officers had been dismissed for no other Reason, but their appearing against the Excise-Scheme; and several necessary and popular Motions had been rejected in the last Session of this Parliament by the Influence of our Ministers.

In

* See the Account of this Grant, as also the Names of the Members who voted for and against it, in CHANDLER's Hist. Anno 1739.

An. 13. Geo. II.
1741.

In these Circumstances, Sir, can it be imagined, that the People, if left to a free and uncorrupted Choice, would return a Majority of those who were the professed Friends and Supporters of our Minister? Yet a Majority of such were returned as Members of this House, and some of them were rechosen at the very Places where they had, but the Year before, been burnt in Effigy. This Parliament accordingly behaved as the former two had done: They agreed to every Thing the Minister proposed: They approved of every Thing he did, Abroad and at Home; and they rejected every Motion, and every Bill, which he but seemed to dislike. They furnished Money for Fleets and Armies to assist the Emperor, and they also approved of our giving him no Assistance: They made a considerable Addition to the Civil List, under Pretence of its suffering by the Gin-Act: * They took no Notice of the delusive and provoking Treatment our Commissaries had met with in *Spain*, because our Minister seemed resolved to put up with any Thing rather than enter into a War: And to sum up all, they approved of the late Convention. From hence, Sir, I think, it must be presumed, that this Parliament was chosen by the same Sort of Influence the two former had been; and upon the Choice of this Parliament, I must make one Observation which ought to be taken particular Notice of. Some of the noble Lords who declared themselves openly against the Excise-Scheme, and persuaded their Friends in this House to Vote against it, were of the sixteen Peers for *Scotland*. And it is very remarkable, that not one of all those Peers † could get himself rechosen at the next Election, tho' they were of as good Families, and had as good Characters as any Lords in the Kingdom; and every one knows, they were turned out of every Office or Employment they held at the Pleasure of the Crown.

Whether any corrupt Practices have been made Use of for influencing Gentlemen in their Way of voting, I shall not pretend to decide: I hope every Gentleman would disdain being so practised upon, and would resent the Attempt in a Gentleman-like Manner; but from what I have said, I hope, there will appear something more than a Presumption, that some such Practices have been made Use of at Elections for 20 Years past; and when we see Gentlemen turn'd out of

* Seventy Thousand Pounds were granted for that Purpose. See CHANDLER'S Hist. Anno 9. Geo. II. p. 193.

† The Duke of Montrose, the Marquis of Tweedale, the Earls of Rothes, Buchan, Stair and Marchmont, were left out at the General Election in 1734: See TIMBERLAND'S History of the House of Lords, Vol. 4.

of honourable or lucrative Employments, for no other assignable Reason, but because of their voting against ministerial Measures in Parliament, it must be allowed, that without any personal Threatenings, or even without a personal Application, it will have some Influence upon those whose Subsistence chiefly depends on the Employments they possess at the Pleasure of a Prime Minister. Therefore, I hope it will not be made Use of as an Objection to the Motion I am to make, that for these last twenty Years, Accounts have been regularly laid before, and all our Measures approved of by Parliament. On the contrary, as there is so much Ground for Suspicion of corrupt Practices having been made Use of, and as those Practices can be detected by nothing less than the Power and Authority of Parliament, this very Approbation becomes one of the strongest Reasons for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

After what I have said, Sir, I think it unnecessary to enter into a particular Examination of the many Steps in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, that have given so great Disgust to the Nation; and for which no Reason could ever yet be assign'd that was satisfactory, or so much as seem'd satisfactory to those who neither possessed nor expected any Place under the Government. Some I have cursorily mentioned, and if, upon this Occasion, an Attempt should be made to justify any of them, I hope, the Arguments made Use of for that Purpose will be fully answered by those whose Sentiments are the same with mine. An impartial and strict Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs is what the whole Nation expects from this new Parliament; and therefore I shall conclude with moving, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at Home and Abroad, during the last Twenty Years.

His Lordship was seconded by Sir John St Aubyn, to this Effect: Sir John St Aubyn.

Sir,

The Inquiry moved for by the Noble Lord, is so generally and so loudly called for by the People without Doors, and it is what we have in former Parliaments been so often provoked to by those within, who have had for many Years the Direction of our publick Affairs, that I can suggest to myself but one Reason for its being now opposed by those very Men, who have formerly thrown out Defiances, and provoked us to inquire into their Conduct. In former Parliaments, when they threw out those Defiances, they were well assured of having a great Majority of their Friends in the House, and consequently of having such Gentlemen nam-

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

ed to be of the Secret Committee, as would follow their Directions in the Inquiry they were to make; and from such an Inquiry they could fear no Danger, even tho' the Evidence of their Guilt had been as clear as the Sun at Noon-Day.

That this, Sir, would be the Consequence they knew by Experience, because they had had a Proof of it in the Affair relating to the Frauds of the Customs, which was brought under the Consideration of the House by the famous Excise-Scheme; for the Reason given for putting that insufferable Yoke upon the Necks of the People was, the many Frauds committed in the Customs. These Frauds our Ministers said were entirely owing to the Artifice and Cunning of our Merchants and Shop-keepers; and that it was impossible to prevent or put a Stop to them, any other Way than by turning all the considerable Branches of our Customs into an Excise. On the other Hand, our Merchants insisted, that most of the Frauds in our Customs were owing to the Misconduct, Neglect or Connivance in the Officers, and that they might be almost entirely prevented by some proper Regulations, and by having a watchful Eye over the Conduct of our Custom-House Officers.

This, I say, Sir, our Merchants insisted on. They not only insisted upon it, but they went farther: They got their Friends in the House to move for an Inquiry into the Frauds of the Customs; and our Ministers having set those Frauds in such a hideous Light, could not avoid consenting to such an Inquiry; but what was the Consequence? As they had a great Majority in the House, the Commissioners of the Treasury, * and a few more of their own particular Friends, were put upon this select Committee of Inquiry. That is to say, the Gentlemen who have the Nomination, both of the Commissioners and Officers of the Customs, and are, consequently, answerable for their Conduct, were appointed to inquire into and detect their Misconduct, without any Indemnification to those Smugglers that should come to give Evidence against a Commissioner or Officer, or to any inferior Officer that should come to give Evidence against his Superior. Upon the Appointment of such a Committee, the Merchants despaired of any Success, therefore they resolved to give themselves no Trouble; and the Inquiry ended, as every one expected it would, in a Justification of all the Commissioners and Officers of our Customs.

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* See the Names of the said Committee, every one of whom voted for the Excise-Scheme; as also of those Members who were proposed on the other Side, with the Numbers on the Ballot for each, in CHANDLER'S History, Anno 6. Geo. II. 1733. p. 375.

This was a most certain Proof to our Ministers, that they could never be in any Danger from an Inquiry into their Conduct, as long as they had so great a Majority in Parliament; and accordingly, from henceforth, they began to be more frequent, and more presumptuous in throwing out their Defiances than they had ever been before. But the Case is now altered: The Majority of this House seems to consist of such as will not approve of their Conduct, unless they find it merits their Approbation; therefore, if a select Committee of Inquiry be appointed, it will probably consist of such Gentlemen as will make it their Business to inquire strictly and impartially; and this may, perhaps, be a Reason for their endeavouring now to prevent, what they have so often provok'd; but if they do, it will be a stronger Argument for the Motion, than any I can think of in its Favour, and therefore I shall add no more, but conclude with seconding what the Noble Lord has proposed.

An. 13 Geo. II.
1741

Sir Charles Wager * opposed the Motion.

Sir Cha. Wager.

Mr Speaker,

The Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, has suggested such a Reason for opposing this Motion, as, I believe, he thinks, will make Gentlemen ashamed to oppose it; and, indeed, if I were upon this Question to determine myself by the Regard I have for the Administration, and without any Regard to my Country, or to the Dignity of this House, I should be far from opposing it: On the contrary, I should, before now, have taken an Opportunity to make some such Motion, for the very Reason suggested why some Gentlemen should be against it: I mean, because I am convinced, that a proper Committee would be appointed, and that that Committee would inquire in the strictest and most impartial Manner. This, I am sure, is what every one, who has the Honour of being employed by his Majesty, most heartily wishes for, and they have all Reason to do so, because it would put an End to all those Calumnies, which by some People, for what Reason may be easily guessed at, have been so artfully invented, and so industriously spread against them.

For this Reason, Sir, if I were to lay aside all Regard for my Country, as well as the Regard I have for the Dignity of this House, I should most heartily concur in any Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; because I am not only a Friend to those employed in the Administration, but have the Honour to have some small Share in it. But the true Interest of my Country, and the real Dignity of this House, shall always, with me, outweigh every

1741.

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* First Commissioner of the Admiralty.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

every private or personal Consideration; and therefore, let Gentlemen think what they will, I must be against an Inquiry which I think unnecessary, or at a Time when I think it would be dangerous; because an unnecessary Inquiry I take to be inconsistent with the Dignity of this House, and an Inquiry, at such a critical Conjunction as the present, would certainly be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Nation. A Minister may be calumniated, and may have most glaring Falshoods propagated against him. Was there ever a Minister that had not? But when the Charge against him is known to be false, would it be consistent with the Dignity of this House to take up our Time with an Inquiry into his Conduct, merely for the Sake of vindicating his Character? Suppose we had Reason to think that the Charge against him was not altogether groundless, would it be prudent or right in us to divert ourselves with an Inquiry into his Conduct, at a Time when the very Being of the Nation was at Stake, and when the Preservation of our Country required our closest Attention?

‘ Upon both these Accounts, Sir, I must be against the Inquiry proposed. I do not think there is the least Truth in the Stories that have been propagated, nor the least Foundation for any Charge that has been brought against the Administration in general, or against any particular Man concerned in it. They are all, indeed, without any Proof, or they are of such a Nature as I cannot think criminal; because they relate to the Measures pursued by the Administration, all or most of which I have, as a Member of this House, approved of, because at the Time they were respectively transacted I thought them right. And if any of them should now appear to have been wrong, which I am far from being convinced of, I must impute the Error to the Weakness of human Wisdom, and not to any criminal Intention in those that advised or pursued them.

‘ This, Sir, is my Way of thinking, and while I think so, I must look upon an Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs as absolutely unnecessary, and consequently inconsistent with the Dignity of this House. But suppose I thought otherwise: Suppose I thought some of our Ministers had, through Weakness or Wickedness, misled the Crown, or that they had been guilty of illegal Practices in the Execution of what was committed to their Care by the Crown, I should be far from thinking the present a proper Time for enquiring into and punishing their Misdemeanors; because, however guilty they might be, the Nation could not suffer by a Delay of Justice, whereas it might suffer, perhaps be undone, by calling great Offenders to an Account,

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at a Crisis more important and more dangerous to this Nation, than any our History furnishes us with an Account of. An. 15. Geo. II. 1741.

'The Power of this House is, 'tis true, vastly extensive: I hope, it will always be superior to the Power of any Offender whatsoever; but great as it is, we cannot exert it against Offenders in high Stations, without taking up a great deal of our Time, and raising a mighty Bustle in the Nation, the Consequence of which, with regard to our domestick Quiet, no Man can pretend to foresee or determine. Therefore, however much we may have suffered by the wicked Advice or illegal Practices of great Offenders, we should take a proper Time to inquire into and punish their Misdoings; for we ought not certainly to expose ourselves to the Danger of any domestick Disturbance, when we are in the greatest and most imminent foreign Danger, which every Gentleman must allow to be our Case at present.'

Mr Phillips spoke next to the Effect as follows:

Mr Phillips.

Sir,

'I am surpris'd to hear the Motion made by the noble Lord oppos'd by any Gentleman in this House: A Motion founded in Justice, supported by Precedent, and warranted by Necessity. Not only Justice to the Nation, but Justice to those that have been in the Administration, calls for an Inquiry, that every Man's Actions may speak for him, and that Censure may be confin'd to those only that have deserv'd it. Surely no innocent Man can be under any Apprehensions from the strictest Examination of his Conduct: Those Fears attend the Guilty only.

'The Hon. Gentleman seems to think an Inquiry unnecessary. I beg Leave to ask, will any Gentleman in this House undertake to defend the Measures that have been pursued for twenty Years past? Will any Gentleman say, that the wretched Condition we are in, is the Effect of Chance only? Shall there be the least Suspicion of Mismanagement, and a *British* House of Commons not inquire into it? How much more at a Time when the Nation is reduced to the last Extremity, by corrupt, weak, and pusillanimous Measures? Shall the Fatality that has attended every Step of our Conduct for so many Years past, infect this House also, and throw us into a Lethargy? Surely, no. The Voice of the Nation calls for an Inquiry: Our Credit abroad cannot be supported without it; and the Reputation of every Man in this House is nearly concern'd in it. In vain shall we attempt to retrieve our lost Honour by pursuing new Measures, if we do not first censure and punish the Authors of the old: In vain shall we attempt to gain Allies, and to convince

An. 15. Geo. II. convince them that we are in earnest in the Prosecution of the War against our Enemies abroad, unless we first call those to an Account, that have been their secret Abettors and Encouragers at home.

1741.

‘ If ever there was a Cause for an Inquiry into past Transactions, it is now. Have not large Sums of Money been raised in Times of Peace, and no Debts paid ; large Armies raised in Times of War, and no Services performed ? Have we not negotiated ourselves out of all our Allies, and all our Credit ? Treaty after Treaty, Convention after Convention, and what did these all end in but War ? How has that War been conducted ? Why, shamefully, scandalously, to the Encouragement of the Enemy and the Dishonour of the Nation : Large Fleets fitted out to fight the Seas only, and return shattered and torn, to *Spithead*, while the Enemy were every Day seizing our Ships for want of Cruizers and Convoys, and neighbouring Nations taking this Advantage to supplant us in Trade. A gallant Admiral was indeed sent to the *West-Indies*, but sent too late, and not supported when there : Another was sent to the *Mediterranean*, but with what Intent I know not, unless it was to cover an Embarkation of *Spanish* Troops for *Italy*.

‘ Shall a *British* House of Commons not inquire into the Causes of these Things ? They must : They will, Sir, or forfeit all the Reputation they have hitherto gained. And if These are to be inquired into, what better Method than by a Select Committee to be chosen by Ballot ? It is a Parliamentary Method that has been attended with good Consequences to the Nation, but fatal ones, indeed, to those that have made an Abuse of Power ; and ’tis unaccountable to me, that any others but such, or those that have a Mind to screen them, should make an Opposition to it. For my own Part, if it was the Case of my Brother, if he was innocent, I should think this the properest Method to make that Innocence appear ; and if he was guilty, I should think it the greatest Crime in me, to endeavour to screen him from National Justice, therefore, I am most heartily for the Question.

Mr Henry Fox.

Mr Henry Fox * spoke to the following Purpose :

Mr Speaker,

‘ When I consider the present Circumstances of this Nation and of *Europe* : When I reflect, that we are now engaged in open War with one of the most potent Kingdoms in *Europe*, upon the Event of which both our Trade and Navigation depend : When I reflect that *Europe* is now engaged in

* Surveyor-General of his Majesty’s Works.

in a War, upon the Event of which its Liberty depends, and by which it will probably be enslaved, unless we interpose with the Utmost of our Strength, I cannot but be of Opinion, I think every Man must, that Union amongst ourselves was never more necessary than it is at this important Crisis: And therefore, I am not a little surprised to hear a Proposition seriously made, and vigorously supported in this House, which must necessarily not only revive all our former Divisions, but create new ones amongst us, and excite more violent Animosities than any that have appeared in this Kingdom for many Years.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

That this, Sir, would be the Effect of a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for so many Years past, we must suppose from the Experience of all former Inquiries; and as the Inquiry now proposed is more general, and comprehends a longer Time, than any such Inquiry ever did, this Effect will not only be the more certain but the more fatal. Nay that this will be the Effect must appear from the very Nature of the Charge, upon which the Motion is founded; for the Charge consists chiefly, not in Facts or Practices that must be admitted to be Crimes, but in Allegations that the Measures we have been pursuing were wrong, notwithstanding their having been all authorised or approved of by Parliament. Must not this of Course revive all our former Disputes about the Fitness or Unfitness of those Measures? And when the Condemnation or Acquittal of Men in high Stations depends upon the Fate of the Question, must not those Disputes be carried on with greater Animosity, I may say with greater Fury than ever they were before?

One Part of the Charge, indeed, I shall admit to be criminal. To apply the publick Money towards corrupting the Members of this House, or the Voters at any Election, must by all Men be allowed to be a Crime; but it is pleasant to observe, how the Advocates for this Motion attempt to prove this Part of their Charge. With regard to the Measures that have been approved of by Parliament, they first suppose that those Measures were apparently wrong; and their Inference from thence is, that therefore the Members must have been under a corrupt Influence, otherwise such Measures could not have met with an Approbation in Parliament. Then with regard to Elections, they first suppose that the Majority of the Electors were dissatisfied with the Measures of the Administration, and would consequently have sent up dissatisfied Representatives, if they had been left to a free and uncorrupted Choice; but as they did not do so, therefore the Electors were certainly under a corrupt Influence. This is all the Proof they have hitherto offered, and

An. 25. Geo. II.
1741.

and will any Gentleman say, this Sort of Proof ought to be considered by this House as a sufficient Ground for an Inquiry?

Questions in Politics, Sir, are of such a Nature that they seldom or never admit of a Demonstration; and, consequently, in Countries where the People are allowed to speak their Minds, they will always be of different Sentiments with regard to these sort of Questions. For this Reason, Gentlemen should not be so uncharitable as to suppose, that every Man who differs from them in Opinion is corrupt, or that he forms his Judgment from any Thing but the Conviction of his Conscience; and therefore, a Parliament's having approved of any Measure I thought wrong, shall never by me be thought a Proof of its being under any Sort of corrupt Influence: Consequently what they have offered, cannot be admitted as a Proof, even by those who are convinced that the Measures pursued by the Administration were apparently wrong, and much less by those who are convinced that those Measures were right.

Now, Sir, with regard to Elections: They say, our Elections must have been under a corrupt Influence, because the Representatives were not of the same Complexion with the Majority of their Constituents. Here likewise the Proof they offer is a downright begging the Question. That there have been, are now, and always will be some Men without Doors, as well as within, who disapprove of the Measures pursued by our Government, I do not in the least question; but that a Majority of the better Sort of People are so, or have lately been so, I cannot admit. Great Endeavours, great Artifice, and great Industry, have, I know, been lately used to impose upon and make them so; and those Endeavours may upon several Occasions have had some Effect upon the giddy Mob; but our Elections, thank God! do not depend upon such People. They are generally governed by Men of Fortune and Understanding; and of such our Ministers, for this twenty Years past, have been so happy as to have a Majority in their Favour. Therefore, when we talk of People with regard to Elections, we ought to think only of those of the better Sort, without comprehending the Mob or mere Dregs of the People; for an Election may be free and uncorrupted tho' these appear against it, but would be very far from being free, if the Electors were intimidated and compelled to vote as directed by a tumultuous Mob of low People; and by them only it was, that any Member of this House was burnt in Effigy on Account of the late Excise-Scheme; consequently, tho' that Member was rechosen at the same Place for a new Parliament,

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we are not to conclude, that his Election proceeded from An. 15. Geo. II. Bribery or Corruption, because, perhaps, no one of those who assisted at burning him in Effigy had any Vote, Interest, or Concern in his Election. 1741.

‘ Having thus shewn, Sir, that the Charge upon which this Motion is founded, consists of Allegations of Facts which are not admitted to be criminal, or of criminal Facts unsupported by any Proof, I must next observe, that, I believe, you cannot find upon your Journals a Precedent for entering into a Parliamentary Inquiry, unless where Measures had been pursued that were admitted by a great Majority of the House, as well as the Nation, to be criminal, or unless some criminal Practices were alledged that were notoriously known to have been committed, or such as the Member who moved for the Inquiry undertook to prove. The general Inquiry that was set on Foot in the Year 1715, was founded upon Measures that were apparently criminal, and such as were thought to be so by a great Majority of that House of Commons. A most glorious War had been put an End to by a most infamous Peace: Our Allies had been deserted, if not betrayed: A most destructive Treaty of Commerce had been concluded with *France*; and when we might have prescribed Terms to our Enemies, our Ministers, from some selfish, if not criminal Views of their own, submitted to receive Terms from them. These were such Measures as almost every Man condemned, except those that were concerned in advising them, or carrying them on; and therefore they furnished the Parliament with a just Foundation for an Inquiry; but of late Years, I am sure, no such Measures have been pursued, nor any Measures that can, or, I believe, will be condemned by a great Majority of this House of Commons. Therefore, we can now have no Pretence for setting up an Inquiry, unless some particular criminal Facts should be alledged and offered to be proved; and even in this Case, we could have no Pretence for a general Inquiry: We could inquire only into the particular Facts complained of, which would take up much less of our Time, and give less Disturbance to the Nation, than a general Inquiry into the Conduct of our publick Affairs for twenty Years past.

‘ Such a general Inquiry, with such a long Retrospect, is without Precedent, and would be a most dangerous Precedent. If such an Inquiry should be agreed to, and a Committee appointed for that Purpose, it would be of Course insisted on, that all Papers of State, even those of the most secret Nature, should be laid before them; and, indeed, they could not make their Inquiry compleat without having all such Papers. Our Committees appointed upon such Occasi-

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

ons are, I know, called Secret Committees; but how justly, Experience may shew; for few important Secrets have long remain'd so, after being once laid before such a Committee; and the Nature of the Thing speaks itself, for when a Secret is committed to a great Number of Persons, every one of them becomes the less careful of concealing it, because when it is discovered, it is not easy to fix the Discovery upon any one of them. Therefore if such a Precedent were once made, we could never hope to keep any Secret, nor would any Foreign State, or any Foreigner of Consequence, ever enter into any secret Transaction with our Government; because he could not know, but that the Secret might, twenty Years afterwards, be discovered by a Parliamentary Inquiry with a twenty Years Retrospect.

But besides being a dangerous Precedent, Sir, the setting up such an Inquiry at this Juncture might, nay, probably would, be attended with the most fatal Consequences, both with respect to our War against *Spain*, and with respect to our Negotiations for preserving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. As we have for some Time been carrying on a War against *Spain*, it is not to be doubted but our Ministers have had some secret Intelligence from thence: Our very News Papers tell us that the Court of *Spain* have discovered a Plot for delivering the *Groyne* into their Hands; and tho' that Plot has been discovered, yet we may from thence presume, that our Ministers have still a secret Correspondence in *Spain*: Would it not be of the most fatal Consequence to have that Intelligence, or that Correspondence discovered? And can any one answer for its being kept concealed, after being expos'd to a Secret Committee of this House, and all the Secretaries and Clerks that must necessarily be employed by them. We must likewise suppose, that several Schemes have been laid before our Ministers for attacking the *Spaniards*, both in *Europe* and *America*, and some of those Schemes may probably be such as ought to be carried into Execution; would it be prudent in us, to run the Risk of having all or any of those Schemes discovered to the Enemy? And yet this Risk we must run, if the present Motion should be agreed to.

Then, Sir, with regard to our Negotiations: As the Flames of War have been above a Twelvemonth since kindled in *Germany*: As there is a most powerful Confederacy formed against the House of *Austria*, we must suppose, that our Court have been carrying on Negotiations for drawing some of the Powers off from that Confederacy, and for forming a Counter-Confederacy in Favour of the Queen of *Hungary*. In all such Cases, as every Court in *Europe* has its own parti-

particular Views and Interests, the Negotiations must be of a most secret Nature: Arguments must be made use of, and Memorials delivered at one Court, which it would be most fatal to have discovered to another; and as all those Transactions are yet in Embrio, can we desire, that his Majesty should lay the Whole before a Committee of this House? Can we suppose it to be consistent with his Honour to do so, when we must suppose, that he has, at least with some of those Courts, engaged to keep the Transaction so secret as not to communicate it to any but to some of his chief Ministers of State?

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

‘ Upon the Whole, Sir, I can see no Occasion we have for the Inquiry proposed; and if I did, I think it impossible, in our present Circumstances, to carry it on with Effect. This is my sincere Opinion; and as I can see no Danger or Inconvenience in delaying it for a Year or two, in which Time our own Tranquility, as well as the Tranquility of *Europe*, may, perhaps, be re-established, and all those grand Affairs which are now in Agitation finally ended, I must therefore be against the Motion, and I hope the noble Lord, when he considers those Things, will agree to have it withdrawn.

Mr *Velters Cornwall* spoke next, as follows:

Mr *Cornewall*.

Sir,

‘ I do not get up, as presuming to think any Thing that I shall offer can inforce a Question of this Importance. But as this Question tends to an Inquiry into those Measures, which, in the universal Opinion of Mankind, have been thought so destructive to this Nation, an Opinion which, tho’ in my private Sentiments I have ever joined in, yet, as I have never had an Opportunity of giving my publick Testimony against them, I cannot now refrain from expressing my Satisfaction at seeing the Time come, when they will be thoroughly sifted; and it is with Joy I look on myself as now going to give a Pledge to the Publick, that I shall ever look upon bad Measures with equal Detestation.

‘ The People of *England*, reduced almost to a State of Despondency from the ruinous Conduct hitherto pursued for many Years past, have placed their only and last Hopes in the Independence, Justice, and Firmness of this Parliament: It is from this Confidence that every honest Man in the Kingdom now chearfully submits to the Burden we are necessitated to impose on them; as they expect to see Freedom and Happiness secured to them at Home, and national Honour retrieved Abroad.— But as these Hopes can only be answered by an Alteration of those Measures that have occasioned their Distress and Complaints, how baffled will

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

they think themselves in their Expectations, should the Motion that has been made to you, be rejected in this House? How ill an Earnest would it be, that we intended an Alteration of Measures, should we decline an Inquiry into those that have been so cried out against? Could they possibly suppose it to be from any other Motive than an Apprehension, lest we might lay a Foundation for condemning our own future Conduct, by countenancing an Inquiry into that of others, which is passed?

But, Sir, whether the universal Complaint of past Measures be the Effect of Artifice and Misrepresentation (as might be pretended) on a weak and deluded People, or springs from the real Grievances of an injured and right-discerning one, I say, whichever be the Case, surely it is a Defect, an Indulgence at least, which in Decency, in Duty, it becomes this House to shew the collective Body of the People of *Great Britain*, by giving them that Satisfaction which a thorough Disquisition into the Subjects of Complaint, only can, and only ought to give them.

And therefore, for God's Sake! let every Gentleman reflect on the Consequences that will attend your Determination in the Affair before you. Is the Screening a few publick Delinquents from Inquiry, to be put in Balance with the giving Repose to the disturbed Minds of the whole People of three Kingdoms?

Inquiry is the Criterion of publick Virtue: It may, like *Ithuriel's* Spear, detect a Devil, however disguised in the Shape of an Angel, but can never obscure the Brightness of Truth. If Measures have been right, they will stand justified by it, and the People of *England* will rest satisfied: If they have been iniquitous, the People expect Justice on whomsoever the Guilt falls, and wheresoever it may extend itself. It is not a narrow personal Inquiry that is aimed at, meanly confined to this or that Offender, but an Inquiry into Offences, wheresoever they shall be found, that becomes the Dignity of this House.

I shall not take up your Time so unnecessarily, as to enter into a particular Disquisition of those Measures that call for this Inquiry, which have been so often and so well exposed, and which speak more strongly their own Guilt, than the most powerful Eloquence can point out. Unexperienced as I am in Matters of a publick Nature, I should think it no difficult Task, to run through a Deduction of our publick Mismanagement, both at Home and Abroad, too gross not to be the Objects of common Discernment, and some Instances perhaps that have not come within the Notice of the general Complaint. But I should think such a
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minute Discussion not only unnecessary but improper, as this Motion is most justly founded on the general Face of Things, and not to be diverted by giving room for a Debate on Particulars, the proper Subject of future Consideration. And, Sir, was it only from what you heard the other Day at your Bar, and the Resolutions this House came into in Consequence * of it, the Expediency of the present Motion would be sufficiently enforced.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

* We have groaned under an Administration that have not only taken every Step to destroy our own Liberties at Home, but have made us accessary in subverting, at least endangering all the Liberties of *Europe*; who have made the *British* Name the Contempt of its Enemies, and lost the Confidence of those, whom Parity of Interest should make us consider as our Friends: An Administration whose Influence has diffused Neglect, Abuse, and Corruption into every the most minute Branch of our domestick Oeconomy; for there is hardly an Office in the Kingdom, from the lowest to the highest, that does not call aloud for Parliamentary Inquiry: An Administration that, when it durst no longer withstand the united Voice of a justly enraged People, closed itself, in some Part, with the highest, the most provoking Strains of Insolence, that ever were dared to be offered to any Nation under the Sun in our Circumstances, by making the most distinguish'd Instruments of the most detested Measures triumph, by their Exaltation over the Injuries and Resentment of the whole *British* Nation.

* But, Sir, it is the future good Consequences that will attend this Inquiry, and the Examples arising from it, that prevail with me, over all other Considerations: I have no doubt of seeing a Reformation of Measures for some Time: Who, that looks round this Assembly, can doubt it, as long as it subsists thus constituted? A wise and honest Parliament will always make those in the Direction of Affairs so too. But all these Things have their Periods, whereas Examples are of perpetual Security.

* We are now, Sir, in a Situation, both as to our foreign and domestick Affairs, which points out Union as the only Means that can make us a glorious and happy People, and found the Throne of this Royal Family, which every Man of common Sense and Honesty must wish for, on that never to be shaken Basis, the undivided Hearts of the People. And, Thanks be to God! the pleasing Prospect already opens itself, by the subsiding of those unfortunate Distinctions that have been artfully fomented, in a general Zeal for promoting the true Interest of our King, and the Good of our Country

An. 15. Geo. II. Country : A Prospect that must give inexpressible Joy to all Lovers of both, and Mortification to none but those, who are wicked enough to prostitute the Name of this Family to serve the infamous Views of their own selfish Policy. National Union can only be brought about by giving national Satisfaction ; and I look upon the Step we are now taking as perfectly contributory to that End. True Union can only subsist amongst honest Men : All other Union is amusive, and destructive of itself.

‘ The Union I am speaking of is indissoluble, and should the Dregs of Faction, whom the falsely assumed Denomination of a Party only made considerable, attempt to interrupt it, they would only discover their own Insignificancy, and add to the Contempt and Detestation the Publick had of them.

‘ As for the Method proposed by this Motion, it is the only one by which a publick Inquiry can be carried on properly, or with Success. The Impropriety of laying all Papers before the House, has been often allowed on all Hands, and every Man knows how easy it is to obstruct or perplex an Inquiry so extended as this is, if carried on before so numerous an Assembly. But this is so obvious to any Man who means getting at Truth, that I need only say, that I consider all Arguments against this Method, as Objections raised only because it is practicable. For my own Part, as I consider this Question, as tending to restore Satisfaction to the Nation, Credit and Popularity to the Government at Home, and Weight and Dignity to it Abroad ; and as it tends to the Honour of this House, I am heartily for it.’

Lord Percival.

Lord Percival spoke next.

Sir,

‘ I should act a very inconsistent Part, If I did not support the Motion now under your Consideration, with the same Zeal with which I concurred in that made some few Days after I had the Honour of taking my Seat in this House. Nothing, Sir, has happened, nothing, Sir, can happen to alter my Opinion in this Respect, that the Publick have a Right, that is a Duty incumbent upon us to inquire strictly into the Conduct of the late Administration.

‘ It was then my Opinion, that we had Grounds sufficient to induce us to that Inquiry : The general Voice of the Nation, the almost desperate Condition of our Affairs, both Abroad and at Home, then rendered the Inquiry highly necessary : The Presumption was strong, that the Interest of the Nation had been betrayed ; and I thought I should have abused the Confidence reposed in me by my Country, if I had

had not endeavoured to discover in what Manner, in what An. 15. Geo. II. Instances, and by whom it was betrayed. 1741.

But these Reasons for Inquiry are infinitely stronger now than then; we had Reason to inquire then from the Suspicions of the Publick, and from our own Suspicions. These Reasons still subsist; and to these are added the Suspicions of the King himself: To these are added the visible Opinion of our Allies Abroad.

The King has at length dismissed his Minister, and he has dismissed him without any Application from this House to that Purpose.—He has done it of his own Motion.—His Majesty has dismissed a Minister who had served him many Years, and, as we are well convinced, against the Inclination of that Minister. Had his Majesty believed, that he had served him faithfully, who can imagine, that he would have turned him out of his Service? We must therefore conclude, that his Majesty's Opinion has concurred with the Opinion of the Nation, with the Opinion of those in this House, who expressed Suspicions of his Conduct.

Our Allies abroad have visibly proved by their late Measures, that they entertained the same Suspicions. A general Indolence seemed to have seized on all the Powers joined in common Interest with us: Their Resolutions were as languid, their Conduct equally tame and despicable, in the general Danger of *Europe*, as the Councils of this Nation. We were told, that this Infatuation abroad was the Cause of our weak and pusillanimous Measures at home. But it is now discovered, that our Conduct was not influenced by their Measures, but that their Measures were influenced by our Conduct. The Moment that this Minister was divested of his Power, the Charm was at once dispelled: The *Dutch*, notwithstanding all the dilatory Forms of that Government, proceeded to a vast Augmentation of their Forces. The King of *Sardinia* has determined to take Part in the common Cause; and it is apparent, that from the Removal of this Minister, the Spirit of the Grand Alliance has happily revived, as much as it was once fatally depressed by the Removal of the great Duke of *Marlborough*.

This happy Event demands our Attention; it has opened a Prospect of Preservation to the Balance of Power, of which we had lost all View before. If we do not seize this happy Moment, how can we answer for it to ourselves, to our Country, to Posterity? But unless we engage with Vigour in this Inquiry, how can we hope to avail ourselves of this Event? Does any Man imagine, that it is a Change of Men that has given this new Life to the Counsels of our Allies? No, Sir, it is the Confidence that a Change of Measures

An. 15. Geo. 2.
1741.

sure will be the Consequence of a Change of Men : And such a Confidence must perish in its very Birth, if an Inquiry as to the Errors of the past Administration should be filed in this House.

Sir, to extricate this Nation, or to extricate Europe out of that Labyrinth of Dangers in which we are all involved, it is necessary that the present Administration should be supported by the Spirit and Inclinations of the People. The Confidence which is necessary to give them Weight Abroad, is equally necessary to enable to raise the vast Supplies at Home, which the critical Condition of our Interest demands. This Confidence in them can never be attained, but by a vigorous Prosecution of this Inquiry. The Publick have some Distrust, that the new Administration are slick and tender in this Respect : In my own Breast I have none : I am happy in this Change, which has fallen in favour of those for whom I have entertained the highest Esteem, and for some of whom I have a singular and sincere Friendship. But, Sir, we must pay some Regard to the Opinions of the Publick, as well as to our own, and they will never be convinced, that the new Ministers mean well, if this Inquiry should be defeated here : They will interpret the Coldness of this House to a Disposition in the Administration to protect and screen, which must in the End produce the worst Effects, both to the Publick and to them. And therefore, as a Friend to my Country, and as a real Friend to them, I shall follow this Inquiry as far I am able to pursue it.

Sir, I shall trouble the House very little farther at this Time, but I must observe with great Submission, that I think all Arguments that are used to prevent, or to delay the present Inquiry, are very indecent and disrespectful to this House ; for they bear this inevitable Construction, that this House is actuated more by Passion and Prejudice, than by Impartiality and Justice. No Man can have the Confidence to assert, no Man can mean, that if the late Minister deserves the Censure of Parliament, he should not receive it : They can therefore mean nothing, but that they think him innocent, and think, that if we enter into this Inquiry, this House is determined to pronounce him guilty, whether he be so or no.

In private Life, what Man of common Sense would dismiss a Steward after a Service of twenty Years (during which his Accounts had never been inspected) without a careful Examination, before he gave him a Discharge ? The Publick stand in the same Light with regard to this Minister, and the Publick will want common Sense in this Instance, as a private Man would do in the other, if they suffer this Mini-

Minister to retire unquestioned, laden with Honour and an immense Wealth, far exceeding what the just and known Profits of his past Employments would have furnished.

Mr Henry Pelham spoke to this Effect :

Sir,

It would very much shorten our Debates, upon this and every other Occasion, if Gentlemen would consider attentively the Subject of the Debate, and keep close to the Argument, without running out into Harangues or Flowers of Eloquence, which may be made use of upon any other Subject, as well as that which happens then to be under the Consideration of the House. That we have a Right to inquire into the Conduct of our publick Affairs, and that upon certain Occasions we ought to inquire, are Questions that have nothing to do in this Debate, because they are such as no Gentleman will deny. The only Questions now under our Consideration must therefore be, whether we have now any Occasion for making such Inquiry, and if we have, whether we ought now, or in this Session of Parliament, to enter upon that Inquiry. With regard to the first of these two Questions, I hope it will not be said, that we ought every Session of Parliament, or once in every certain Number or Term of Years, to appoint a Secret and Select Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of our publick Affairs from the Time of the last Parliamentary Inquiry. This we can no Way pretend to, either from Custom or Reason ; for it is certain, that the Custom has always been, not to set up a Parliamentary Inquiry, unless when great Crimes were known, or strongly suspected to have been committed ; or unless when such Measures were pursued as were allowed to have been weak or wicked. This, I say, has always hitherto been the Custom, and Reason must convince us that it is just ; and that it would be wrong in us to set up a Parliamentary Inquiry, when there is no well-grounded Suspicion of Misconduct ; for as such Inquiries must always be dangerous and troublesome, they ought never to be entered into without an apparent Necessity.

Taking it therefore for granted, Sir, that no Parliamentary Inquiry ought to be set up, unless when there appears to be a well-grounded Suspicion of Misconduct, I shall observe that this Suspicion ought to be such a one as prevails in this House ; and if this Observation be just, it must be wrong to talk, upon any such Occasion, of the Voice of the People, or the Voice of the Nation. Sir, the Voice of this House is the Voice of the People, the Voice of the *British* Nation. It must always be understood to be so ; for there is no other Way of determining what is the Voice of the Nation. If we

An. 15. Feb. II.
1741.

were to form a Judgment of this from what we heard without Doors, every Man's Judgment would be according to the Sort of Company he usually conversed with. In a free Country the Measures of the Government in general, and even every particular Measure, will be canvassed by the People without Doors, and will be condemned by some and applauded by others. A Gentleman who keeps Company with the former will from thence judge, that the Voice of the People is against the Government; and one who keeps Company with the latter will, for the same Reason, judge, that the Voice of the People is in Favour of the Government; consequently one of those Gentlemen would be for an Inquiry, and the other against it, for one and the same Reason; therefore, when such a Question happens to be started in this House, no Gentleman ought to consider what is the Voice of the People without Doors, nor ought he to allow what he has heard without Doors, in the least, to enter his Thoughts: If he does, he can hardly avoid being prejudiced by the Company he has kept, and such a Man can never be a good Judge in such a Question.

What then, Sir, are we to do? How are we to judge upon such Occasions? The Answer is easy; Every Gentleman ought to consider by himself the Measures pursued by the Government. If a general Inquiry be moved for, he ought to consider, or, perhaps, reconsider by himself, all the Measures that have been pursued by the Government during the Time proposed to be inquired into: If upon such an Examination he finds Reason to conclude, that they have been generally wrong, he ought then to agree to the Inquiry proposed: But if he finds Reason to conclude, that they were generally right, he ought to be against it: Nay, even when he finds Reason to condemn any one or two particular Measures, he ought to be against a general Inquiry; because after that Question is rejected, he may himself propose a particular Inquiry into the Affair he finds Reason to condemn or at least suspect, and that Question may be agreed to by the House, notwithstanding our having rejected the former. But in such Cases I must observe, that according to the usual Custom of Parliament, we ought first by a proper Question to condemn the Measure, before we put any Question for inquiring into the Authors, or the Conduct of the Authors of any particular Measure.

Now, Sir, as the present Question is for a general Inquiry, and for a longer Time, I believe, than ever any former Inquiry was proposed to extend to, it will appear from what I have said, that every particular Gentleman must enter into the Examination of all the Measures pursued by our Govern-

Government during that long Period; and therefore, I hope, An. 15. Geo. II.
1741. it will not be thought impertinent in me to enter into that Examination, or to endeavour to justify our publick Measures, especially such of them as have been particularly objected to in this Debate; and here I must previously observe, that in all such Cases we ought not to form our Judgment from the Light in which any past Measures now appear to us, but from the Light in which it did probably appear when it was at first resolved on; for considering the narrow Limits of human Wisdom or Knowledge, and the Shortness of human Foresight, future Incidents may often make a publick Measure appear to be wrong, tho' according to all human Appearance, it appeared at first to be right.

After having made this previous Observation, I must say, Sir, I am surpris'd to hear any Fault now found with the Measures that were taken for punishing the Guilty, and restoring publick Credit, after the violent Shock it received from the wicked Execution of the fatal *South-Sea* Scheme in the Year 1720; because future Incidents have been so far from condemning any of those Measures, that the immediate Revival of publick Credit, and the flourishing State it has been in ever since, has fully demonstrated, that those Measures were wise as well as just. As to the Guilty, they were all punished. They were not, perhaps, punished so severely as the Sufferers expected and desired; for it is natural for Men that have been injured, in the first Violence of their Resentment, to desire a Punishment more severe than common Justice can admit of; but they were all punished so severely, that when the first Violence of publick Resentment was over, the Punishment began to be thought too severe, and was therefore, by Way of Ridicule, called *Justice by the Lump*.

The next Measure of a Domestick Nature that seems to be objected to, is the Money granted from Time to Time to the Civil List, and the Additions that have been made to that Revenue. If there was any Crime in this, Sir, I must really think it lies more properly at our own Door, than at the Door of any Minister, or of the Administration in general; and therefore, before we agree to this Question, we ought, I think, to amend it, by resolving, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of our Affairs at Home and Abroad, and into the Conduct of the House of Commons, during the last Twenty Years. But as none of those Grants were made, without having proper Estimates and Accounts laid before the House, and as from those Estimates and Accounts the Necessity of those Grants were made appear, we can have no Reason to find Fault

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

either with our Ministers for asking, or with the House of Commons for granting any of the Sums of Money, or Additions that were made to the Civil List. And, indeed, if we consider, that there are many accidental Charges which fall upon the Civil List Revenue, and many Articles which rise higher than that at which they were first estimated, we cannot be surpris'd, that in the late King's Time it became necessary, from Time to Time, to grant a Sum for paying off the Debts of the Civil List, or that his present Majesty's Ministers should desire to have an Addition made to it at his Accession to the Throne.

The Excise-Scheme is another Affair of a Domestick Nature, that seems to have been particularly objected to in this Debate. I know, Sir, that great Art and Industry was made Use of to make People believe, that this Scheme was intended as an Introduction to a general Excise, and that it was a Preliminary to a formed Design for destroying our Constitution, and making Slaves of us all. But as I had at that Time, and have had ever since, a Friendship and Intimacy with those who approved of that Scheme, and introduc'd it into this House, I know the Falshood of those Insinuations. However I shall not desire Gentlemen to take my Word for it. I shall only desire Gentlemen to have a little Charity, and to judge of other Men's Actions and Intentions, as they would desire others to judge of their own. If they do this, they will not ascribe any Action to a wicked Motive, when an upright one can, with more Probability, be assigned; and this is evidently the Case with Regard to the Excise-Scheme. I hope it will be granted, that to prevent Frauds in the Collection of the publick Taxes, and thereby increase the publick Revenue, is as upright, and even as laudable a Design as any Man can entertain; and, I believe, it will likewise be granted, that the Excise Scheme, had it been pass'd into a Law, would have had this Effect; at least it must be granted, that it was very reasonable to presume it would have had this Effect, from the Experience we had before had of the Effect of raising the Duty upon Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, by Way of Excise upon the Consumption, instead of raising them by the Method of Customs upon the Importation, and allowing those Customs to be drawn back upon the Exportation. This then was one Motive for approving of, and introducing the Excise-Scheme, which must be allowed to have been an upright one; but on the other Hand it is said, that this Scheme would have overturned our Constitution, and established arbitrary Power, by giving Ministers an uncontrollable Influence at all Elections. That it would have had such an Effect I still very much question;

question; and as our Ministers had no Experience of this in any parallel Case, they could not therefore be so certain of this Effect as of the other: Consequently it is more probable, that their approving of, and introducing that Scheme proceeded from a good Intention, than that it proceeded from a wicked one; and I am sure it is much more charitable, and more like a Christian, to suppose it proceeded from the former, than to suppose it proceeded from the latter. But let their Design be what it will, their throwing it up so easily as they did, was some Sort of Atonement, and induced most People to pardon the Attempt, which was the true Cause of the next general Election's going so much in their Favour; and it ought, I think, to be a Reason for its being never again mentioned in this House, especially as the Nation no Ways suffered by the Attempt.

These, I think, Sir, are all the Measures of a Domestic Nature for 20 Years past, that have been objected to in this Debate, and if Objections could have been raised against any other, I believe, they would have been mentioned. Then with regard to Affairs of a Foreign Nature, the Treaty of *Hanover* is, I find, by those Gentlemen always made the Burden of their Song, and the original Ground of all their Complaints; and in order to make this Treaty liable to any Objection, they who cannot know, expressly contradict what his late Majesty, who could, and certainly did know, affirmed, in his Speech * the next Session of Parliament, declaring expressly, that the Negotiations and Engagements, entered into by some Foreign Powers, which seemed to have laid the Foundation of new Troubles and Disturbances in *Europe*, and to threaten his Subjects with the Loss of the most advantageous Branches of their Trade, obliged him, without any Loss of Time, to conclude that Treaty. It was then well known, what those Engagements were: They, in Part, appeared even from the publick Treaty: The *Spaniards* were resolved to wrest *Gibraltar* and *Minorca* from us: The Emperor was resolved to support his *Ostend* Company in spite of us. For these Purposes they were to assist each other; and the King of *Spain*, as a farther Recompence, granted the Emperor's Subjects such Liberties and Privileges in both the Indies, as were inconsistent with our Commerce, and with the Treaties subsisting between *Spain* and us. These were their Engagements, and if we did not submit, the Emperor was to attack his Majesty's Foreign Dominions, whilst *Spain* was to make a Diversion by invading these Kingdoms in Favour of the Pretender. The Court of *Vien*na went even so far as to threaten his late Majesty with both

* See the Speech at large; and the Emperor's Memorial in CHANDLER'S History.

Ann. 18. Geo. II. both these Attacks, before he entered into that Negotiation, which concluded with the Treaty of *Hanover*.

1741.

These are Facts, Sir, which are founded upon the Testimony of our late Sovereign; I am sure, a much stronger Testimony than the Averment to the contrary of any private Gentleman: And these Facts will for ever justify the Treaty of *Hanover*, and all the Measures we took consequent to that Treaty, especially when we consider, that by those Measures we not only prevented the Dangers wherewith we were threatened, but obliged the Emperor to give up his *Osland* Company, and *Spain* to confirm our Right to *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, and to recede from her Engagements in Favour of the Emperor's Subjects with respect to Trade; both which she did by the Treaty of *Seville*; and therefore I am surpris'd to hear that Treaty found fault with. We did not, 'tis true, by that Treaty, obtain immediate Satisfaction or Reparation for all the Damage she had done our Trade, because it was impossible to compute and ascertain that Damage; but we obtained a Promise for immediate Reparation as to some Part, and as to what remained, it was to be settled and adjusted by Commissaries mutually to be appointed, who were to finish their Commission within the Space of three Years. If *Spain* afterwards refused to perform her Engagements, or rather delayed the Performance under frivolous Pretences, for she never expressly refused, it was what our Ministers could not foresee nor provide against; for without trusting to some Promises to be performed in futuro, it is impossible to negotiate or conclude any Treaty whatsoever.

But, Sir, with regard to *Spain's* Performance of these Promises, and with regard to the Depredations afterwards committed by the *Spanish* *Guarda Costa's*, our Ministers cannot justly be accused of any Neglect; as may appear from the many Memorials, Letters and Papers relating to those Affairs, which have, from Time to Time, been laid upon our Table: They never ceased making Application; the *Spanish* Ministers never ceased promising. If our Ministers were shy of beginning Hostilities, as long as they had any Hopes of obtaining Reparation by fair Means, are they to blame? Are the Ministers of a trading Nation ever to blame in such a Case? Sir, their Shyness in this Respect, especially with regard to *Spain*, ought to be the Ground of Applause rather than Inquiry: And in future Ages, when Time has put an End to Envy, which, thank God! is not so long-liv'd as Truth, it will appear to be so.

I now come, Sir, to consider our Behaviour when the War broke out between *France* and the Emperor in the Year

1733:

1733: In that War we had certainly no Concern or Interest, any farther than as it might affect the Balance of Power in Europe; and with regard to the Guaranty of the Pragmatic Sanction, we were set free from that Engagement, by the Emperor's having brought the War upon himself: We had therefore no Concern, nor any Obligation to enter, either as Principals or Auxiliaries, into that War; but as, by its Event, it might affect the Balance of Power, we were therefore in Prudence obliged to augment our Forces, both by Sea and Land, in order to be ready to put a Stop to the Arms of the victorious Side, in Case their Ambition should lead them to push their Conquests farther than was consistent with the Balance of Power in Europe. If we had delayed our Preparations till this Event had actually happened, we should then have been too late: The Vanquished would have been obliged to submit, before we could have come to their Relief. Therefore, I still think, it was the most prudent Part we could act, to stand neuter at the Beginning of that War, but to prepare for the worst; and our Allies the *Dutch*, whose Wisdom some Gentlemen take all Occasions to extol, held the very same Conduct: Nay, they went farther; they actually agreed to a Treaty of Neutrality, and yet notwithstanding that Agreement, they augmented their Forces, in order to be ready at all Events. By this Conduct we put ourselves but to a very small Expence, and yet that Expence had as good an Effect, as if we had put ourselves to as much greater and brought ourselves into much greater Danger, by engaging as Parties in the War. The Parliament was therefore in the right to approve of those Measures; their having done so can be no Argument of their having been chosen or governed by a corrupt Influence; nor can those Measures, or the Approbation they then met with, now afford any reasonable Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

The only remaining Measure that has been objected to in this Debate, and therefore the last I shall take Notice of, is the Convention with *Spain*, which was founded upon a Maxim I must still approve of, because it is such a one, as I hope, will always be held sacred by those who have the Administration of our publick Affairs, I mean that of never engaging us in a War, especially with *Spain*, as long as there is the least Reason to hope for obtaining Redress by peaceable Means. By that Treaty the King of *Spain* acknowledged the Injuries that had been done us, and promised to make Satisfaction, by paying a certain Sum here at *London* in the Space of four Months: This was such a Proof of that Court's being in Earnest, and firmly resolved to do us Justice, that our Ministers

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Ministers, upon the Maxim I have mentioned, could not but agree to it; and as we were neither to promise nor give up any Thing by that Treaty, they had the more Reason to accept what the Court of *Spain* offered. If the Court of *Spain* delayed performing that Engagement, as they had done their former, our agreeing to this Treaty could occasion no Delay in beginning Hostilities, but what would have been otherways occasioned by the Season of the Year; and their Failing in the Performance of such a solemn and explicit Stipulation, would of course render them blameable in the Eyes of all *Europe*; which, considering the Intricacy of the other Disputes between the two Nations, was a Point our Ministers were in the right to aim at, and has, perhaps, been the principal Cause of *Spain*'s remaining hitherto unassisted by any Power in *Europe*. This Measure, therefore, or the Approbation it met with in Parliament, can as little afford a just Cause for an Inquiry, as any other that has been mentioned in this Debate; and thence, I hope, it will appear, that we have at present no solid Ground for an Inquiry, from the supposed Weakness or Wickedness of any of our late Measures.

‘ If a Minister, or an Administration, are to be compared to the Steward of an Estate, we shall from thence find as little Reason for an Inquiry; nay, upon this Principle, it would be unjust in us to call them now to a general Account. If the Steward of an Estate passes his Accounts regularly, and delivers up his Vouchers every Year, and accordingly receives an annual Discharge or Release, it would be most unjust in his Lord to expect or desire, that after twenty Years Service he should be brought to a general Account, as if no such annual Account had ever been delivered or approved of. This is exactly the Case of our Administration; they have regularly every Year delivered in their Accounts; those Accounts have been annually passed in Parliament, and every Article approved of; would it not then be unjust in us now after twenty Years to tell them, we will now overhale all your Accounts? The Accounts you have delivered in, the Approbation you have met with, the Releases you have received, shall pass for nothing: You shall now deliver in a general Account from your first Entry into our Service: We will examine it strictly, and will admit of no Article but what you can fully prove to have been usefully laid out or expended for our Service. Such a Proceeding would be so unjust, that I cannot think, it needs any farther Explanation.

‘ But now, Sir, with regard to the other Question, Whether it be now a proper Time for us to enter into an Inquiry? Suppose we had just Ground to suspect the Upright-

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ness or the Wisdom of our late Measures: Suppose them to be thought weak or wicked by a great Majority of this House, is this a proper Time for us to employ ourselves about inquiring into and punishing past Measures? When *Europe* is in such Danger: When we ourselves are in such Danger, are we to consider only how we came upon the Brink, instead of considering how to get off? It was said of the House of Commons that impeached the Earl of *Portland* and Lord *Somers* in the Year 1701, that they proceeded in a Manner * which seemed more to affect our Peace at Home, than to prepare for War abroad. I am sure, this might be more justly said of us, should we now resolve upon an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. Let us now think how to get rid of the present Danger, and of that alone. It deserves, it requires our Attention. When we have secured our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, against the ambitious Projects of *France*: When we have secured the Freedom of our Navigation and Commerce against the Insults and Injustice of *Spain*, we shall then have an Opportunity, we shall then have Leisure, to inquire into and punish all publick Offenders, and we may then do it with Safety. Both these desirable Ends we shall, I hope, attain, if we apply to this, and this only: We may, perhaps, be able to accomplish both before the Beginning of next Session of Parliament; and surely no one will say, we can suffer in the mean Time by the Delay of Justice. For this Reason, Sir, if I thought we had just Cause for an Inquiry: If I condemned, in my own Mind, the whole Course of our Conduct for the last twenty Years, as much as I do really approve it, I should nevertheless be against our entering into an Inquiry, during this Session of Parliament; and therefore, I must give my Negative to the Question.

To this Mr *William Pitt* reply'd:

Mr Will. Pitt.

Sir,

What the Gentlemen of the other Side mean by Harangues or Flowers of Rhetorick, I shall not pretend to guess; but if they make use of nothing of that Kind, it is no very good Argument for their Sincerity; for a Man who speaks from his Heart, and is sincerely affected with the Subject he speaks on, as every honest Man must be when he speaks in the Cause of his Country: Such a Man, I say, falls naturally into Sentiments and Expressions which may be called Flowers of Rhetorick, and therefore deserves as little to be taxed with Affectation, as the most stupid Serjeant at Law that ever spoke at the Common Pleas Bar for a Half Guinea Fee.

VOL. XIII.

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* See the Proceedings against those two Lords, as also the Lords Oxford and Hallifax, in CHANDLER'S History, Tom. 3. p. 133, 4, 5, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

For my Part, I have heard nothing said in Favour of the Question, but what I thought very proper and very much to the Purpose. What has been said, indeed, upon the other Side of the Question, especially the long Justification that has been made of our late Measures, I cannot think so proper upon this Occasion, because this Motion is founded upon the present melancholy Situation of Affairs, and upon the general Clamour without Doors against the late Conduct of our publick Affairs, and either of these, with me, shall always be a sufficient Reason for agreeing to an immediate Parliamentary Inquiry; for without such an Inquiry I cannot, even in my own Mind enter into the Disquisition, whether our publick Measures have been right or no, because I cannot otherwise be furnished with the necessary Lights for that Purpose.

But the Hon. Gentlemen who oppose this Motion, seem to mistake, I shall not say wilfully, the Difference between a Motion for an Impeachment, and a Motion for an Inquiry. If any Member of this House were to stand up in his Place, and move for impeaching a Minister, he would be obliged to charge him with some particular Crimes or Misdemeanors, and to produce some Proof, or to declare that he was ready to prove the Facts: But any Gentleman may move for an Inquiry, without any particular Allegation, and without offering any Proof, or declaring that he is ready to prove, because the very Design of an Inquiry is to find out particular Facts and particular Proofs. The general Circumstances of Things, or general Rumours without Doors, are a sufficient Foundation for such a Motion, and for the House's agreeing to it when it is made. This, Sir, has always been the Practice, and has been the Foundation of almost all the Inquiries that were ever set on Foot in this House, especially those that have been carried on by Secret and Select Committees. What other Foundation was there for the Secret Committee appointed in the Year 1694, (to go no farther back) to inquire into and inspect the Books and Accounts of the *East-India* * Company and Chamber of *London*? Nothing but a general Rumour that some corrupt Practices had been made use of. What was the Foundation of the Inquiry in the Year 1715? Did the Hon. Gentleman who moved for appointing that Secret Committee, charge the former Administration with any particular Crimes? Did he offer any Proofs, or declare that he was ready to prove any Thing? It is said, the Measures pursued by that Administration were condemned by a great Majority of that House of

* See the State of the said Accounts, with the Names of the Committee, in CHANDLER's History, Tom. 2. p. 451.

of Commons. What, Sir, were those Ministers condemned before they were heard? Could any Gentleman be so unjust as to pass Sentence, even in his own Mind, upon a Measure, before he had inquired into it? He might perhaps dislike the Treaty of *Utrecht*; but upon Inquiry, it might appear to be the best that could be obtained; and it has since been so far justified, that it is at least as good, if not better than any Treaty we have made since that Time.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

‘ Sir, it was not the Treaty of *Utrecht*, nor any Measure that Administration had openly pursued, that was the Foundation or the Cause of an Inquiry into their Conduct. It was the loud Complaints of a great Party in the Nation against them, and the general Suspicion of their having carried on treasonable Negotiations in Favour of the Pretender, and for defeating the Protestant Succession; and the Inquiry was set on Foot, in order to detect those Practices, if there were any such, and to find proper Evidence for convicting the Offenders. The same Argument holds with regard to the Inquiry into the Management of the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company in the Year 1720. When that Affair was first moved in the House by Mr *Neville* *, he did not, he could not charge those Directors, or any one of them, with any particular Crimes; nor did he attempt to offer, or say that he was ready to offer any particular Proofs: His Motion, which was, That the Directors of the *South-Sea* Company should forthwith lay before the House an Account of their Proceedings, was founded upon the general Circumstances of Things, the Distress brought upon the publick Credit of the Nation, and the general and loud Complaints without Doors. This Motion, indeed, reasonable as it was, we know, was opposed by our Courtiers at that Time, and in particular, by two doughty Brothers, who have been Courtiers ever since; but their Opposition raised such a Warmth in the House, that they were glad to give it up, and never afterwards durst directly oppose that Inquiry. I wish, I could now see the same Zeal for publick Justice. I am sure, the Circumstances of Affairs deserve it. Our publick Credit was then, indeed, brought into Distress; but now, the Nation itself, Nay, not only this Nation, but all our Friends upon the Continent, are brought into the most imminent Danger.

‘ This, Sir, is admitted even by those who oppose this Motion, and if they have ever lately conversed with those that dare speak their Minds, they must admit, that the Murmurs of the People against the Conduct of the Administration are now as general, and as loud, as ever they were upon

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* See Mr *Neville*’s Motion, and the Proceedings in Consequence thereof, in *CHANDLER*’s History, p. 223.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

any Occasion; but the Misfortune is, that Gentlemen who are in Office, seldom converse with any but such as are in Office, or want to be in Office, and such Men, let them think what they will, will always applaud the Conduct of their Superiors; consequently, Gentlemen who are in the Administration, or in any Office under it, can rarely know what is the Voice of the People. The Voice of this House was formerly, I shall grant, and always ought to be the Voice of the People: If new Parliaments were more frequent, and few Placemen, and no Pensioners admitted, it would be so still; but, if long Parliaments be continued, and a corrupt Influence should prevail, not only at Elections, but in this House, the Voice of this House will generally be very different from, nay often directly contrary to the Voice of the People. However, as this is not, I believe, the Case at present, I hope, that there is a Majority of us who know what is the Voice of the People; and if it be admitted by all, that the Nation is at present in the utmost Distress and Danger, and admitted by a Majority, that the Voice of the People is loud against the late Conduct of our Administration, this Motion must be agreed to, because, I have shewn, that these two Circumstances, without any particular Charge, have been the Foundation of almost all Parliamentary Inquiries.

‘ I shall readily admit, Sir, that we should have very little to do with the Character or Reputation of a Minister, if it no way affected his Master; but as it does, and always must affect our Sovereign, as the People may become disaffected as well as discontented, when they find the King continues obstinately to employ a Minister who, they think, oppresses them at Home, and betrays them Abroad, we are therefore, in Duty to our Sovereign, obliged to inquire into the Conduct of a Minister, when it becomes generally suspected by the People; in order that we may vindicate his Character, if he appears innocent, as to every Thing laid to his Charge, or that we may get him removed from the Councils of our Sovereign, and condignly punished, if he appears guilty.

‘ After having said thus much, Sir, I have no great Occasion to answer what has been said, that no Parliamentary Inquiry ought ever to be set up, unless we are convinced that something has been done amiss. Sir, the very Name given to this House of Parliament shews the contrary. We are called the Grand Inquest of the Nation, and as such it is our Duty to inquire into every Step of publick Management, either Abroad or at Home, in order to see that nothing has been done amiss. It is not necessary upon every Occasion

to establish a Secret Committee: This is never necessary, An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. but when the Affairs to be brought before them, or some of those Affairs, are supposed to be of such a Nature as ought to be kept secret; but as Experience has shewn, that nothing but a superficial Inquiry is ever made by a general Committee, or a Committee of the whole House, I wish, that all Estimates and Accounts, and many other Affairs, were respectively referred to Select Committees. Their Inquiries would be more exact, and the receiving of their Reports would not take up so much of our Time as is represented; but if it did, as it is our Duty to make strict Inquiries into every Thing relating to the Publick, as we assemble here for that Purpose, we ought to do our Duty before we break up; and I am sure, his present Majesty would never put an End to any Session, till both Houses had fully performed their Duty to their Country.

It is said, by some Gentlemen, that by this Inquiry we shall be in Danger of discovering the Secrets of our Government to our Enemies. This Argument, Sir, by proving too much proves nothing at all. If it were admitted, it would always have been, and for ever will be, an Argument against our inquiring into any Affair in which our Government can be supposed to have a Concern. Our Inquiries would then be confined to the Conduct of our little Companies, or of Inferior Custom-House Officers or Excisemen; for if we should be so bold as to offer to inquire into the Conduct of Commissioners or great Companies, it would be said, the Government had a Concern in their Conduct, and the Secrets of Government must not be divulged. Every Gentleman must see, that this would be the Consequence of admitting such an Argument; but besides, it is false in Fact, and contrary to Experience. We have had many Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of Ministers of State, and yet I defy any one to shew, that any State Affair was thereby discovered which ought to have been concealed, or that our publick Affairs, either Abroad or at Home, ever suffered by any such Discovery. There are Methods, Sir, for preventing Papers of a very secret Nature from coming into the Hands of the Servants attending, or even of all the Members of our Secret Committee. If his Majesty should by Message acquaint us that some of the Papers sealed up and laid before us required the utmost Secrecy, we might refer them to our Committee, with an Instruction for them to order only two or three of the Number to inspect such Papers, and to report from them nothing but what they thought might be safely communicated to their whole Number. By this Method, I hope, the Danger of a Discovery would be effectually

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

effectually removed; therefore this Danger cannot be a good Argument against a Parliamentary Inquiry.

The other Objection, Sir, is really surprizing, because it is founded upon a Circumstance which, in all former Times, has been admitted as a strong Argument for an immediate Inquiry. The Hon. Gentlemen are so ingenuous as to confess, that our Affairs both Abroad and at Home, are at present in the utmost Distress; but say they, you ought to free yourselves from this Distress, before you inquire how or by what Means you was brought into it. Sir, according to this Way of arguing, a Minister that has plundered and betrayed his Country, and fears being called to an Account in Parliament, has nothing to do but to involve his Country into a dangerous War, or some other great Distress, in order to prevent an Inquiry into his Conduct, because he may be dead before that War is at an End, or that Distress got over. Thus, like the most villainous of all Thieves, after he had plundered the House, he has nothing to do but to set it in a Flame, that he may escape in the Confusion. It is really astonishing to hear such an Argument seriously urged in this House. But say these Gentlemen, if you found yourself upon a Precipice, would you stand to inquire how you was led there, before you considered how to get off? No, Sir; but if a Guide had led me there, I should very probably be provoked to throw him over, before I thought of any Thing else; at least, I am sure, I should not trust to the same Guide for bringing me off; and this, Sir, is the strongest Argument that can be urged for an immediate Inquiry.

We have been for these twenty Years under the Guidance, I may truly say, of one Man, one single Minister. We now at last find ourselves upon a dangerous Precipice: Ought not we then immediately to inquire, whether we have been led upon this Precipice by his Ignorance or Wickedness? And if by either, to take Care not to trust to his Guidance for leading us off? This is an additional, and a stronger Argument for this Inquiry than ever was for any former; for if we do not inquire, we shall probably remain under his Guidance; because, tho' he be removed from the Treasury Board, he is not from the King's Closet, nor probably will, unless it be by our Advice, or by our sending him to a Lodging at the other End of the Town, where he cannot do so much Harm to his Country. Sir, the Distress we are in at Home is evidently owing to bad Oeconomy, and to our having been led into many needless Expences: The Distress and the Danger we are in Abroad, are evidently owing to the Misconduct of our War with *Spain*, and to the little Confidence put in our Counsels by our natural and ancient

tient Allies. This is so evident, that I should not have Ann. 15. Geo. II. 1741.
 thought it necessary to have entered into any particular Ex-
 planation, if an Hon. Gentleman on the other Side had not
 entered into a particular Justification of most of our late Mea-
 sures, both Abroad and at Home; but as he has done so,
 tho' not, in my Opinion, quite to the Purpose of the pre-
 sent Debate, yet, I hope, I shall be excused making some
 Remarks upon what he has said on that Subject, beginning,
 as he did, with the Measures taken for punishing the *South-*
Sea Directors, and restoring publick Credit, after the terrible
 Shock it met with in the Year 1720.

' As those Measures, Sir, were among the first Exploits
 of our late, and I fear still our Prime Minister, at least his
 first since he came last into the Administration; and as the
 Committee proposed, if agreed to, will probably consist of
 one and twenty, I wish the Motion had been for one Year
 farther back, that the Number of Years might have been
 equal to the Number of Inquirers, and that it might have
 comprehended the first of those Measures; for as it stands, it
 will not comprehend the Methods taken for punishing the
 Directors, nor the first Regulations made for restoring publick
 Credit; and with regard to both, some Practices might per-
 haps be discovered, that would deserve a much severer Pu-
 nishment than any of those Directors met with. Consider-
 ing the many Tricks and Frauds made use of by those Di-
 rectors and their Agents, for drawing People into their Ruin,
 I am not a little surprised to hear it now said, that their
 Punishment was ever thought too severe. Justice by the
 Lump was an Epithet given it, not because it was thought
 too severe, but because it was a Piece of Cunning made use
 of for screening the most heinous Offenders, who, if they did
 not deserve to be hanged, deserved at least to have that total
 Ruin brought upon them, which they had brought upon
 many unthinking Men, and therefore they very ill deserved
 those Allowances that were made them by Parliament.

' Then, Sir, as to the restoring of publick Credit, its
 speedy Restoration was founded upon the Credit of the Na-
 tion, and not upon the Wisdom or Justice of the Measures
 taken to restore it. Was it a wise Method to remit to the
South-Sea Company the whole Seven Millions, or thereabout,
 which they had solemnly engaged to pay to the Publick?
 It might as well be said, that a private Man's giving away
 a great Part of his Estate to those that no Way deserved it,
 would be a wise Method for reviving or establishing his Cre-
 dit. If those Seven Millions had been distributed among the
 poorer Sort of Annuitants, it would have been both gene-
 rous and charitable; but to give it among the Proprietors
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AN. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

in general, was neither generous nor just, because most of them deserved no Favour from the Publick: For as the Proceedings of the Directors were authorised by General Courts, those who were then the Proprietors were in some Measure accessory to the Frauds of the Directors, and therefore deserved to have been punished, rather than rewarded, as they really were; because every one of them who continued to hold Stock in that Company got, by the Regulations then made, near 50 *per Cent.* added to his Capital; most Part of which arose from the high Price the Annuitants were by Act of Parliament obliged to take Stock at, and was therefore a most flagrant Piece of Injustice done to the Annuitants. But we need not be at a Loss for the true Cause of this Act of Injustice, when we consider, that a certain Gentleman had a great many Friends among the old Stockholders, and few or none among the Annuitants.

‘ Another Act of Injustice which, I believe, we may ascribe to the same Cause, relates to those who were engag’d in heavy Contracts for Stock or Subscriptions, many of whom groan under the Load to this very Day; for after we had by Act of Parliament quite altered the Nature, though not the Name of the Stock they had bought, and made it much less valuable, than it was when they engaged to pay a high Price for it, I must think, it was an Act of publick Injustice, to leave them liable to be prosecuted at Law for the whole Money they had engaged to pay; and I am sure, it was not a Method for restoring private Credit, upon which our Trade and Navigation very much depend. If the same Regulation had been made with regard to them, as was made with regard to those who had borrowed Money of the Company, or a Sort of *Uti possidetis* enacted, by declaring all such Contracts void, so far as related to any future Payments, it would not have been unjust, and was extremely necessary for quieting the Minds of the People, for preventing their ruining one another at Law, and for restoring Credit between Man and Man, which is so necessary in a trading Country; but there is Reason to suppose, that a certain Gentleman had many Friends among the Sellers in those Contracts, and very few among the Buyers, which was the Reason why the latter could obtain little or no Relief or Mercy by any publick Law or Regulation.

‘ Then, Sir, with regard to the extraordinary Grants made to the Civil List, the very Reason given by the Hon. Gentlemen for justifying those Grants, is a strong Reason for an immediate Inquiry. If there have arisen any considerable Charges upon that Revenue, let us see what those Charges were; let us examine whether or no they were necessary.

cessary. We have the more Reason to do this, because the Revenue settled upon his late Majesty's Civil List, was at least as great as was settled either upon King *William* or Queen *Ann*, and yet neither of them ever asked any extraordinary Grant, but on the contrary, the latter gave out of her Civil List Revenue 100,000 *l.* yearly, towards the Support of the War; and yet there was as great Hospitality in the Royal Palace during her Time, as there has been ever since. Besides, there is a general Rumour without Doors, that the Civil List is now greatly in Arrear, which, if true, renders an Inquiry absolutely necessary; for it is inconsistent with the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of these Kingdoms to be in Arrear to its Tradesmen and Servants; and 'tis the Duty of this House to take Care, that the Revenue we have settled for supporting the Honour and Dignity of our Crown, shall not be squandered or misapplied: If former Parliaments have failed in this Respect, they must be blamed, tho' they cannot be punished; but we ought now to atone for their Neglect, and we may punish those, if they can be discover'd, who were the Cause of it.

I come now in Course to the Excise-Scheme, which the Hon. Gentleman says, ought to be forgiven, because it was easily given up. Sir, it was not easily given up. The Promoter of that Scheme did not easily give it up; he gave it up with Sorrow, with Tears in his Eyes, when he saw, and not till he saw it impossible to carry it through the House. Did not his Majority decrease every Division? It was almost certain, that if he had pushed it any farther, the Majority would have turned against him.* His Sorrow shewed his Disappointment; and his Disappointment shewed that his Design was higher than of preventing Frauds in the Customs. He was at that Time so sensible of the Influence of Excise-Laws and Excisemen with regard to Elections, and of the great Occasion he would have for that Sort of Influence at the next General Election, which was then approaching, that it is impossible to suppose, he had not that Influence in View; and if he had, it was a most wicked Attempt against our Constitution; therefore he deserved the Treatment he met with from the People. Perhaps there was none but what Gentlemen are pleased to call Mob, concerned in burning him in Effigy; but as the Mob consists chiefly of Children, Journeymen and Servants, who speak the Sentiments of their Parents and Masters, we may thence judge of the Sentiments of the better Sort of People.

VOL. XIII.

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* The Majority in favour of the Excise-Scheme was 61 upon the first Division; On the last only 17. — See CHANDLER'S History, Anno 1733, P. 353, and 373.

The Hon. Gentleman said, these were all the Measures of a domestick Nature, that could be found fault with, because none other were mentioned in this Debate. Sir, he has already heard a Reason why no other Wrong Measures should be particularly mentioned in this Debate: If it were necessary, many others might be mentioned. Is not the keeping up of so numerous an Army in Time of Peace to be found fault with? Is not the fitting out so many expensive Squadrons for no Purpose, to be found fault with? Are not the Encroachments made upon the Sinking Fund, the reviving the Salt-Duty, the rejecting many useful Bills and Motions in Parliament, and many other domestick Measures, to be found fault with? The Weakness or Wickedness of those Measures has been often demonstrated, their ill Consequences were at the respective Times foretold, and those Consequences are now become visible by our present Distress.

Now, Sir, with regard to the foreign Measures, which the Hon. Gentleman has attempted to justify, The Treaty of *Hanover* deserves indeed to be first mentioned, because from thence springs the Danger, which *Europe* is now exposed to; and it is impossible to assign a Reason for our entering into that Treaty, without supposing that we then resolv'd to be reveng'd on the Emperor for refusing to grant us some Favour in *Germany*. It is in vain now to insist upon the secret Engagements entered into by the Courts of *Vienne* and *Madrid*, as the Cause of that Treaty. Time has fully shewn, that there never were any such Engagements; and his late Majesty's Speech from the Throne cannot here be admitted as any Evidence of the Fact. Every one knows that, in Parliament, the King's Speech is always considered as the Speech of the Minister; and surely a Minister is not to be allowed to bring his own Speech as an Evidence of a Fact in his own Justification. If it be pretended that his late Majesty had some Sort of Information, that such Engagements had been entered into, that very Pretence furnishes an unanswerable Argument for an Inquiry; for as the Information now appears to have been groundless, we ought to inquire into it, because, if it appears to be such an Information, as ought not to have been believed, that Minister ought to be punished who advised his late Majesty to give Credit to it, and to run the Nation into such pernicious Measures, in Consequence of it.

At the Time this Treaty was enter'd into, we wanted nothing from the Emperor upon our own Account. The abolishing of the *Offend* Company was a Demand we had no Right to make, nor were we in Interest much obliged to insist upon it, because that Company would have been more prejudicial to the Interest, both of the *French* and *Dutch* East-

East-India Trade, than to ours; and if it had been a Point An. 15. Geo. II.
 that concern'd us much, we might probably have gained it, 1741.
 by acceding to the *Vienna Treaty* between the Emperor and *Spain*, or by guarantying the Pragmatick Sanction, which we afterwards did in the most absolute Manner, without any Consideration at all. We wanted nothing from *Spain* but a Departure from the Pretence she had just begun, or, I believe, hardly begun to set up in an express Manner, with regard to searching and seizing our Ships in the *American Seas*; and this we did not obtain, or perhaps did not desire to obtain by the Treaty of *Seville*. By that Treaty we obtained nothing, but we made another Step towards bringing on that Danger which *Europe* is now involved in, by uniting the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and laying a Foundation for a new Breach between the Courts of *Spain* and *Vienna*.

' I shall grant, Sir, our Ministers appear to have been fond and diligent enough in negotiating, and writing Letters and Memorials to the Court of *Spain*; but by all I have looked into, it appears, they never rightly understood, or perhaps would not understand the Point they were negotiating about; and as they suffered themselves to be amused, as they say, with fair Promises, for ten Years together, whilst in the mean Time our Merchants were plunder'd, and our Trade interrupted, we ought to inquire into this Affair; for if it should appear, that they allowed themselves to be amused with such Answers, as no Man of Honour in such Circumstances would have taken, nor any Man of Common Sense been amused with, they must have had some secret Motive for allowing themselves to be thus impos'd upon; this secret Motive we may perhaps discover by an Inquiry, and as it must be a wicked one, if it can be discovered, they ought to be severely punished.

' But, in Excuse for their Conduct, it is said, our Ministers had a laudable Shiness of involving their Country in a War. Sir, this Shiness could not proceed from any Regard to their Country: It was involved in a War: *Spain* was carrying on a War against our Trade, and that in the most insulting Manner too, during the whole Time of their Negotiations. It was this very Shiness, or at least their making the Court of *Spain* too sensible of it, that at last made it absolutely necessary for us to begin a War on our Side. If they had at first insisted properly and peremptorily upon an explicit Answer, *Spain* would have expressly given up the Pretence she had just set up; but by the long Experience we allowed her, she found the Fruits of that Pretence so plentiful and savoury, that she thought them worth risking a War for; and the Damage we had suffered became so considerable,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

(180)

that it was worth contending for. Besides, the Court of Spain was convinced, that whilst we were under such an Administration, nothing could provoke us to begin the War on our Side; or if we did, it would be managed weakly or pusillanimously; and have we not since found, that they form'd a right Judgment? Nothing, Sir, ever demanded more a Parliamentary Inquiry than our Conduct in this War. The only Branch of it we have inquired into, we have already censured and condemned: Is not this a good Reason for inquiring into every other Branch? Disappointment and ill Success have always, till now, occasioned a Parliamentary Inquiry. Inactivity of itself is a sufficient Cause for an Inquiry. We have now all these Reasons concurring. Our Admirals Abroad desire nothing more; because they are conscious that our Inactivity and ill Success would appear not to be owing to their Conduct, but to the Conduct of those that sent them out.

I cannot conclude, Sir, without taking Notice of the two other Foreign Measures mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman. Our Conduct in the Year 1734, with regard to the War between the Emperor and France, may be easily accounted for, tho' not easily excused. Ever since the last Accession of our late Minister to Power, we seem to have had a Spite against the House of Austria. Our Guaranty of the Pragmatick Sanction was an Effect of that Spite; because we entered into it, when, as has since appeared, we had no Mind to perform our Engagement; and by that sham Guaranty got the Emperor to admit of the Introduction of the Spanish Troops into Italy, which he would not otherwise have done. The Preparations we made in that Year, the Armies we raised, and the Fleets we fitted out, were not to guard against the Event of the War Abroad, but against the Event of the ensuing Election at Home. The new Commissions, the Promotions, and the Money laid out on these Preparations, were of excellent Use at the Time of a General Election, and, in some Measure attoned for the Loss of the Excise-Scheme; but France and her Allies were well convinced, that we would, in no Event, declare against them, otherwise they would not have dar'd to attack the Emperor at that Time; for Muscovy, Poland, Germany and Britain, would have been, by much, an over-Match for them. It was not our Preparations that set Bounds to the Ambition of France, but her getting all she wanted at that Time for herself, and all she desired for her Allies. Her own Prudence directed her, that it was not then a proper Time to push her Views farther; because she did not know, but that the Spirit of this Nation might get the better, as it has since done

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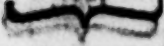
with regard to *Spain*, of the Spirit of our Administration: *An. 15. Geo. II.*
 and if this should have happened, the House of *Austria* was
 then in such a Condition, that our Assistance, even tho' late,
 would have been of effectual Service. 1741.

' I am surpris'd, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman now say, that we gave up nothing, or got any Thing by our infamous Convention with *Spain*. Did we not give up the Freedom of our Trade and Navigation, by submitting it to be regulated by Plenipotentiaries? Can Freedom be regulated without being confined, and consequently in some Part destroyed? Did not we give up *Georgia*, or some Part of it, by submitting to have new Limits settled by Plenipotentiaries? Did we not give up all the Reparation of Honour we had so just a Title to insist on? Did we not give up all Reparation of the Damage we had suffered, amounting to 5 or 600,000 *l.* for the paltry Sum of 27,000 *l.* For this was all *Spain* promised to pay, after deducting the 68,000 *l.* which we, by the Declaration annexed to that Treaty, allowed her to insist on having from our *South-Sea* Company, under the Penalty of stripping them of the *Assiento* Contract, and all the Privileges they were thereby intitled to. Even this Sum of 27,000 *l.* or more, they had before acknowledged to be due, on Account of Ships they had allowed to have been unjustly taken, and had actually sent Orders for their Restitution: So that, by this infamous Treaty, we got nothing, and gave up every Thing; and therefore, in my Opinion, the Honour of this Nation can never be retrieved, unless the Advisers and Authors of it be censured and punished, which cannot regularly be done without a Parliamentary Inquiry.

' By these, and the like wicked, or weak and pusillanimous Measures, we are become the Ridicule of every Court in *Europe*, and have lost the Confidence of all our antient Allies: By these we have encouraged *France* to extend her ambitious Views, and now at last to attempt carrying them into Execution. By bad OEconomy and Extravagance in our domestick Measures, we have brought ourselves into such Distress at Home, that we are almost utterly incapable of entering into a War: By Weakness or Wickedness in our foreign Measures, we have brought the Affairs of *Europe* into such Distress, that it is almost impossible for us to avoid entering into a War. By these Means we have been brought upon the dangerous Precipice on which we now find ourselves; and shall we trust our being led safely off to the same Guide that has led us on? Sir, it is impossible for him to lead us off; it is impossible for us to get off, without first recovering that Confidence among our antient Allies which this Nation

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.



tion formerly used to have: This we cannot do as long as they suppose, that our Counsels are influenced by our late Minister; and this they will suppose, as long as he has Access to the King's Closet, and his past Conduct remains unquarrelled into and uncondemned. It is not therefore a Revenge for past Sufferings, but a Desire to prevent future, that makes me so sanguine for this Inquiry. His Punishment, let it be never so severe, will be but a small Atonement to his Country for what is past; but his Impunity will be the Source of many future Miseries to *Europe*, as well as to his native Country. Let us be as merciful as we will, as any Man can reasonably desire, when we come to pronounce Sentence; but Sentence we must pronounce, and for this Purpose we must inquire, unless we are resolved to sacrifice our own Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*, to the Preservation of one guilty Man.

Then the Question being put upon Lord *Limerick's* Motion, it pass'd in the Negative by 244 against 242.

Accounts of
Wool imported
and exported.

March 10. Mr *Oxenford*, from the Commissioners of the Customs, presented to the House, an Account of all Wool, and Woollen or Ray-Yarn imported from *Ireland* to *England*, from *Christmas 1729*, to *Christmas 1740*: And also of the Value of Woollen Manufactures exported from *England*, from *Christmas 1715*, to *Christmas 1740*.

Petitions relating
to the Woollen
Trade.

March 11. A Petition of the Mayor, &c. of *Leeds*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to a Committee.

A Petition of several Clothiers of *Wiltshire*, representing, That the illicit Liberty taken, of late Years, to set up the Trade, without having served a lawful Apprenticeship, or having proper Skill in the Manufacture, hath been one great Cause of the Decay of the Woollen Trade, was referred to the same Committee, as those of *Devonshire*. [p. 138.]

A new Writ for
Montgomery-
shire.

Ordered a new Writ for *Montgomeryshire*, in the Room of Sir *Watkin William Wynn*, Bart. * who made his Election for *Denbighshire*.

The Pension-
Bill engross'd.

Mr *Carew* reported the Pension Bill, with certain Amendments; and the Question being put that the same be recommended, it passed in the Negative; and the Bill, with the Amendments, was ordered to be engrossed.

Papers relating
to Minorca pre-
sented.

Then Sir *William Yonge* presented to the House, pursuant to their Address, [See p. 115] a Copy of the Earl of *Hertford's* * Commission, as Governor of *Minorca*; Of General *Anstruther's*, as Lieutenant-Governor; And also of General

* Robert Williams, Esq; (his Brother) was elected.

† See *TIMBERLAND's* History of the House of Lords, Vol 8. p. 69.

neral Handaſſa's, as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort St Philip in Minorca: Likewise a Liſt of the Officers on the Eſtabliſhment of that Iſland, diſtinguiſhing which are preſent, and which abſent, &c. Alſo how long each Regiment has been there.

A Petition of the principal Inhabitants of St Martin, St Anne, St James, St George, Hanover Square, and St Margaret, Weſtmiſter, Complaining of the Illegality, Partiality, and Oppreſſion of Select Veſtries, was referred to a Committee.

March 12. A Petition of the Inhabitants of St Martin, St James, St Anne Weſtmiſter, St George Hanover Square, St Paul Covent Garden, St Clements Danes, St Maryle Strand, the Precinct of the Savoy, St Maryle Bone, St Giles in the Fields, St Andrew Holborn, and St Paul Shadwell, complaining of the great Number of Butchers, Poulterers and Fiſhmongers, who keep Shops in the publick Streets out of the Markets, was referred to a Committee.

Ordered a new Writ for Minehead, in the Room of Francis Whitworth †, Eſq; deceased.

Reſolved that an Addreſs be preſented to his Maſteſty, for Copies of all Orders, Inſtructions and Letters, from either of the Principal Secretaries of State, or Commiſſioners of the Admiralty to Rear Admiral Haddock, and all Letters from him to them ſince the 28th of Jan. 1738.

March 15. A Petition of the Priſoners of the Maſſaſſea, complaining of their Diſtreſs, was ordered to lie upon the Table.

Ordered a new Writ for Portſmouth, in the Room of Admiral Cavendiſh; And another for a Knight of the Shire for Surrey, in the Room of Lord Baltimore, both made Commiſſioners of the Admiralty.

A Petition of the ſeveral Manufacturers of Gold and Silver Wire-Lace and Thread, complaining, (inter alia) That great Quantities of Tinſel Copper, &c. brought into this Kingdom (partly manuſactur'd) is ſpun upon Silk, and worked up in Imitation of Gold and Silver-Lace, and comes ſo near the real, as tends to the great Diſcouragement of that Trade, was referred to a Committee.

A Petition of John Tuſſe, the Inventor of a Water-Engine, three Feet ſquare, which, with leſs than one Man's Labour, can, in one Hour, raiſe 100 Tons of Water to the Height of 25 Feet. &c. was referred to a Committee.

A

† Benjamin Periam, Eſq; was elected.

He was elected without Oppoſition, but Lord Baltimore was oppoſed; the Poll ſtood thus,

Lord Baltimore

George Woodroffe, Eſq;

1726

1702

An. 15. Geo. II. A Petition of the Clothiers of *Gloucestershire*, to the same
 1741. Effect as that of *Wiltshire*, [see p. 182.] was referred to the
 same Committee.

Estimates rela- Sir *William Yonge* presented to the House, pursuant to their
 ting to the Army. Address to his Majesty, Estimate of the Charge of his Ma-
 jefty's Forces in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar* for
 1742: Also of the several Officers appointed for the Expedition
 in *America*, for 1742: Also of the Staff-Officers appointed
 to attend the Hospital for the Service of the said Expedition:
 Likewise, by his Majesty's Command, an Account of Ser-
 vices incurred *Anno 1741*, not provided for by Parliament.

Petition for en- A Petition of *Jahn Byrom*, F. R. S. praying Leave for to
 couraging a new bring in a Bill for securing to him the sole Benefit of teach-
 Method of Short ing and publishing his Method of Short Hand for a Term
 Hand. of Years, was referred to a Committee.

Petition from the A Petition of the Trustees for *Georgia* was presented to
 Trustees of the House, setting forth, (*inter alia*) That the Petitioners
 Georgia; are unable to carry on the good Purposes already begun,
 in regard to the said Colony, without the Assistance of the
 House; and Mr. *Sandys* having acquainted the House, that
 his Majesty recommended it to the House to do as they
 think proper; a Motion was made that the said Petition
 be referred to the Committee of Supply: But it passed in
 the Negative.

And also of the A Petition of the Royal *African Company*, praying for
 African Com- farther Provision, was referred to the said Committee: And
 pany. it was ordered that the said Company do lay before the
 House the Establishment for their Forts and Settlements,
 with the Charge for 1741: And an Account how the Money
 granted last Session hath been disposed of; with an Estimate
 of the Charges thereof for the Year 1742.

Resolution a- Then it was ordered that the Petitions for the Borough
 gainst hearing of *Flint* (which had been referred to the Committee of Elec-
 any more con- tions) be heard at the Bar: And it was also resolved, that
 tested Elections. the said Committee do not proceed on any Petitions now
 before them for undue Elections and Returns. Hereupon a
 Motion was made to adjourn, but it passed in the Negative.
 Then a Motion being made, That no more Petitions for un-
 due Elections be heard at the Bar of the House during this
 Session, except for the Borough of *Flint* and the Borough of
Bossiney, it passed in the Affirmative, Yeas 211, Noes 190.

Four Shillings Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee on the
 Land-Tax voted. Supply their Resolution, which was read, and agreed to by
 the House, *viz.* That Four Shillings in the Pound be raised
 in the Year 1742, upon Lands, Pensions, &c. in *England*,
 and a proportionable Cess upon *Scotland*: And a Bill was
 ordered in Pursuance of the said Resolution.

Ordered

Ordered a new Writ for *Lewes*, in the Room of *John An. 13. Geo. II.*
Trevor, * Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. 1741.

Writ for *Lewes*.

The following is an Account of the several Years Land-Tax since the Revolution, before which Time that Tax was unknown in *England*, viz.

Years	Tax per Pound.	Years	Tax per Pound.	Account of the Land-Tax since the Revolution.
1688	1	1716	4	
89	2	17		}
90		18		
91	3	19		
92		20		}
93		21		
94		22		
95	4	23		}
96		24		
97		25		
98	3	26		}
99		27		
1700	2	28		
Additional Duty	6	29		}
1701		30		
2		31		
3		32		}
4		33		
5		34		
6	4	35		}
7		36		
8		37		
9		38		}
10		39		
11		40		
12		41		}
13		42		
14	2			
15				

As *England* and *Wales* send 513 Members to Parliament ; Calculations relating to the
the following is a Calculation how many Parts in 513 each County paid to the Land-Tax in 1693, which Proportion of
County paid to the Land-Tax ; Members each
ons are at this Time observed in assessing the Land-Tax ; County sends to
how many 513 Parts each paid to the Subsidies in 1697 ; Parliament,
VOL. XIII. B b and

* He was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. and how many Members each County sends to Parlia-
1741. ment.

Counties.	Parts of the Land-Tax	Subsidy.	Members of Parliament.	Counties.	Parts of the Land-Tax	Subsidy.	Members of Parliament.
Bedfordshire	7	4	4	Monmouthshire	3	2	3
Berkshire	10	8	9	Norfolk	22	20	12
Buckinghamshire	12	7	14	Northamptonsh.	12	8	9
Cambridgeshire	9	6	6	* Northumberl.	4	3	8
Cheshire	7	5	4	Nottinghamshire	7	4	8
* Cornwall	8	5	44	Oxfordshire	10	7	9
* Cumberland	1	1	6	Rutlandshire	2	1	2
Derbyshire	6	4	4	Salop	7	6	12
* Devonshire	21	19	26	Somersetshire	19	15	18
* Dorsetshire	9	6	20	* Southamptonsh.	14	11	26
* Durham	3	4	4	Staffordshire	7	6	10
Essex	24	13	8	Suffolk	20	15	16
Gloucestershire	12	8	8	Surrey	18	16	14
Herefordshire	5	4	8	Sussex	16	10	28
Hertfordshire	11	8	6	Warwickshire	10	8	6
Huntingdonshire	4	3	4	* Westmorland	1	1	4
Kent	22	15	18	* Wilts	13	8	34
* Lancashire	5	7	14	Worcestershire	9	7	9
Lincolnshire	9	7	4	* Yorkshire	24	23	39
Leicestershire	19	11	12	Wales	11	12	24
Middlesex	80	185	8				
All England and Wales					513	513	513

Note, That the Proportion of the six Northern, } L. T. Subf. P. M.
and five Western Counties, marked thus * } 103 88 216
are

And that Middlesex and Essex are 104 198 16
CITIES are included in their respective Counties.

Accounts order'd relating to the American Expedition.

March 16. Ordered an Account of the Charge for Transport-Service for the Year 1741; and of the Expence of victualling his Majesty's Land-Forces sent on the Expeditions to *America*, between the 1st of *January* 1740, and the 31st of *December* 1741.

Writs for Dartmouth and Brackley.

Ordered out a new Writ for *Clifton Dartmouth Hardnes* *, in the Room of *George Treby, Esq;* deceased: and another for *Brackley*, in the Room of *George Lee, L. L. D.* † made a Commissioner of the Admiralty.

Royal Assent to several Bills.

The King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to an Act, For granting a certain Sum out of the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply

* Lord Archibald Hamilton was elected.

† Chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. See the Names of the Members who voted for him and Mr Erle, p. 55. Seawallis Shirley, Esq; was elected in his Place,

Supply for the Year 1742, and to an Act, For punishing An. 15, Geo. II.
Mutiny and Desertion, &c. Likewise to ten private Bills. 1741.

The same Day the Commons pass'd the Pension-Bill, on a Division, Ayes 233, Noes 153, which Mr Carew was ordered to carry to the Lords, and desire their Concurrence. Pension-Bill pass'd.

March 17. Mr Pulteney presented to the House a Bill to explain and amend the Laws touching the Election of Members; and to restrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of Returning Officers at such Elections; which was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be printed. Bill relating to Returning Officers.

Mr Comptroller reported to the House his Majesty's Answer to their Address of the 12th Instant, viz. 'That he will give Directions, that there be laid before the House Copies of all the Orders, Instructions, and Letters desired by the said Address, that do in any wise relate to the Crown of Spain, or the Conduct to be held by Rear-Admiral Haddock, in respect of that Crown, or the Fleets or Ships thereof, either separately or in Conjunction with the Fleets or Ships of any other Power.' King's Answer relating to Admiral Haddock.

A Petition of German Pole, Esq; [See p. 135.] complaining of an undue Election and Return for Derby, was ordered to be heard at the Bar, on the 9th of April. Petition for Derby.

March 18. The House proceeded to the Hearing the Petition of Thomas Foster and Richard Liddell, Esqrs, complaining of an undue Election and Return for Bossiney, [See p. 31.] A Witness being examined as to the Right of Election for the said Borough, and as to the Constitution thereof, to prove, that several Persons, who voted for the now Sitting Members, were not legally admitted Free Burgesses of the said Borough, whose Votes being deducted, the Counsel for the Petitioners insisted, that they had a legal Majority; the House was informed by a Member, that he was authorized to declare, that Messrs Sabine and Tower desired to give the House no farther Trouble: Hereupon it was severally resolved, that John Sabine and Christopher Tower, Esqrs, were not duly elected; and that Thomas Foster and Richard Liddell, Esqrs, were duly elected for the said Borough: And the Clerk of the Crown amended the Return. Bossiney Election determin'd a second Time.

Sir William Yonge presented to the House (pursuant to Address) a List of the reduced Officers on Half-pay: And (by his Majesty's Command) a List of the Widows of reduced Officers on Half-pay, with an Estimate of the Charge for 1742. Estimates relating to Half-Pay.

March 19. Ordered a new Writ for Leominster*, in the Room of John Caswall, Esq; deceased. Writ for Leominster.

1741.

B b 2

March

* Robert Harley, Esq; who poll'd 210, was elected [See p. 7.]

Sir Robert Cornewall poll'd 101.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Place-Bill pass'd.

Election for
Tamworth,

Cardiganshire,

And Flint deter-
mined.

Mr Webber's
Scheme relating
to the Woollen
Trade, presented.

March 22. A Bill was ordered to be brought in for securing to *John Byrom* the sole Right of publishing and teaching, for a certain Term of Years, the Art of Short Hand.

Then the Bill for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers in the House of Commons, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Sandys*, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr *Hume Campbell* having reported from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, That *John Floyer*, Esq; was not duly elected a Burgess for *Tamworth*; and that *Charles Cotes*, Esq; was duly elected for the said Borough, [See p. 10.] the House agreed with the Committee.

Also that *Walter Lloyd*, Esq; was not duly elected a Knight of the Shire for *Cardiganshire*; and that *Thomas Powell*, Esq; was duly elected.

Then the House proceeded to the farther Hearing of the Petitions for the Borough of *Flint*, which had been heard in Part on the 17th and 19th Instant. And a Member having declar'd, that he was authorized by Sir *George Wynne*, the sitting Member, to acquaint the House, that they having on the 19th resolved, * that the Inhabitants of the Boroughs of *Flint*, *Rhydlan*, *Caerwys*, *Caergurley* and *Overtown* (including *Knolton* and *Overtown Foreign*) renting Lands or Tenements, for which the Landlords thereof, only, pay Scot and Lot, have not a Right to vote in the Election of a Burgess for the Borough of *Flint* the Sitting Member desired to give the House no farther Trouble. Hereupon it was resolved that *Richard Williams*, Esq; was duly elected.

March 23. A Petition of *Samuel Webber*, setting forth, that he has, at very great Expence contrived a Method to prevent the Exportation of Wool to foreign Parts, and presented to the House, at the End of the last Session of Parliament, a Scheme, which he apprehends, would be effectual for the Purposes aforesaid, and may be put in Execution without any Expence to the Publick, and in its Consequence produce large Sums, towards the lessening our Taxes, and discharging the National Debt; was referred to the Consideration of the Grand Committee on the Woollen Trade; and it was order'd that he might be heard before the said Committee.

Then the Serjeant at Arms was order'd to go to the Court of Requests, and the Places adjacent, and summon the Members to attend, which being done, Lord *Limerick* stood up and spoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

* This Resolution was carried by a Majority of 195 against 99.

Sir,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

• Notwithstanding the bad Success of my last Motion •
 for inquiring into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs,
 it shall not discourage me from offering you another of the
 same Nature ; because, I think, our making some Sort of
 Inquiry, during this Session of Parliament, absolutely neces-
 sary for quieting the Minds of the People, and for restoring,
 in some Degree, the Character and Credit of our Govern-
 ment. What Sort of Company some Gentlemen may keep,
 I do not know ; but to me who keep all Sorts of Company,
 the Disappointment upon the former Motion's being re-
 jected, appeared evident in the Face of every Man, who
 had not Reason, upon his own Account, or the Account of
 some of his Friends, to dread the Consequences of that In-
 quiry. And whatever we may think within Doors, it will
 be thought without, nay, it is now generally said, that if
 some People were not conscious of their own Guilt, they
 would not so vigorously oppose an Inquiry ; for an innocent
 Man, when he finds himself accused or suspected, will al-
 ways desire to be brought to a fair and legal Trial, that
 he may have an Opportunity to vindicate his Character a-
 gainst those Whispers that are spread about against it. This,
 Sir, is the Language now held without Doors, and the cer-
 tain Consequence will be, that if we let this Session pass
 over without any Inquiry, it will be said, that a Majority
 of us have been Partakers in the Guilt, and Partners in the
 Plunder of our Country.

Lord Limerick's
 Motion for an In-
 quiry into the
 Conduct of Ro-
 bert Earl of Or-
 ford, for the last
 Ten Years.

• From hence, Sir, I must hope, that every innocent Man
 in this House, (and now that one Man is gone from amongst
 us, I hope, all of us are so,) will be for the Question I am
 now to propose, because I have taken Care to prevent its
 being liable to the two chief Objections that seemed to pre-
 vail against my last Motion. These were, its being too ex-
 tensive as to Time, and too extensive as to Matter. An
 Inquiry for twenty Years back was thought to be without
 Precedent, and that it would be such a Precedent as might
 be of dangerous Consequence in future Times. This was
 one of the chief Objections against it, and an Objection
 which, I believe, had Weight with some whose Concurrence
 I hope to be favoured with in this Motion. And the other
 Objection was, its comprehending all our foreign as well as
 domestick Affairs, which must of course have brought all
 the Papers relating to our foreign Negotiations before our
 Committee. To this it was objected, that it would endan-
 ger the Discovery of some of the most important Secrets of
 our Government to our Enemies, which might be of the
 most

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

most fatal Consequence now that we are engaged in one War, and in great Likelihood of being soon obliged to engage in another. This likewise seemed to have Weight, and, I believe, prevailed with some Gentlemen to be against my former Motion; for which Reason I shall now only move, That a Committee be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford*, during the last Ten Years of his being First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

Sir, I hope the Time of Inquiry proposed by this Motion will not be thought too extensive; for considering the chief Crime of a domestick Nature, he has been accused of, our Inquiry cannot, I think, be confined within narrower Bounds. The Crime I mean, is that of applying not only all the Favours of the Crown, but even the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. This he is generally accused of by the Voice of the People without Doors, and, I believe, there is not a Gentleman in this House that has been chosen in Opposition to what was called the Court Interest, who was not sensible of some such Practices being carried on against him, before and at the Time of his Election. Every Gentleman must be sensible, that it is very difficult to fix such Practices upon a Minister, because they are not only carried on in an hidden Manner, but by Tools and Under-Agents, who do not appear at the Election as Agents for the Minister, but as Agents for the Court Candidate; and generally spend their Money very freely, tho' it is often known, that neither they nor their Candidate had ever any Money of their own to spare. Nay, those Agents are often known to be Treasury-Agents, tho' in the common Course of Justice it is impossible to prove that they are. It will even be difficult for a Committee of this House, with all the Powers we can give them, to trace this Practice up to its original Source; but, considering the general Suspicion without Doors, and the many strong Reasons there are for believing that Suspicion to be well grounded, we ought certainly to aim at it; and if we do, we cannot begin later than the Time when canvassing may be supposed to have begun for the chusing of the last Parliament, which, I reckon, was about ten Years ago; for as that Parliament was chosen in the Summer 1734, we must suppose that the Candidates, especially where there was like to be an Opposition, begun to take Measures for securing their Interest in the Summer 1732, which will just come within the Term of ten Years, computing back from this Time.

* For this Reason, I hope this will appear to be the shortest Time I could move for; and as it is much shorter than the Time proposed by my last Motion, I hope, I shall have the Concurrence of many Gentlemen who then appeared against me; especially as I have likewise in this taken Care to obviate the other Objection, of its being too extensive as to the Matters proposed to be enquired into; for as this noble Lord had by none of his Offices any Thing to do with foreign Affairs, this Motion cannot be said to relate to, or comprehend any Affairs of that Nature, unless it be supposed, that this Minister directed every other Branch of publick Business, as well as that of the Treasury, which, I am sure, none of his Friends will pretend to say, because this would be as great a Crime as any he is accused of. This Motion cannot therefore be supposed to relate to any foreign Affair, and, consequently, an Inquiry into this Nobleman's Conduct, cannot be supposed to endanger the Discovery of any of the Secrets of our Government. Nay, if he, whilst he was in Office, confined himself to the Duty of his Office, our Inquiry, in pursuance of this Motion, can comprehend but one Branch even of our domestick Affairs; and that Branch too, which, of all others, has the least to do with our foreign Affairs. An Inquiry into the Conduct of a Secretary of State, a Secretary at War, a Commissioner of the Admiralty, or even the Lord High Chancellor, might be said to have some Relation to foreign Affairs; but I cannot suggest to myself what a Commissioner of the Treasury can have to do with foreign Affairs, or how an Inquiry into his Conduct can have the least Relation to any foreign Affair whatsoever; consequently, I hope, this Motion will appear to be quite free from that Objection which seemed to be urged with so much Weight against my former; and as so much has in this Session been said, upon former Occasions, about the Necessity of an immediate Inquiry, I shall add no more, but move to resolve, That a Committee be appointed, as I have before mentioned.

This Motion being seconded by Sir John St Aubin, the Sir J. St Aubin.
Hon. Horatio Walpole *. jun. spoke to this Effect:

Sir,

Whatever were the prevailing Objections, or may be Mr H. Walpole,
thought to have been the prevailing Objections against the jun.
former Motion, by some Gentlemen, that of its being too
extensive, either as to Time or Matter, was far from being
the most prevailing with me. The Objection which pre-
vailed most with me against the last, and will equally prevail
against

* Youngest Son of the Earl of Orford.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

against this, was, that, I think, we have no Cause for an Inquiry, and, if we had, this is not a proper Time for it. The Suspensions that are entertained, and the Clamours that are made without Doors, are neither the Suspensions nor the Clamours of sensible and discerning Men, nor of Men of Fortune and Circumstances in our Country, unless it be such as cover their Disaffection to the Royal Family under the Cloak of being discontented with the Measures pursued by the Administration. They are the Suspensions and Clamours either of *Jacobites* and Republicans, or of the mere Mob; and, I hope, I shall never see the Measures or Proceedings of this House directed by either of these Sorts of Men. If you were to be directed by *Jacobites* and Republicans, you would not only inquire, but hang up every Man that dared to serve the Royal Family now upon our Throne, that they might thereby, at last, get the Royal Family itself banished out of the Kingdom; and, if you were to be directed by the Mob, you would, for their Diversion, and for no other Cause, send some Minister or other every other Year to *Tyburn* or *Tower-Hill*. Such an Execution would be a Holyday to all the Children, Prentices, and Journeymen about *London*; and if they are diverted, they trouble their Heads very little at whose Expence, or about the Justice of the Sentence.

The Suspensions or the Murmurs without Doors are never to be a Rule for our Proceedings, unless we are fully convinc'd, that there is some very good Ground for those Suspensions and Murmurs; and this, I think, cannot with Reason be said by any Gentleman at present. The only Ground of Complaint which the Noble Lord was pleas'd to hint at, was that of applying the publick Money, and all the Favours of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections and in Parliament. Sir, with Regard to the Favours of the Crown, I do not see how any Minister can be made to answer for their Disposals, because they are directly dispos'd of by the King himself, who very often disposes of them without so much as asking the Advice of the Minister, whose proper Department they belong to; and therefore, if any Fault could be supposed to have been committed in this Respect, it would be a Charge against the King himself; which, I hope, will be allowed to be a Sort of a Charge that cannot be brought by this House, or by either House of Parliament. Perhaps, those Favours have been lately granted generally to those, or the Friends of those, that approved his Majesty's Measures in Parliament. Sir, it is very natural they should be so dispos'd of: They have always been so dispos'd of. His Majesty, I am very sure, never proposes,
much

much less pursues any Measure but what he thinks right; An. 15. Geo. II. therefore he must suppose those Gentlemen to be the best 1741. Friends to their Country, who approve of and support his Measures in Parliament; and I hope it will not be imputed to him, or to any of his Ministers as a Crime, to bestow the Favours of the Crown upon those they think the best Friends to their Country. This, I hope, will answer for those Favours of the Crown that are bestowed upon Members of Parliament; and, if they have any Favours in their Gift, or can obtain any Favours from the Crown for other Persons, they are, in Gratitude, obliged to dispose of those Favours among those who supported their Interest at their Election. This has always been the Practice, it always will, it always ought to be the Practice; because, as I have said, it is what Gentlemen are in Gratitude bound to do; and to be grateful will never, I hope, be deem'd criminal.

‘ If this, Sir, is to be call'd a corrupt Influence, it is impossible for us to be without it, as long as the Crown has any Favours to bestow. It is what every Gentleman practises, and ought to practise in his private Capacity as well as in his publick. If he has any Favours to bestow, if he can procure any Favours, as a good Citizen he ought to bestow them upon, or procure them for those that, in his Opinion, deserve best of their Country, and if he pursues what he thinks the Interest of his Country, he must think those Men deserve best of their Country who approve of the Measures he approves of, and support him in the Pursuit of them. This may, indeed, be a corrupt Influence; with regard to some of those upon whom the Favours are bestowed: They may, perhaps, pretend to approve of, and may support their Patron in the Pursuit of Measures which they do not in their Hearts approve of; but, with regard to him, it is no corrupt Influence; as long as he pursues those Measures which, he thinks, will contribute most to the Security and Happiness of his Country. In the Person who bestows, the Disposal of Favours can never be supposed to be with a Design to procure a corrupt Influence; nor can it be imputed to him as a Crime; unless he pursues such Measures as he knows to be destructive to his Country; and as this is a Crime in the Mind only, we can never discover it by an Inquiry, nor can it be justly punished by any subjunary Power: It can neither be detected nor punished by any Thing but the Hand of God.

‘ With regard to the Disposal of publick Money, it is easier, indeed, to discover a criminal Practice. If that has been disposed of towards bribing Votes, either in Parliament or at Elections; and without a Pretence of any real and honest Service perform'd to the Publick, it may be detected, and ought to be punished. But there are two very strong

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

Reasons for making us believe, that no such Practice has lately been made use of. Such Practices, as all criminal Practices are, are generally carried on in a hidden Manner; but to issue Money from the Treasury for this Purpose, I think impossible to be done in a hidden Manner. There are so many Commissioners, and so many Clerks attending that Board, that such a Practice could not long escape a Discovery; and besides, there must be so many Agents employed to carry this Money to the Country, and to distribute it in a proper Manner, that no Man of common Sense would trust to the Secret's being kept. Some one of those to whom it must be communicated, would certainly, either out of Regard to his Country, or in Expectation of a Reward, or from some Disappointment, become an Informer, and a direct Evidence against the high Criminal. As no such Thing has happened: As the Noble Lord does not so much as pretend, that he has any such Information or Evidence, I must suppose, that no such Crime has been lately committed. Even if there were a general Rumour among Men of Sense and Discretion without Doors, that such a Crime had been frequently committed, I should look upon it as a mere groundless Rumour, unless some Gentleman of Character could say, he had direct Evidence to produce.

Another Argument, Sir, for my thinking the committing of this Crime impossible, is the Method introduced by the Revolution, of appropriating all Parliamentary Grants, and the regular Accounts of the Disposal of all publick Monies that have been of late Years laid annually before the Parliament. These Grants are generally so far from having any Excess or Surplus, that they are often insufficient for answering the Services to which they are appropriated by Parliament; and if ever any Surplus has arisen, it has always been accounted for, and has been applied by the next succeeding Session to the Service of the ensuing Year. From hence, I think it impossible to suppose, that any one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, or all of them together, if they were Confederates in the Crime, could have the Command of any publick Money, which they might apply towards carrying on the Practice complained of. I say, Sir, they could have the Command of no publick Money, which they could apply to this Purpose, unless they took it from the Civil List Revenue; and if we consider the many Checks the Disposal of that Revenue is liable to, and the great Care his Majesty takes of that Part of it which is drawn out by special Warrant, we cannot suppose that they could apply any Part of that Revenue to the carrying on of such a Practice, especially such large Sums as would be necessary for carrying it on with Effect, without supposing,

supposing, which God forbid any one should suppose, that An. 15. Geo. II.
his Majesty himself was a *Socius Criminis*. 1741.

For these Reasons, Sir, I cannot suppose we have the least Cause or Reason for setting up such an Inquiry as is proposed by this Motion; and with all due Regard to this House, I must say, that if an Inquiry were set up, as, I hope there never will, without any apparent Cause whatever, I should very much suspect, that it proceeded from Malice and Resentment, in which Case I should very little expect, that the Person whose Conduct was by such Means to be inquired into, should meet with any Candour or fair Treatment. If I judge more favourably of the Cause and Character of the Noble Lord, whose Conduct is so particularly proposed to be inquired into, than other Gentlemen do, I hope the Connection I have with him, the natural Duty I owe him, will plead my Excuse. If I thought his Character suffered among the valuable and discerning Part of Mankind, and such as are true Friends to our happy Constitution, and the Royal Family now upon our Throne, as I am fully convinced of his Innocence, the same Duty that now prompts me to be the first to oppose an Inquiry into his Conduct, would, in that Case, prompt me to be the first to propose it, as soon as a proper Time presented for that Purpose, which I cannot think the present is.

When the Nation, Sir, is in so much Danger, when our best and most natural Ally upon the Continent is in the most imminent Danger of being destroyed, or so much reduced as never for the future to be able to do us any Service; when we ought to employ all our Time in consulting and taking proper Measures for extricating ourselves and our Allies from the Danger that now threaten all of us; would it be proper, would it be prudent for us to take up our Time with inquiring into the little Frauds that may have been committed in the Management of our publick Revenue, supposing we were certain that some such had been committed? It would give the Courts Abroad such a mean Opinion of our Prudence, or such a Suspicion of our Zeal for the present Relief of *Europe*, that none of them would treat with us, or enter into any Concert or Negotiation with our Sovereign.

For this Reason, Sir, if the Case were such as I have just mentioned: If from thence I thought myself bound in Duty and Affection to the best of Parents, as well as out of regard to myself, to promote an Inquiry, in order to vindicate a Character in which I glory, and from which I hope to reap Honour as long as I live, I should at the present Crisis, and till I saw my Country out of Danger, suspend

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

my aiming at that Satisfaction. An Inquiry into any Minister's Conduct always has, and always will increase the Violence of those Animosities, which must reign amongst us as long as we are a free People; for let a Minister be never so innocent, let the Inquiry be never so strict and impartial, let his Justification be as clear as the Sun, there will remain some cloudy Minds where no Truth can penetrate, and the Animosity of such will receive fresh Vigour from their Disappointment. On the other Hand, let a Minister be never so guilty, let his Sentence be never so moderate, there will be some, perhaps many, whose Friendship will obstruct the Rays of Truth: They will think he has met with Injustice, and their Revenge will add Violence to their Animosity. Is this a proper Time to create such a Dispute or Division? Our Enemies Abroad would certainly offer Assistance to the offended Party at Home, and their Disappointment or Revenge might smother those Yearnings which would otherwise arise in Favour of the Peace and Safety of their Country.

Thus, Sir, as I think we have at present no Cause, and as, I think, this would be a very improper Time for setting up any Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs: As these were the two chief Arguments that prevailed with me to be against the last Motion for an Inquiry; and as both these militate as strongly against the Inquiry now proposed, I must give my Negative to the Noble Lord's Motion.

† Mr Digby.

This was answer'd by the Hon. *Edward Digby*, as follows:
Sir,

I believe, Sir, every Man present in this House, will readily excuse the young Gentleman who first opposed this Motion, for giving his Negative to the Question. I believe no one expects his Approbation of such a Question; because, I am convinced, he thinks the noble Lord, whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was never guilty of any Crime, nor suspected to be so by any Gentleman of Fortune and Character in this Kingdom. He may, perhaps, have now and then heard a Huzza upon an unlucky Occasion among the Mob in the Streets; but surely no Gentleman would be so unpolite, except in this Place, where we are in Honour obliged to speak our Minds freely, as to insinuate to the Son the least Suspicion, that his Father had plunder'd his Country, misapplied the publick Money, and form'd a Scheme for overturning the happy Constitution. I should not have been so personal, Sir, if I had not thought it absolutely necessary to say what was proper for preventing the Hon. Gentleman's strong Assertions from having any Weight
in

in this House. He may believe what he asserts to be true : An. 15. Geo. II.
I am persuaded he does ; but he cannot be supposed to know 1741.
the Fact, therefore his Assertion can have no Authority ;
and, I believe there are many Gentlemen in this House, who
are in the same Circumstances with him.

But, Sir, I would have that Gentleman, and every
other Gentleman, to take Care what they say, when they
insinuate, that no Gentleman of Sense and Fortune, unless
he be a *Jacobite* or Republican, has the least Suspicion of
the noble Lord's Conduct now under our Consideration.
Have not they, upon former Occasions, heard many Gentle-
men in this House, not only declare their having Suspicions,
but give, what I thought, incontestable Reasons for shewing,
that those Suspicions are well grounded ? I believe, none of
those Gentlemen will be directly charged with being a Man
of no Fortune or Character, or with being a *Jacobite* or
Republican ; and they have, upon all Occasions, shewn
themselves to be Men of as good Sense as those who assert
the contrary. It would be unlucky for his Majesty, and
his Family, as well as for our present happy Constitution, if
all were *Jacobites* or Republicans that suspect our late Mi-
nister's Conduct : His Majesty would find many of them,
perhaps a Majority, both in his Army, and among his Ser-
vants, who, tho' they dissemble their Sentiments at present,
would certainly declare themselves openly, and take Mea-
sures accordingly, upon the first favourable Opportunity.
Those who have a true Regard for the Security of his Ma-
jesty's Government, will be extremely cautious of propagating
such Accusations. It was the Custom of King *Charles* the
First's Court, in the Beginning of his Reign, to tax all those
who opposed their arbitrary Measures with being *Puritans* :
What was the Consequence ? Most of those Men actually
became so, and thereby made the *Puritans* such a power-
ful Party in the Kingdom, as at last pulled down that unfor-
tunate King from the Throne he sat on, and, *de fond en*
combe, overturned the Constitution of our Government.

As there are certainly great Complaints without Doors,
of Misapplication and Corruption : As this Fact is proved
by the Testimony of many Gentlemen in the House, who
have no Places, Pensions, or Preferments to bestow, and,
consequently, are better Judges than those that have ; if I
were a Placeman and a Friend to our late Minister, as all,
I think, of his Friends are, tho', from the Complaisance,
or, perhaps, Dissimulation of those I conversed with, I had
never heard of there being any such Complaints without
Doors, yet from the Testimony of so many Gentlemen who
are the best Judges of the People's Sentiments, I should cer-
tainly

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

tainly believe the Fact, and as a Friend to the Minister, or to my Country, should join in this Motion, in order to vindicate my Friend if innocent, or expose him to the Justice of the Nation if guilty.

‘ That all the Titles, Honours, Pensions, Places and other Favours of the Crown, have for twenty Years past been disposed of to none but such as voted in Parliament, or at Elections, according to the Direction of the Minister : That within these ten Years several Persons of high Rank and great Merit have been dismissed from all the Offices they held at the Pleasure of the Crown, for no other known or assignable Reason, but because they opposed the Minister in Parliament : That Officers in the Army and Navy who got themselves Seats in this House, and voted as they were bid, have gain’d Preferments out of their Rank, to the Disappointment of Officers of longer Service and greater Merit in their military Capacity : These Things are known to all Men, both within Doors and without ; and are of themselves a strong Presumption, if not a certain Proof, that our Minister had a formed Design to overthrow our Constitution, by establishing a corrupt Influence in Parliament.

‘ To tell us, that the King disposes of his Favours himself, often without the Advice of the Minister, whose Department they properly belong to, can be of no Weight in this House. By our Constitution the King can do no wrong ; but every Minister is answerable to Parliament, if the King by his Advice, does any Thing that is wrong. As soon as he discovers such illegal Practices, he ought to advise the King against it, and if he finds his Master will not take his Advice, he ought directly to throw up his Employment, and impeach the Minister who has given such wicked Advice to his Sovereign.

‘ Sir, it is a new Doctrine in this Nation, and absolutely inconsistent with our Constitution, to tell us, that his Majesty may, and ought, in the Disposal of Offices or Favours, to consider Gentlemens Behaviour in this House. Let his Majesty be never so well convinced of the Wisdom, and Uprightness of his Measures, he ought not to take the least Notice of what is said or done by any particular Man in this House. He is a Traitor to our Constitution that advises his Majesty to do so ; and I am sorry the Expression fell from the Hon. Gentleman, because it will be supposed that he is conscious, or has heard of something of this Nature being done. If Reports are carried to his Majesty, with Regard to the Behaviour of any particular Gentleman in this House, or at an Election, he ought to do with them as it is said King *William* did with the Papers of a Plot he

had

had discovered. By perusing one of them, he found Reason to suspect some of his Courtiers had been concerned: Whereupon he threw them all into the Flames, that they might not furnish him with Suspensions against those he took to be his Friends. The same Monarch shewed another Instance of his Generosity, and of his Regard for our Constitution: A Post in the Army having fallen vacant, the Gentleman who had the next Right to it, happened to be a Member of this House, and one that had opposed the Court, which few Officers do now a-days: The Ministers, as usual, were against his Preferment, because he had opposed the King's Measures in Parliament; but the King told them, the Gentleman had always behaved well as an Officer, and he had nothing to do with his Behaviour in Parliament; so gave him the Commission he had by his Rank a Right to. This was acting like the King of a free People, and it might be expected from him, because he was brought up in a Country where the People had some Rights and Privileges to pretend to. Every Sovereign of these Kingdoms ought to act in the same Manner, he must act so as long as we have an independent Parliament, otherwise he will get no Ministers to serve him, if they have a Regard to their own Safety; for tho' by our Constitution our King can do no wrong, and therefore we cannot call him to an Account, yet every Minister is answerable for the King's Behaviour as well as his own, in the Business belonging to his particular Department, and, consequently, is for his own Safety obliged to throw up, if the King does any Thing by himself, and without or against his Advice, which seems to be inconsistent with our Constitution.

' Suppose, Sir, a Minister thinks the Measures right, and for the Benefit of the Nation: Suppose they really are so; yet he may be guilty of corrupt Practices in procuring the Approbation of Parliament. If he threatens a Member with the Loss of his Place, or with a Denial in any reasonable Suit he is to make to the Crown, as a Consequence of his opposing that Measure, or what are called the King's Measures in Parliament: If by his Conduct he shews, that this will be the Consequence of opposing any Court Candidate at Elections, or any Court Measure in Parliament, he is guilty of corrupt Practices; and therefore this Crime is not so much a Crime of the Mind as the Hon. Gentleman imagines; for I do not know of our having ever admitted in this Kingdom the Jesuitical Maxim, That the End justifies the Means. But suppose this Crime to be merely a Crime of the Mind, do not our Common Law Courts often try and punish such Crimes? Murder is a malicious killing: Malice is a Crime that

An. 13. Geo. II.
1741.

An. 15, Geo. II.
1741.

that consists in the Mind only ; because killing may in itself be an innocent, even a meritorious Action, as in the Case of Self-defence, or killing a Highwayman or Pyrate ; yet our Common-Law Courts often try, convict, and punish Men for Murder ; and cannot the High Court of Parliament do what is every Day done by a common Judge and Jury ?

‘ Sir, if the young Gentleman had been long in Parliament, he would not have laid so much Stress upon Parliamentary Appropriations, or Accounts deliver’d into Parliament, as he seems to do. Every one who knows how superficially our Estimates and Accounts have been look’d into by Parliament for many Years past, must know, that they can be no Restraint, or but a very slender one, upon a Minister’s Conduct. A future Service may be over-rated in the Estimate, a past Service may be over-charged in the Account, without its being taken the least Notice of by Parliament ; and therefore a Minister may purloin considerable Sums from what is appropriated to, and supposed to have been faithfully laid out in the publick Service, and apply them towards his own Use, or, what is worse, towards corrupting the Voters at Elections or in Parliament. The *Hessian* * Troops furnished us with an Example of the Possibility of this Practice : A certain Sum was every Year appropriated by Parliament for that Purpose, and Accounts deliver’d in as if it had been annually applied wholly to that Purpose ; but, by Accident, it afterwards appeared, that a Part of that Money had been applied to another Use, I mean the Deficiency of the *French* Subsidy to *Denmark*, which they had engaged to pay in Consequence of the Treaty of *Hanover*, and which we were so generous as to make good, tho’ they were certainly more concern’d in Interest in the Consequences of that Treaty than *Great Britain* was, whatever the Electorate of *Hanover* might be.

‘ This shews, that the publick Money may be applied to other Uses than those to which it is appropriated, when the Minister has a Majority of this House at his Beck ; for tho’ this Discovery was made by Accident, it did not occasion so much as a Motion for an Inquiry into the Disposal of the publick Treasure, nor would any such Motion have now been made, I believe, if the Minister’s Majority had been as certain in this Parliament as it was in the two last ; because Gentlemen have been quite tired out with making Motions for the Benefit of their Country, against a determined Majority in Parliament. This, Sir, likewise shews, that the Multitude of Commissioners and Officers in the Treasury,

* See the Debate relating to the maintaining them in British Pay, in CHANDLER’s History, Anno 1729, 30, and 31.

notwithstanding there being too great a Number of both, An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.
can no Way endanger the Discovery of any such Misapplication, especially when the first Commissioner there has the Direction of the Secretary's Office, and every other Office in the Kingdom. The other Commissioners, and the Officers, either do not really know how the Money issued by them is applied, or else they will never make a Discovery, as long as they know that their first Commissioner continues to be the chief Favourite of the Crown. This has been the Touch-stone of such Discoveries for many Years past, and always will be so, till we have a Parliament, independent and resolute enough, to pull a suspected Minister even from behind the Throne itself.

Then, Sir, with regard to the Civil List Revenue, considering how much of it may be drawn out by his Majesty's Warrant, and that the Auditors are obliged to admit of such Warrants as sufficient Vouchers, I am surpris'd to hear it said, that a great Part of it may not be applied towards overturning our Constitution by corrupt Practices, instead of being applied, as it ought, towards supporting the Honour and Dignity of the Crown. Considering the many Pretences of legal Secret-Service Money that may be made by Ministers, the most circumspect Sovereign may be imposed on; and therefore in Parliament it is no Derogation to the Character of the King to treat his Warrants to the Treasury as we treat his Speeches to the Parliament. Tho' the Auditors of the Exchequer are obliged, as they ought to be, to admit his Majesty's Warrants as sufficient Vouchers; yet in this House we ought to look upon them as the Warrants of his Ministers, and consequently, ought to admit of them no farther than they appear reasonable. But what is of much greater Force in the present Question, and I am glad the Hon. Gentleman furnished me with an Opportunity to mention it, is this, it is generally reported without Doors, that his Majesty's Civil List Revenue is greatly in Debt, that many of his Servants and Tradesmen, who ought to be paid quarterly at least, are above a Twelvemonth in Arrear: I have no legal Authority for saying so, and every one may guess at the Reason why I have not; but I can affirm, and, I believe, most Gentlemen in this House know, that there is such a Report: As this concerns the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, this Report alone obliges us to inquire into it, if we have a Mind to act up to our Character as the Grand Inquest of the Nation. Even a common Inquest does not wait till Informers come to them: If they have the least Intelligence of any Nufance or publick Crime, they send for such Persons as they think can give Information: they examine them in the

An. 15. Geo. II.
1747.

most solemn Manner, and if from thence the Intelligence they had, appears true or probable, they make a Presentment, in order for a Prosecution. This Inquiry, even when it goes the length of a Presentment, is no Prosecution: The Persons accused have still an Opportunity to justify themselves; and so they would have in Case of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and even a Report against them, which should make all Gentlemen the more ready to enter into such Inquiry; because frequent Inquiries of this Kind, would take away all Hopes of Concealment, and no Man could suffer without having an Opportunity to justify himself, if innocent.

I hope it will now appear, that from the general Report without Doors, and from the Probability as well as Possibility of the Fact, we have great Reason to suspect, that the Minister, whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, has, for several Years, been carrying on a Design to overturn our happy Constitution, by illegally applying all the Favours of the Crown, and some Part of the publick Money, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections. If this does not furnish us with a sufficient Cause for setting up a Parliamentary Inquiry into his Conduct, nothing ever did, nothing ever can; and as to the present Time's being proper for that Purpose, I am surprised to hear our present foreign Danger pleaded as a Pretence for delaying that Inquiry, when it is really the strongest Reason for entering upon it directly. Without such an Inquiry our Government can recover no Confidence with our People at Home, nor consequently among our antient Allies Abroad; the Recovery of which is absolutely necessary for enabling us to form such a Confederacy as may obviate our foreign Danger. But, say Gentlemen, if you enter into such an Inquiry, you'll have no Time to consider, and take proper Measures with regard to Foreign Affairs. Sir, in this House, we have nothing to do with the Direction of foreign Affairs, except when we have such Ministers as have, by their former Conduct, shewn they ought not to be trusted, which cannot be the Case of our new Ministers: On the other hand, those to whom his Majesty intrusts the Direction of our foreign Affairs, have nothing or very little to do with the Inquiries of this House, unless they are resolved to screen the Guilty, which, I am sure, none of them will pretend to, or at least openly avow; therefore, these two Affairs can neither interfere nor interrupt one another; and, I believe, the Supplies necessary for carrying into Execution the foreign Measures his Majesty may resolve on, will be more readily agreed to in this House, and more chearfully advanced

ced by the People, if it be found, that we are in earnest, and resolved to go through with an Inquiry: Whereas, the granting of them will otherwise meet with great Obstructions in this House, and the raising of them with great Grumbings among the People; so that if we have a Mind to save Time with regard to our foreign Affairs, we ought to enter into the Inquiry now proposed, because, in every other Respect, it will make the publick Business go on without Interruption, either within Doors or without.

Thus, Sir, every Argument that has been advanced against the Motion now before you, appears, upon due Consideration, to be an Argument in its Favour. This is my Opinion: I hope, I have shewn sufficient Ground for it, and therefore, I shall most heartily concur with the noble Lord in his Motion.

Mr Cooke spoke as follows:

Sir,

As I never had any Share in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, it cannot be supposed, that I have any Reason, upon my own Account, for opposing an Inquiry; and as I have but lately come into the World, and cannot pretend to be much acquainted with the Nature of State Affairs, it is with great Diffidence I offer to give my Opinion in a Question of such Importance; especially when I see so many Gentlemen, whose Judgment and Candour I am so well convinced of, declare against the Opinion I am to give. If I thought there was at present any just Cause for an Inquiry of any Kind, and that the present is a proper Time for it, I am sure no Gentleman could more heartily concur in this Motion than I should; but after all that has been said in this, and former Debates upon the same Subject, I must freely declare, that, in my Opinion, we have no just Cause for an Inquiry of any Kind; and, I think, an Inquiry at this critical Time could be attended with no Benefit, and might be the Cause of inevitable Ruin to our Country.

The Suspicions, Murmurs, or Complaints without Doors, and the Sort of People among whom they prevail, are general Facts which can admit of no Evidence. We might as well pretend to prove, that the Majority of the People are of a brown or a fair Complexion. Such Facts must depend upon every particular Gentleman's own Judgment and Knowledge, and can never be urged with any Weight by one Gentleman for convincing another; therefore I cannot think, that these of the People without Doors, can ever properly be made use of in this House as an Argument for an Inquiry. We ought upon all Occasions to enter into the Reason of

An. 15. Géo. II.
1741.

Things: If the Conduct of our publick Affairs has been wrong, no Matter whether it is complained of or no, we ought to inquire into it even tho' it had been, and was still approved of by the Generality of People without Doors. The Measures of the last Administration of Queen Anne were very generally approved of by the People, at least by those we commonly call the Mob: They continued to be so even after his late Majesty's Accession; yet, nevertheless, the Parliament not only inquired into those Measures, but impeached or attainted most of the Chief Ministers. On the other hand, if we think the Measures have been right in the main, we ought not to trouble ourselves, or disturb the Nation, with an Inquiry, notwithstanding any Clamours that may have been raised against them; and therefore, when an Inquiry is moved for, we ought never to consider what is said or suspected without Doors, but what appears to us within.

Gentlemen tell us, they suspect, that for several Years past all the Favours of the Crown, and large Sums of publick Money, have been applied, towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament and at Elections; but they have offered no Proof nor any one Fact as a Foundation for this Suspicion, except that of his Majesty's displacing two or three Officers in his Army; and even in this Case, they do not positively assert, that those Officers were displaced for opposing the King's Measures in Parliament, or that this was ever given as a Reason either by the King or by any of his Ministers. Sir, would you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or cashiering Officers in the Army? If you do, I am sure, you will soon have neither Obedience nor Discipline in your Army: Nay, some General Officer of great Credit in the Army might very probably, in a short Time, set up a military Government. I cannot therefore think, that Gentlemen design to take from the Crown the absolute Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army; and yet this would be the certain Consequence of making such a Fact as this the Foundation of a Parliamentary Inquiry into the Conduct of any Minister.

I must therefore think, that, whatever Gentlemen may in this Case suspect, their Suspicion is without Foundation; and with regard to the Disposal of publick Money, it is still more groundless; for here they have not mention'd so much as one Fact, no, nor the least particular Circumstance, whereon such a Suspicion as they pretend to have, can be founded; and from the Nature of Things it is, in my Opinion, evident, that no such Thing can be practised. The Law passed but a few Years ago, for preventing Bribery and Corruption

on * at Elections, has rendered this Practice absolutely impossible, or at least so dangerous, that no Minister in his Senses will attempt it. By that Law, every Elector, at every Election, is to swear, that he has not received by himself or by any Person in Trust for him, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Employment, Gift or Reward, or any Promise or Security for any such, in order to give his Vote at that Election; and if he swears falsely, he thereby incurs the Pains and Penalties inflicted by Law in Cases of wilful and corrupt Perjury. By another Clause in the same Act, every Elector who shall receive or take any Money or other Reward, by Way of Gift, Loan, or other Device, or agree or contract for any Money, Gift, Office, Employment, or other Reward whatsoever, to give his Vote, or to forbear giving his Vote at any Election; or if any Person by himself, or any Person employed by him, shall by any Gift or Reward, or by any Promise, Agreement or Security for any Gift or Reward, corrupt, or procure any Person to give his Vote, or to forbear to give his Vote at any Election; the Offender, that is to say, the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted, shall for every Offence forfeit 500 *l.* besides being for ever after disabled to hold any Office or Franchise. And by a third Clause, any Offender against that Act, who shall, within twelve Months, discover and convict any other Offender, is himself indemnified and discharged from all Penalties and Disabilities incurred by his Offence against that Act.

This, Sir, is the Substance of that Act: I have not troubled you with having it read, because of its having been so lately passed; but as Gentlemen seem, in these our Days, to be full of Suspicions, if any one suspects that I have not recited faithfully, he may have the Act itself read at your Table; and from this Act I must desire Gentlemen to consider, what a Condition a Minister would be in, that should attempt to convert the publick Money, or even the Offices or Employments in the Disposal of the Crown, towards gaining a corrupt Influence at most of our Elections. He must for this Purpose employ a great Number of Agents, and Under-Agents and all of them must be Persons of low Rank and mean Condition; for considering the Penalties, no Man of Character or Fortune would be employed. Thus he must perpetually lie at the Mercy of Scoundrels, who might obtain an Indemnity for themselves, and very probably a high Reward, by informing against him. Is this a Condition any Minister of common Sense would chuse to be in? Would it be possible for him to carry on such a Practice for any Number of Years, with-

An. 15. Geo. II,
1741.

* See the Debate on this Bill, which was passed by a Majority of two Voices only, in Chandler's History Anno 1729. P. 49.

An. 15. Geo. II. without so much as one Information against him or any of
1741.

his Agents? Now, Sir, if the Suspicions, upon which, and upon which alone, this Motion is founded, are themselves without any Foundation, must we not agree, that the Motion itself has no real Foundation? and, consequently, that we have no just Cause for any such Inquiry as is now proposed? For as to the Civil List's being under Suspicion of Debt, we have no Call to inquire into that Affair till an Application be made to us for supplying the Deficiency. Contingencies may run the Civil List Revenue behind hand, but if his Majesty is so good as to resolve to make up the Deficiency by a future Saving, I must think, we have nothing to do with it; and if we should inquire into it, I think, his Majesty would be in the right to insist upon our making the Deficiency good, in order to make us pay for our Officiousness.

‘ But suppose we had good Reason to suspect Misconduct or Misdemeanors in the late Management of our publick Affairs, the present would be a very improper Time to inquire into them, because it is impossible to inquire into the Conduct of any Minister of State, without discovering Secrets which our Enemies might make great Use of against us. Even the noble Lord whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, as one of his Majesty's Privy Council, must have had some hand at least in advising most, if not all our foreign Measures, so that such a general Inquiry into his Conduct, as is now proposed, would lead us of course into an Inquiry into all our late publick Measures both foreign and domestick. And moreover, by the very Nature of the Office he was in, he must have had the Issuing of all Sums applied to secret Service, consequently an Inquiry into his Conduct would necessarily lead us into an Inquiry what Sums were issued for that Purpose, when they were issued, and how they were applied; which would certainly discover many of the Secrets of our Government, and such as it might be of great Importance to our Enemies to know. For this Reason, Sir, I must be against a general Inquiry into the Conduct of this or any other Minister of State, at a Time when we are engaged in one dangerous War, and upon the Verge, perhaps, of engaging in another.

‘ To these Reasons I must add, Sir, that, whatever other Gentlemen may think of the Time proposed by this Motion to be inquired into, I must think, it would be very hard to bring a Minister to a general Account for so many Years past, especially considering the many large Sums that must have passed through his Hands in that Time. As Estimates and Accounts of all publick Monies were regularly delivered in-

to Parliament, and those Estimates and Accounts as regularly approved of by Parliament, he had Reason to look upon that Approbation as an annual Discharge; and that therefore he had no Occasion to be very exact and careful in preserving the Vouchers, or in making Memorandums of the Uses to which those large Sums were respectively applied; consequently we must suppose, that many of the Vouchers are now lost, and that he has forgot many publick Transactions which required a large Expence. For this Reason, I must join with an Hon. Gentleman who spoke against the last Motion of this Nature we had before us, in thinking, that it would be as unjust to call this Minister to a general Account for ten Years back, as it would be to make a Steward come to a new Account, notwithstanding his having settled his Accounts yearly, and delivered up his Vouchers. This, I think, would in private Life be both unjust and oppressive, and as I think it would be equally so with regard to a Minister, therefore I cannot agree to the Motion.

Mr William Pitt, spoke next.

Sir,

Mr William Pitt.

As the Hon. Gentleman, who spoke lately against this Motion, has not been long in this House, one ought in Charity to believe, there is some Sincerity in the Professions he makes, of his being ready to agree to a Parliamentary Inquiry, when he sees Cause and a convenient Time for it; but if he knew how often those Professions have been made by those who, upon all Occasions, have opposed every Kind of Inquiry, he would save himself the Trouble of making any such, because they are believed to be sincere by very few, within Doors or without. He may, 'tis true, have no Occasion, upon his own Account, to be afraid of an Inquiry of any Sort; but when a Gentleman has contracted a Friendship, or any of his near Relations have contracted a Friendship for one who may be brought into Danger by an Inquiry, it is very natural to suppose, that such a Gentleman's Opposition to an Inquiry does not proceed entirely from Motives of a publick Nature; and if that Gentleman follows the Advice of some of his Friends, I very much question, if he will ever see Cause, or a convenient Time, for an Inquiry into the late Conduct of our publick Affairs. As a Parliamentary Inquiry must always be founded upon Suspensions, and not upon known Facts, or manifest Crimes, it will always be easy to find Reasons or Pretences for averring those Suspensions to be groundless; and upon the Principle that a Parliamentary Inquiry must necessarily lay open the Secrets of our Government, no Time can ever be proper or convenient

Ani 15. Geo. II.
1741.

convenient for such an Inquiry; because it is impossible to suppose a Time when our Government can have no Secrets of Importance to the Nation.

This, Sir, would be a most convenient Doctrine for Ministers, because it would put an End to all Parliamentary Inquiries into the Conduct of our publick Affairs; and therefore, when I hear it urged; and so much insisted on by a certain Set of Gentlemen in this House, I must suppose their Hopes to be very extensive: I must suppose them to expect, that they and their Posterity will for ever continue to be Ministers, which, if possible, would be more fatal to it than their having so long continued to be so. But this Doctrine has been so often contradicted by Experience, that I am surpris'd to hear Gentlemen insist upon it. Even this very Session has afforded us a convincing Proof, how little Foundation there is for saying, that a Parliamentary Inquiry must necessarily discover the Secrets of our Government. Surely, in a War with *Spain*, which must be carried on chiefly by Sea, if our Government have any Secrets, the Lords of the Admiralty must be intrusted with the most important of them; yet we have in this very Session, and without any Secret Committee too, made an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Lords Commissioners of our Admiralty: We have not only inquired into their Conduct, but we have censured it in such a Manner, as has put an End to the same. * Commissioners being any longer intrusted with the Direction of that Branch of the publick Business. Has that Inquiry discovered any of the Secrets of our Government? On the contrary, the Committee found they had no Occasion to dive into any of the Secrets of our Government: They found Cause enough for Censure without it; and none of the Commissioners pretended to justify their Conduct by Papers, containing Secrets which ought not to be discovered.

This, Sir, is so late and so strong a Proof of there being no necessary Connection between a Parliamentary Inquiry and a Discovery of Secrets, which it behoves the Nation to conceal, that, I hope, Gentlemen will no longer insist upon this Danger as an Argument against the Inquiry now propos'd, which, of all others, is the least liable to this Objection. The First Commissioner of the Treasury has nothing to do with the Application of Secret-Service Money: He is only to take Care, that it be regularly issued from his Office, and that no more shall be issued upon that Head, than according

* The Resolutions of the House, on the 4th of March, [p. 138] in Pursuance of the Complaints of the Merchants, it was generally thought gave Occasion to the passing a new Commission for the Admiralty.

according to the then Conjuncture of Affairs may seem to be necessary; as to the particular Application, it properly belongs to the Secretaries of State, or such other Persons as his Majesty shall employ; so that we cannot suppose, the Inquiry proposed will discover any Secrets relating to the Application of that Money, unless the Noble Lord has acted as Secretary of State, as well as First Commissioner of the Treasury, or unless a great Part of the Money, drawn out for Secret Services, has been delivered to himself, or to Persons employed by him, and applied by him or them towards gaining a corrupt Influence in Parliament, and at Elections. Both these, indeed, he is most grievously suspected of, and both are Secrets which it very much behoves him to have concealed, but it equally behoves the Nation to have them both revealed. His Country and he are, I shall grant, in this Cause, equally, tho' oppositely, concern'd; for the Safety or Ruin of one or t'other depends upon the Fate of the Question; and, in my Opinion, the violent Opposition made to this Motion, adds great Strength to the Suspicion.

I shall admit, Sir, that the Noble Lord, whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into, was one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy Council, and that consequently he must have had a Share at least in advising all the Measures we have pursued, both Abroad and at Home; but I cannot admit, that therefore, an Inquiry into his Conduct must necessarily occasion a Discovery of any Secrets that may be of dangerous Consequence to the Nation; because we are not to inquire into the Measures themselves, or into the Wisdom or Uprightness of them, and consequently, can have no Call to look into any of the Government's Secrets relating to them. This has nothing to do with an Inquiry into his Conduct; but there are several Suspicions spread Abroad relating to his Conduct as a Privy Councillor, which, if true, would be of the last Importance to the Nation to have discovered. It has been strongly asserted, that he was not only a Privy Councillor, but had usurped the whole and sole Direction of his Majesty's Privy Council: It has been asserted that he gave the *Spanish* Court the first Hint of the unjust Claim they afterwards set up against our *South-Sea* Company, which was one of the chief Causes of the War between the two Nations: And it has been asserted, that this very Minister has given Advice to the *French*, what Measures to take upon several Occasions, in order to bring our Court into their Measures; particularly, that he advised them to send the numerous Army they have this last Summer sent into *Westphalia*. What Truth there is in these Assertions, I shall not pretend to answer: The Facts are of such a Nature,

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

and they must have been perpetrated with so much Caution and Secrecy, that it will be difficult to bring them to Light, even by a Parliamentary Inquiry ; but the very Suspicion is Ground enough for setting up such an Inquiry, and for carrying it on with the utmost Strictness and Vigour ; which leads me to consider the Cause we now have for an Inquiry.

‘ Upon this Subject, Sir, I must say, I am a good deal surpris’d to hear the Representatives of the People make so light of the Sentiments or Suspicions of the People. That there are Suspicions and Complaints among the People, and among the Generality of the best Sort of People, is, ’tis true, a Fact we cannot easily prove against one that denies it ; no more than we could do, that the Generality of our People are of a fair or a brown Complexion ; but if I should say that the Majority of our People are Whites, I could not prove what I asserted, and yet I should look upon him as a very whimsical, or a very disingenuous Gentleman, that would deny it, and assert that the Majority of our People were Blackamores. Such Facts it is impossible to prove any other Way but by the Opinion of those who are the best Judges ; and surely a Country-Gentleman, who lives most Part of his Time among the People, and has no Court Favours to bestow, as a Temptation for those he converses with to disguise their Sentiments, is a better Judge than one who seldom stirs out of the Purlieu of a Court, and converses with none but such as expect Places or Preferments by his Favour. Therefore, if we judge of this Fact according to the only Evidence that can be had, that is, according to the Opinion of those who are the best Judges, we must conclude, that the Suspicions and Complaints of the People were never more general than they are against the late Conduct of our publick Affairs ; and this, by me, shall always be deemed a sufficient Cause for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

‘ Whatever my Opinion of past Measures may be, I shall never be so vain, or so bigotted to my own Opinion, as without any Inquiry to determine against the Majority of my Countrymen. If I found the publick Measures generally condemned, let my private Opinion of them be never so favourable, I should be for an Inquiry, in order to convince the People of their Error, or at least to furnish myself with the most authentick Arguments for the Opinion I have embrac’d. The Desire of bringing other People into our Sentiments is so natural to Mankind, that I shall always suspect the Candour of those who, in Politicks or Religion, are against a free Inquiry. Besides, Sir, when the Complaints of the People are general against an Administration, or against any particular Minister, an Inquiry is a Duty

we

we owe to our Sovereign as well as the People. We meet An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. here to communicate to our Sovereign the Sentiments of his People: We meet here to redress the Grievances of the People. By performing our Duty in these two Respects, we shall always be able to establish the Throne of our Sovereign in the Hearts of his People, and to prevent the People's being led into Insurrections or Rebellions by Misrepresentations or false Surmises. When the People complain, they must be in the right or in the wrong. If they are in the right, we are in Duty bound to inquire into the Conduct of the Ministers, and punish those who shall appear to have been the most guilty: If the People are in the wrong, we ought to inquire into the Conduct of our Ministers, in order to be able to convince the People, that they have been misled. We ought not therefore, in any Question about an Inquiry, to be governed by our own Sentiments: We must be governed by the Sentiments of our Constituents, if we are resolved to perform our Duty, either as true Representatives of the People, or as faithful Messengers to our Sovereign. I will agree with the Hon. Gentleman, that if we are convinced, or suspect the publick Measures to be wrong, we ought to inquire into them, even tho' they are not much complained of by the People without Doors; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that notwithstanding the Administration, or a Minister's being complained of by the People in general without Doors, we ought not to inquire into his Conduct, unless we are ourselves convinced that his Measures have been wrong. Without an Inquiry we can no more determine this Question, than a Judge can declare a Man innocent of any Crime laid to his Charge without a previous Trial or Inquisition. Common Fame is a sufficient Ground for an Inquisition at Common Law, and, for the same Reason, the general Voice of the People of *England*, ought always to be look'd on as a sufficient Ground for a Parliamentary Inquiry.

But, say Gentlemen, what is this Minister accused of? What Crime is laid to his Charge? For unless some Misfortune can be said to have happened, or some Crime to have been committed, no Inquiry ought to be set on foot. Sir, the ill Posture of our Affairs both abroad and at home: The melancholy Situation we are in: The Distress we are now reduced to, is of itself a sufficient Cause for an Inquiry, even supposing he were accused of no particular Crime or Misconduct. The Nation lies a bleeding, perhaps expiring: The Balance of Power has received a deadly Blow: Shall we acknowledge this to be the Case, and shall we not inquire whether it has happened by Mischance, or by the

An. 15. Geo. II.
1741.

Misconduct, or perhaps the Malice prepense of our Minister here at home? Before the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was the general Opinion, that in a few Years of Peace, we should be able to pay off most of our Debts: We have now been very near thirty Years in profound Peace, at least we have never been engaged in any War, but what we unnecessarily brought upon ourselves; and yet our Debts are near as great as they were when that Treaty was concluded. Is not this a Misfortune, and shall we make no Inquiry how this Misfortune has happened?

‘ I am surpris’d to hear it said, that no Inquiry ought to be set on Foot, unless some publick Crime be known to have been committed. The Suspicion of any such Crime’s having been actually committed, has always been deem’d a sufficient Reason for setting up an Inquiry. Is there not a Suspicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards gaining a corrupt Influence at Elections? Is it not become a common Expression, to say, The Floodgates of the Treasury are opened against a general Election? I shall desire no more than that every Gentleman who is conscious of this having been done, either for them or against them, would give his Vote in Favour of this Motion. Will any Gentleman say, this is not a Crime, when even private Corruption has such high Penalties inflicted upon it by express Statute? A Minister that commits this Crime, and makes use of the publick Money for that Purpose, adds Thieving and Breach of Trust to the Crime of Corruption; and as the Crime, when committed by him, is of much more dangerous Consequence to our Constitution than when committed by a private Man, it becomes more properly the Subject of a Parliamentary Inquiry, and ought to be more severely punished. The Hon. Gentleman may much more reasonably tell us, that *Porteous* was never murder’d by the Mob at *Edinburgh*, because no Discovery of his Murderers could ever yet be made, notwithstanding the high Reward, as well as Pardon, offered, than to tell us, we cannot suppose that our Minister ever, by himself or his Agents, corrupted an Election, because no Information has as yet been brought against him; for nothing but a Pardon upon convicting the Offender has ever yet been offered in this Case, and how could any Informer expect such a Pardon, much less a Reward, when he knew, that the very Man against whom he was to inform, had not only the Distribution of all publick Rewards, but the packing of a Jury or Parliament against him? Sir, whilst such a Minister preserves the Favour of the Crown, and thereby the Exercise of it’s Power, we can never expect such an Information: Even Malice
itself

itself can never provoke such an Information ; because, like all other Sorts of impotent Malice, it will rebound upon the Heart that conceived it.

An. 15. Geo. II.

1741.

‘ This shews the Insignificancy of the Act mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman, with regard to that Sort of Corruption which is properly called Bribery ; and with regard to the other Sort of Corruption, which consists in giving or taking away those Posts, Pensions, or Preferments, which depend upon the arbitrary Will of the Crown, this Act is still more insignificant ; because it is not necessary, it would even be ridiculous in a Minister to tell any Man, that he gave or refused him a Post, Pension, or Preferment, on account of his voting for or against any Ministerial Measure in Parliament, or any Ministerial Candidate at an Election. If he makes it his constant Rule never to give a Post, Pension, or Preferment, but to those who vote for his Measures and his Candidates, and makes a few Examples of dismissing those who vote otherwise, it will have the same Effect as when he declares it openly. Will any Gentleman say, that this has not been the Practice of the Minister whose Conduct is now proposed to be inquired into ? Has he not declared in the Face of this House, that he will continue to make this his Practice ? And will not this have the same Effect, as if he went separately and distinctly to every particular Man, and told him in express Terms, Sir, If you vote for such a Measure, or such a Candidate, you shall have the first Preferment in the Gift of the Crown ; if you vote otherwise, you must not expect to keep what you have. Gentlemen may deny the Sun shines at Noon-Day, but if they have any Eyes, and do not wilfully shut them, or turn their Back towards him, I am sure no Man will believe they are ingenuous in what they say ; and therefore, I must think, the Hon. Gentleman was in the right who endeavoured to justify this Practice : It was more candid than to deny it ; but as his Arguments have already been fully answered, I shall add nothing upon that Subject.

‘ Gentlemen cry out, What ! will you take from the Crown the Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army ? No, Sir, this is neither the Design, nor will it be the Effect of our agreeing to this Motion. The King has at present an absolute Power of preferring or cashiering the Officers of our Army. It is a Prerogative he may make use of for the Benefit or Safety of the Publick ; but like other Prerogatives, it may be made a wrong Use of, and the Minister is answerable to Parliament when it is. When an Officer is preferred or cashiered, upon the Motive of his voting for or against any Court Measure or Candidate, it is a wrong Use,

An. 15. Geo. II. Use of this Prerogative, for which the Minister is answer-
 1741.

able. We may judge; we must judge from Circumstances or outward Appearances: From these we may condemn; and, I hope, we have still a Power to punish any Minister that shall dare advise the King to prefer or cashier upon such a Motive. Whether this Prerogative ought to remain as it is, without any Limitation, is a Question that has nothing to do in this Debate; but I must observe, that the Argument made use of for it, might with equal Weight be made use of for giving our King an absolute Power over every Man's Property; for a large Property will always give the Possessor a Command over a great Number of Men, whom he may arm and discipline if he pleases: I know of no Law for restraining it: I hope, there never will be any such; and I wish, our Gentlemen of Estates would make more use of this Power than they do, because it would contribute towards keeping our domestick as well as our foreign Enemies in Awe. For my Part, I think, a Gentleman who has earned his Commission by his Services, (in his military Capacity, I mean) or bought it with his Money, has as much a Property in it, as any Man has in his Estate, and ought to have it as well secured by the Laws of his Country: Whilst it remains at the absolute Will of the Crown, he must be a Slave to the Minister, unless he has some other Estate to depend on; and if the Officers of our Army long continue in that State of Slavery in which they are at present, I am afraid, it will make Slaves of us all.

The only Method we have for preventing this fatal Consequence, as the Law now stands, is to make the best and most constant Use of the Power we have, as Members of this House, to prevent any Minister's daring to advise the King to make a bad Use of this Prerogative; and as there is such a strong Suspicion, that this Minister has done so, we ought certainly to inquire into it, not only for the sake of Punishing him, if guilty, but as a Terror to all future Ministers.

This, Sir, may therefore be justly reckoned among the many other sufficient Causes for the Inquiry proposed; and the Suspicion of the Civil List's being greatly in Debt is another; for if it is, it must either have been misapplied or profusely thrown away, which it is our Duty both to prevent and punish. It is inconsistent with the Honour of this Nation to have our King stand indebted to his Servants or Tradesmen, who may be ruined by a Delay of Payment: The Parliament has provided sufficiently for preventing this Dishonour's being brought upon the Nation; and if the Provision we have made should be misapplied or lavished, we must supply the Deficiency, we ought to do it, whether the King makes
 any

any Application for that Purpose or no ; and the Reason is An. 15. Geo. II. 1741. very plain, because, as we ought first to inquire into the Management of that Revenue, and punish those who have occasioned the Deficiency, they will certainly chuse to leave the Creditors of the Crown, and the Honour of the Nation, in a State of Suffering, rather than advise the King to make an Application which will bring their Conduct into Question, and themselves, probably, to condign Punishment. Beside this, Sir, there is at present another Reason, still stronger for promoting an Inquiry. As there is a great Suspicion, that the publick Money has been applied towards corrupting Voters at Elections and in Parliament, if the Civil List be in Debt, it gives Reason to presume, that some Part of this Revenue has, under the Pretence of Secret Service Money, been applied to that wicked Purpose.

‘ I shall conclude, Sir, with a few Remarks upon the last Argument made Use of against the Inquiry proposed. It has been said, that the Minister delivered in his Accounts annually : That those Accounts have been annually passed and approved of by Parliament ; and that therefore it would be unjust to call him now to a general Account, because the Vouchers may be now lost, or many expensive Transactions have slipt out of his Memory. 'Tis true, Sir, Estimates and Accounts have been annually delivered in : The Forms of Proceeding made that necessary ; but were any of those Estimates or Accounts ever properly inquired into ? Were not all Questions for that Purpose rejected by the Minister's Friends in Parliament ? Has not the Parliament always taken them upon Trust, and passed them without Examination ? Can such a superficial passing, to call it no worse, be deem'd a Reason for not calling him to a new and general Account ? If the Steward, to an Infant's Estate, should annually, for 20 Years together, deliver in his Accounts to the Guardians ; and if the Guardians, through Negligence, or for a Share of the Plunder, should annually pass his Accounts without any Examination, or at least without any Objection, would that be a Reason for saying, that it would be unjust in the Infant to call his Steward to an Account when he came of Age ? Especially if that Steward had built and furnished sumptuous Palaces, and had, during the whole Time, lived at a much greater Expence than his visible Income could afford, and yet, nevertheless had amassed great Riches. The Publick, Sir, is always in a State of Infancy ; therefore no Prescription can be pleaded against it, nor even a general Release, if there appears the least Cause to suspect, that it was surreptitiously obtained : Publick Vouchers ought always to remain upon Record, nor ought there to be any publick

An. 15. Geo. II. publick Expence without a proper Voucher; therefore, the Case of the Publick is still stronger than that of any Infant. Thus the Hon. Gentlemen, who made Use of this Objection, must see of how little Avail it can be in the Case now before us, and consequently, I hope, we shall have their Concurrence in the Question.

A Secret Committee of 21 appointed to inquire into the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford.

The Debate being over, the Question was put upon Lord *Limerick's* Motion, which was carried in the Affirmative; Ayes 252, Noes 245. And it was resolv'd, that a Committee of Secrecy, consisting of twenty-one Members, to be chosen by Ballot, be appointed to inquire into the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, during the last ten Years of his being First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer: And it was ordered, that the Members do on Friday next, at twelve of the Clock, prepare Lists to be put into Glasses of one and twenty Persons Names, to be the said Committee.

An Address of Confidence and Fidelity voted.

Then it was resolved, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to assure him of the Fidelity, Zeal, and Affection of this House to his Royal Person, Family and Government; and that his faithful Commons will take every Opportunity, in this critical Conjunction, to shew, how sensible they are of the present dangerous Situation of Europe, by the Distresses, to which the Queen of Hungary has been reduced; and, as the late favourable Turn of Affairs affords reasonable Grounds to hope that, if she is timely and properly assisted by those Powers, who are engaged by Treaties, and bound by Interest to support her, the Ballance of Power may be again restored, and the Tranquility of Europe re-established, this House will therefore proceed with Unanimity, Vigour, and Dispatch, to support his Majesty in all such Measures, as shall be necessary to attain these great and desirable Ends; having, from a just Sense of their Duty, the highest Regard for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty, and the truest Concern for the Freedom, Peace, Trade, and Welfare of these Kingdoms.

Insolvent Debtors Bill presented.

March 25. Mr *Cornwall* presented to the House, a Bill for Relief of insolvent Debtors, which was read the first Time, ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

Petition for Bridport withdrawn.

The Inhabitants in and Electors for the Borough of *Bridport*, having withdrawn their Petition, *William Bowles*, Esq; who was returned for that Borough, and also for *Bewdly*, made his Election for the latter; and a new Writ was ordered for *Bridport* *.

March

* Lord *Deerhurst*, eldest Son of the Earl of *Coventry*, who had been Candidate for *Worcestershire* [See p. 12.] was elected.

March 26. Mr *Trevor*, from the Commissioners of the Admiralty, presented, pursuant to Address, Copies of all Orders, Instructions, or Letters, written by the said Commissioners to Mr *Haddock*, and Copies of all Letters from Mr *Haddock* to them, since the 28th of *Jan.* 1738, with a Schedule thereof. An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Admiral *Haddock's* Instructions, &c. presented.

Hereupon it was ordered, that the said Papers, being 181 in Number, do lie on the Table.

Then Mr *Speaker* reported his Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House on the 23d.

Gentlemen,

I Thank you for this dutiful and loyal Address. Your Unanimity on this Occasion will, I am persuaded, be attended with the happiest Consequences both at Home and Abroad. I recommend to you the laying aside all Heats and Divisions. I desire nothing more than to reign in the Hearts and Affections of all my People; which I look upon to be the greatest Security to my Government, and their Liberties.

King's Answer to the foregoing Address.

March 29. Ordered in a Bill for vesting, for a certain Term of Years, in *John Tuite*, his Executors, &c. the sole Property of a Water-Engine, of his own Invention.

Then the Marquis of *Hartington* reported from the Committee, appointed to examine the Lists of Twenty one Persons Names, to be a Committee for inquiring into the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford*, &c. that the Majority had fallen upon Sir *John St Aubyn*, Bart. *Samuel Sandys*, Esq; Sir *John Rushout*, Bart. the Hon. *George Compton*, Esq; the Lord *Quarendon*, *William Noel*, Esq; Sir *John Barnard*, Knt. the Lord *Limerick*, *Edward Hooper*, Esq; the Lord *Cornbury*, *Nicholas Fazakerley*, Esq; *Henry Furness*, Esq; the Lord *Granard*, Sir *John Strange*, Knt. *Thomas Prowse*, Esq; *Edmund Waller*, Esq; *William Bowles*, Esq; *William Pitt*, Esq; *Cholmley Turner*, Esq; the Hon. *William Finch*, Esq; Sir *Henry Liddel*, Bart. the Hon. *John Talbot*, Esq; the Hon. *Alexander Hume-Campbell*, Esq; — But the Votes being equal for the four last mentioned Gentlemen, the Journal of the 12th of *April* 1694, in Relation to the Lists of Commissioners for the publick Accounts; And also of the 20th of *April* 1711, in Relation to the Lists of Commissioners for examining into the Value of Lands and other Interests granted by the Crown since the 13th of *Feb.* 1688, being read, Mr *Speaker* gave his Voice for Sir *Henry Liddel* and Mr *Talbot*.

Names of the Secret Committee.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Then it was ordered that Five be the *Quorum* of the said Committee †; and that they have Power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records; and also to examine, in the most solemn Manner, such Persons as they shall think proper to send for.

Petition from
Exeter, relating
to the Woollen
Trade.

March 30. A Petition of the Corporation of Weavers, Fullers, and Sheermen of *Exeter*, complaining of the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, was referred to the Consideration of the Grand Committee.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House, *viz.*

Resolutions on
the Supply.

I. That 11,611 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* be granted for the Charge of the several Officers appointed to go with the Forces under General *Wentworth* for 1742.

II. That 1277 *l.* 10 *s.* be granted for the Charge of the Staff-Officers, appointed to attend the Hospital for the Service of the said Expedition.

III. That 44,008 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted for defraying several extraordinary Expences and Services incurred, *Anno* 1741, and not provided for by Parliament.

IV.

† The Names of the Members balloted for were as follows:

Sir John St Aubyn	518	Henry Furnese, Esq;	261
Sir John Rushout	516	Earl of Granard	259
Samuel Sandys, Esq;	516	William Pitt, Esq;	259
Hon. George Compton, Esq;	516	Thomas Prowse, Esq;	259
William Noel, Esq;	512	Edmund Waller, Esq;	259
Lord Quarendon	512	William Bowles, Esq;	259
Sir John Barnard	268	Cholmley Turner, Esq;	259
Lord Limerick	266	Sir John Strange	259
Lord Cornbury	265	Sir Henry Lyddel	258
Edward Hooper, Esq;	265	Hon. John Talbot, Esq;	258
Nicholas Fazakerley, Esq;	262		

There were two Lists of 21 each prepared on this Occasion, but six Members, *viz.* Sir John St Aubyn, Mr Sandys, Sir John Rushout, Major Compton, Lord Quarendon, and Mr Noel, being in both, the whole Number of Members balloted for was only 36, of which the above 21 were declared to be the Committee; and the other 15 are as follows:

Hon. A. Hume-Campbell, Esq;	258	John Phillips, Esq;	254
Hon. William Finch, Esq;	258	Sir Charles Gilmour	253
John Plumtree, Esq;	257	Sir John Hind Cotton	252
Charles Gore, Esq;	256	Lord Fitzwilliams	251
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn	256	Sir John Ramsden	251
Henry Arthur Herbert, Esq;	256	James West, Esq;	251
General Wade	256	Mr Doddington	249
George Lyttelton, Esq;	255		

The Number of Members absent was 32; vacant Seats 7; Members who voted 518, which, with the Speaker, makes 558; the Number of the whole House.

IV. That 27,968 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* be granted on Account of An. 15. Geo. II. the reduced Officers of the Land Forces and Marines, for 1742. 1742.

V. That 4168 *l.* be granted for paying Pensions to the Widows of such reduced Officers as died upon Half-Pay in Great Britain, and who were married before the 25th of December, 1716, for the Year 1742.

VI. That 21,000 *l.* be granted to replace to the Sinking-Fund the like Sum paid out of the same, for half a Year's Interest due the 5th of Nov. 1741, on the principal Sum of 1,200,000 *l.* lent on the Credit of the Salt-Duty, towards the Supply of the Year 1741.

VII. That 27,851 *l.* 1 *s.* 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* be granted to replace to the Sinking-Fund the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the Duty of 12 *s.* per Barrel on Sweets or Wines, made from *British* or Foreign Fruit or Sugar, at Michaelmas, 1741.

VIII. That 19,018 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d.* be granted to replace to the Sinking Fund the like Sum paid out of the same, to make good the Deficiency of the Duty upon all Victuallers and Retailers of Beer and Ale, within London, Westminster, and the Bills of Mortality, at Michaelmas 1741.

IX. That 10,000 *l.* be granted, to be applied to the Maintenance of the *British* Forts and Settlements belonging to the Royal African Company.

Upon a Motion of Mr Vynar, seconded by Mr Whitchcot; &c. ordered in a Bill to empower Messrs. Nuthall, Fydell, and Michell, and certain other Merchants, to import from neutral Ports, a certain Quantity of *Spanish* Wine. Bill for importing Spanish Wines from neutral Ports.

A Petition of Thomas Cowper, setting forth, that he had prepared a Scheme for the registering the Wool of Great Britain and Ireland; and that he finds, by the Votes of the 23d Inst. Mr Webber has Leave to be heard relating to his Scheme; and therefore praying, that the House will grant him Leave to be heard at the same Time, was referred to the same Committee. Mr Cowper's Scheme relating to the registering of Wool.

March 31. Ordered a new Writ for Andover, in the Room of John Pollen*, Esq; made a *Welsh* Judge. A new Writ for Andover.

Upon a Motion by Mr Carew, seconded by Mr Philips, a Bill was ordered in to indemnify such Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing further Time for that Purpose. Bill relating to qualifying of Officers.

The Serjeant at Arms having been sent to the usual Places to summon the Members to attend, a Motion was made that an Act of the first Year of his late Majesty King George, intituled, *An Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of* 1742. F f 2 *Parliaments*

* He was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. *Parliaments, appointed by an Act made in the sixth Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, An*

1742.

Motion for re-
pealing the Sep-
tennial Act re-
jected.

*Act for the frequent Meeting and calling of Parliaments**, might be read; which being read accordingly, a Motion was made by Sir Robert Godscall, and seconded by Sir John Barnard, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill to repeal the said Act: But the same being warmly opposed by several Members, amongst whom were Mr Pulteney and Mr Sandys, it passed in the Negative, by 204, against 184.

The Bills relating
to Spanish Wines;

April 1. Mr Vynar presented to the House a Bill to im-
power Messrs. Nuthall, Fyddell, and Micbell, and certain other
Merchants, to import, from neutral Ports, a certain Quanti-
ty of Spanish Wines, which was read a first Time, and or-
dered a second Reading.

For securing of
Trade;

A Bill for the better protecting and securing the Trade
and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, was
read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be
printed.

And for encou-
raging a Water-
Engine; ordered
a 2d Reading.

A Bill for vesting, for a certain Term, in John Tuite, his
Executors, &c. the sole Property of his Water-Engine, was
read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

King's Message
for a Vote of
Credit,

Then Mr Sandys acquainted the House, that he had a
Message from his Majesty, which was read by Mr Speaker,
as follows:

GEORGE R.

‘IT is always with the utmost Reluctance his Majesty asks
‘ any extraordinary Supplies of his People; But as his
‘ faithful Commons have, with the greatest Zeal and Una-
‘ nimity, expressed their Concern for the Support of the House
‘ of Austria, and for restoring the Balance of Power in Europe;
‘ and as the late Events in Favour of the Queen of Hungary,
‘ afford a reasonable Prospect of Success, his Majesty makes
‘ no doubt but this House will, at this Time, readily grant
‘ him such a Supply, as may enable him to concert proper
‘ Measures, and form such Alliances with other Powers, as
‘ may be necessary for attaining those desirable Ends, which
‘ they have, in so particular a Manner, recommended to
‘ him.’

The said Message was order’d, *Nem. Con.* to be referred to
the Committee of Supply.

Proceedings on
the Scheme for
registering of
Wool.

Then Mr Carew reported from the Committee of the
whole House, to whom the several Petitions, relating to the
Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, had been referred,
that

* See the Debate on bringing in the Septennial Bill in CHANDLER'S
History, Anno 2. Geo. I. 1716, p. 70; and the Debate on a Motion
for repealing thereof, Anno 1734, p. 245.

that the Committee had heard Mr *Webber* and Mr *Cowper* An. 15. Geo. II. in Relation to their respective Schemes for a Register of Wool. Then the further Consideration of that Matter was adjourn'd. 1742.

Ordered a new Writ for *Hastings*, in the Room of *Andrew Stone* *, Esq; made Secretary of *Barbadoes*. A new Writ for *Hastings*.

April 2. A Bill to indemnify Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices and Employments, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Order'd an Account of all unmanufactured Wool and Yarn, that hath, for seven Years past, been put on Board any Vessel to be carried coastwise, from one Port to another, with- Accounts of Wool carried Coastwise order- ed in. in *Great Britain*, and relanded again; distinguishing each Year, and the several Ports from which such Wool was put on Board, and where relanded, to be laid before the House.

April 5. Ordered a new Writ for the City of *Durham*, in the Room of *John Shaftoe* †, Esq; deceas'd. New Writ for *Durham*.

The same Day *German Pole*, Esq; withdrew his Petition for *Derby*.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House, viz.

I. That 500,000 *l.* be granted to his Majesty, upon Account, towards enabling his Majesty to concert proper Measures, and form such Alliances, or enter into such Engagements with other Powers, as his Majesty shall judge necessary for the Support of the House of *Austria*, and for restoring the Balance of Power in *Europe*. Farther Resolutions on the Supply.

II. That 266,616 *l.* 6 *s.* 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* be granted for maintaining his Majesty's Forces and Garrisons in the Plantations, *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, and Provisions for the Garrisons at *Annapolis Royal*, *Canso*, *Placentia*, *Providence*, *Gibraltar* and *Georgia*, for 1742.

III. That 4000 *l.* be granted towards the repairing and finishing *Westminster Abbey*.

Then a Petition of several Merchants, alledging, that on the 19th of *October* 1739, War being declared against *Spain*, the *Spanish* Court prohibited *English* Manufactures; which Prohibition they have enforced so lately as the 28th of *November* last; that upon the 18th of *December*, 1739, the House ordered in a Bill for prohibiting Commerce with *Spain*, and afterwards an Act of Parliament was passed, enacting, That, after the 1st of *June* 1740, no Wines, Goods, or Manufactures of any of the Territories of the King of *Spain* in *Europe* (except Prize Goods) should, during the present War, be imported into *Great Britain*, or other Places. Petition against the Bill for importing *Spanish* Wines from neutral Ports.

* He was rechose.

† John Tempest, Esq; was elected.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Places therein named, from any Place whatsoever, save only as to such, which should be actually imported into *Minorca* or *Gibraltar* on, or before, the 1st of *May*, 1740, and imported hither on, or before, the 24th of *June* then following; and that as the said Act remained in Force during the whole Session of the 14th Year of his Majesty's Reign, several of the Petitioners, and others, upon the Faith of the said Law, have imported, and ordered, much greater Quantities than usual, of Wines and other Goods, not only from *Portugal*, which takes off to the largest Value of *British* Woollen and other Manufactures, but also from other Places; intending thereby to supply here the Want of those prohibited *Spanish* Wines; and that, in Consequence of a Petition [See p. 136.] lately presented from a few Merchants, Traders to *Spain*, desiring a particular Liberty to themselves only, to import *Spanish* Wines, even now, from neutral Ports, the House has given Leave to bring in a Bill for such Purposes: That the Petitioners apprehend, that their private Property will be thereby greatly affected, and their lawful Trade interrupted, if such Bill should pass into a Law, and that the said Traders to *Spain* cannot be relieved, in the Manner by them proposed, but by a Repeal of Part of the Acts of Navigation, as well as the whole Act of Prohibition, and, in Effect, at the Expence of the Petitioners, who have been carrying on a Trade so beneficial to the Kingdom; and further alledging that *Spanish* Wines are the first Species of Goods forbidden by the said Act of Prohibition, and pay, at the Time when exported from *Spain*, a very high Duty to that Crown, nearly equal to the prime Cost of the Wines; and that the said *Spanish* Traders avow, that some of them first sent their Orders from hence, for their *Spanish* Wines, so late as upon the 14th of *Feb.* 1739, which was near four Months after the Declaration of War, and near two Months after this House had order'd in a Bill to prohibit Commerce, and was nine Days after this House had proceeded so far as to pass a Bill for Prohibition of Commerce; so that such Wines could not have been exported from *Spain*, nor the Duty paid for the same, 'till long after the Prohibition-Act might have been compleatly passed into a Law; and that as the present Application from the said *Spanish* Traders came before this House but on the third of *March* 1741, at so great a Length of Time after the Prohibition took Place, the Petitioners apprehend, the Indulgence desired by the said Traders may afford Opportunities for indirect Practices, or at least may encourage such great Numbers of like Applications, in respect of *spanish* Wines, and other Goods also, as may render it extremely hazardous for Merchants to carry

ry on their Trade, according to Law, if liable to be de-
 seated after the Time they shall have invested their Effects;
 and therefore praying the House, that they may be heard
 against the same by their Counsel. Accordingly the said
 Petition was order'd to lie on the Table, till the Bill in fa-
 vour of Messrs *Nutball, Fydell, and Michell, &c.* be read a
 second Time; and that the Petitioners be then heard by
 their Counsel.

April 7. Upon the Motion of Mr *Hungerford*, seconded
 by Mr *Wilkinson*, a Bill was order'd in for the more easy
 Recovery of small Debts.

April 8. On a Motion by Sir *Robert Godscall*, and se-
 conded by Sir *John Barnard*, a Bill to prevent the Frauds
 committed by the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace,
 was order'd in.

The Serjeant at Arms having summon'd the Members as usual; A Bill was order'd in to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons; and it was ordered that Mr *Pulteney*, Mr *Sandys*, Mr *Cornewall*, Sir *Watkin Williams Wynn*, Mr *Philips*, Mr *Charles Cholmondeley*, and the Lord *Gage*, do prepare and bring in the same.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House.

I. That 188,756 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted for the Ordinary of the Navy (including Half Pay to Sea-Officers) for the Supply.

II. That 168,645 *l.* 15 *s.* 7 *d.* be granted for the Charge of Transports hired to carry the Forces to *America*.

III. That 111,917 *l.* 19 *s.* 1 *d.* be granted for Victuals, provided for the Soldiers employed in the *American* Expeditions.

IV. That 10,000 *l.* be granted upon Account, towards the Support of the Royal Hospital at *Greenwich*.

April 9. A Bill to prevent the Frauds committed by the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace, &c. was read the first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

A Bill for the more easy Recovery of small Debts, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

Ordered Lists of the Justices of the Peace for the several Counties and Liberties within *England* and *Wales*, and for the City of *Westminster*, to be laid before the House.

On a Motion of Sir *Nathaniel Curzon*, seconded by Mr *Carew*, a Bill was order'd in to explain and amend an Act of the 13th Year of his Majesty's Reign, *For amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other*

An. 15. Geo. II.
 1742.

A Bill order'd in,
 for excluding cer-
 tain Officers from
 being Members.

Bill relating to
 Gold Lace;

Another for re-
 covering small
 Debts; order'd a
 second Reading.

Lists of Justices
 of Peace order'd.

Bill for explain-
 ing the Vagabond
 Act.

An. 15. Geo. H. *other idle and disorderly Persons, and for reducing the same into one Act of Parliament, and also for amending the Laws for erecting, providing, and regulating Houses of Correction.*

1742.

Land-Tax Bill
pass'd.

April 12. The Land-Tax Bill was read a third Time, pass'd; and sent to the Lords by Mr Francis Fane.

On a Motion of Sir Robert Godschall, and seconded by Alderman Heatbotts, a Bill was ordered in for preventing the Mischiefs which may happen, by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near Cities and Towns.

More Letters,
&c. relating to
Admiral Had-
dock, presented.

Then Mr Comptroller presented, pursuant to Address, Copies of several Letters and Instructions, &c. relating to Admiral Haddock; Lists of which, to the Number of 100, were order'd to lie on the Table.

The High Sheriff
of Denbighshire
discharg'd.

A Petition of William Myddleton, Esq; late High Sheriff of Denbighshire, was presented to the House; setting forth, that he is extremely sorry, and humbly begs Pardon for having given Offence to the House [See p. 133.]; and praying to be discharged out of Custody. Accordingly he was discharged upon Submission.

A Bill for securing to John Byrom, the sole Right of publishing and teaching his Method of Short-Hand; was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Debate on Mr
Paxton's refusing
to answer before
the Secret Com-
mittee.

April 13. Lord Limerick, Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, that Mr Nicholas Paxton, Solicitor of the Treasury, having been examined upon Oath, did refuse to answer the Questions put to him by the Committee; Hereupon it was moved, that he be committed to the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and debarred the Use of Paper, Pen, and Ink. On this Motion a warm Debate arose. On the one Side it was urged, 'That except the House was made acquainted with the Questions that had been proposed, it was impossible to judge whether they had been properly put or not; and therefore they could not judge of the Offence, for it was possible that the Questions were of such a Nature as might involve himself, and no Man was obliged to turn his own Accuser.'

He is order'd in-
to Custody.

On the other Side it was argued, 'That if the House was to be made acquainted with every Question that the Secret Committee might, in Course of their Inquiry, propose, it was no longer a Secret Committee; that its Design was lost, and that as nothing was more common than to examine and confine a Man by a Warrant from a single Secretary of State, so it was not to be presumed that 21 Gentlemen, whom the Commons of Great Britain had reposed so much Confidence in, would have less Discretion, or propose any Thing improper.' Then the Question being put upon the Motion, the same was agreed to, Ayes 197, Noes 136.

April

The next Day the Serjeant at Arms was order'd to bring *An. 15. Geo. II.*
the said Mr *Nicholas Paxton*, now a Prisoner in his Custody, to *1741.*
the Committee of Secrecy, to be examined, as often as the
said Committee shall think fit: And that his Wife have Leave
to go to and remain with him, but not be allowed Pen, Ink,
or Paper, and that no Person have Access to her, without
Leave of the House.

Then it was farther ordered, that the Committee of Secrecy have Leave to sit, notwithstanding any Adjournments of the House.

An ingrossed Bill for vesting in *John Taite*, his Executors, &c. the sole Property of his Water Engine, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords. *Bill for encouraging a Water-Engine pass'd.*

Ordered an Account of the Quantity of Linens imported into *Great Britain* from foreign Parts: Also an Account of all foreign Linens exported from *Great Britain* to the *British* Plantations, both from *Christmas* 1734, to *Christmas* 1740, with the Drawbacks paid thereupon. Likewise an Account of the Quantity of *British* and *Irish* Linens exported from *Great Britain* to the *British* Plantations, from *Christmas* 1736, to *Christmas* 1741. to be laid before the House. *Accounts of Linen imported and exported, order'd in.*

April 15. Ordered a new Writ for *Chester*, * in the Room of Sir *Charles Bunbury*, Bart. deceased. *Writ for Chester.*

A Petition of the Prisoners for Debt in the Goal of *Worcester*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

A Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons, was read the first Time, and order'd a second Reading. *Officers Bill order'd a second Reading.*

The same Day the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to the Land-Tax Bill, and to seven other publick, and eight private Bills. *Royal Assent given to several Bills.*

His Majesty being withdrawn, and the House return'd, Lord *Limerick* reported from the Committee of Secrecy, that he was directed by them to acquaint the House, that Mr *Nicholas Paxton*, Solicitor of the Treasury, did again refuse to answer to what had been before demanded of him; whereupon it was resolv'd by a Majority of 180 Voices against 128, That he be committed close Prisoner to *Newgate*; and that he be not allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper; that no Person be permitted to have Access to him, without Leave of the House; that his Wife have Leave to remain with him during the Time of his Confinement, but that she be not allowed Pen, Ink, or Paper; and that no Person have Access to her, without Leave of the House: It was also farther Ordered that the Keeper of *Newgate* do bring the

VOL. XIII.

G g

said

* Philip Henry Warburton, Esq; was elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. laid *Nicholas Paxton* to the Committee of Secrecy, to be examined, as often as the Committee shall think fit.

1742.

Accounts relating to Georgia and South Carolina order'd.

An Account, shewing how the Money granted last Session for the Colony of *Georgia* has been applied, was ordered to be laid before the House.

Then it was resolv'd to address his Majesty, for a Copy of the Petition and Representation of the Council and Assembly of *South Carolina* to his Majesty, dated the 26th of *July* 1740, upon the then State of the said Province. Also for a Copy of the last Memorial of the Trustees for *Georgia* to his Majesty. Then the House adjourn'd to the 26th.

Writs for *Plympton* and *Peterborough*.

April 26. Ordered a new Writ for *Plympton*, in the Room of *Richard Edgecumbe*, Esq; created Lord *Edgecumbe* †; and another for *Peterborough*, in the Room of *William Earl Fitzwilliam*, of *Ireland*, created Lord *Fitzwilliam* of *Milton* in *Northamptonshire*.

Sir William Yonge, by his Majesty's Command, presented an Estimate of the Charge of one Regiment of Horse, two of Dragoons, and four of Foot, transferred from the *Irish* to the *British* Establishment, for 1742.

Bill for stating the Publick Accounts.

April 27. A Bill for taking, examining and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, was read the first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

The Committee of Supply vote seven Irish Regiments to be transferr'd to the *British* Establishment.

April 28. The Commons in a Grand Committee on the Supply, resolv'd, that one Regiment of Horse, two Regiments of Dragoons, and four Regiments of Foot, consisting in the whole of 4000 Men, be transferred from the *Irish* to the *British* Establishment, for the Year 1742; and, that 74,192 *l. 5 s. 4 d.* be granted for defraying the Charge thereof: On a Division, Ayes 214, Noes 123.

Bill relating to Gunpowder.

April 29. A Bill for preventing the Mischiefs, which may happen by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near Cities and Towns, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Petition against the Bill for importing Spanish Wines.

A Petition of several Merchants, Traders, and Importers of Wines in *Southampton*, against the Bill order'd in favour of the Importation of *Spanish* Wines from Neutral Ports, was order'd to lie upon the Table.

Several Petitions relating to the Linen Manufactory.

A Petition of several Merchants of *London*, and other Dealers in Linens, made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*; setting forth, that the Manufactures of Linens have, of late Years, been greatly improved, but cannot be farther extended, without the Aid of the Legislature; was referred to a Committee of the whole House.

Then

† Lord Sundon, whose Election for *Westminster* had been declar'd void, [See p. 63.] was chosen.

Then a Petition of the Manufacturers of Linen in *Perth*, An. 15, Geo. II. 1742. setting forth, *inter alia*, that the Inhabitants of the foreign Linen Countries having great Advantage by the Cheapness of Flax, and all their Materials for whitening being Duty free; and that by allowing the Duties on foreign Linen, to a Trifle, to be drawn back at Exportation, even to our Colonies, Foreigners have had the principal Benefit of our Plantations, and the *British* and *Irish* are, in a great Measure, cut off from this Market abroad; that by discontinuing the Drawbacks on foreign Linen carried to our *American* Settlements, the present Spirit for promoting this Manufacture would be enlarged; that as the Increase of our Home-Manufactures has within these ten or twelve Years reduced the Price of foreign Linens from 10 to 15 *per Cent.* there is good Ground to believe, that such farther Improvements may be made, as that there would be little or no Occasion for importing foreign Linen. This Petition was referr'd to the above Committee.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the Resolution of Yesterday, whereupon Mr *Phillips* stood up, and spoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

' I attended Yesterday, in the best Manner I could, to the Arguments that were used in the Committee of the whole House, in Favour of the Troops now under your Consideration; and they were drawn either from the Necessity of supplying the Queen of *Hungary*, in order to preserve the Balance of Power in *Europe*, or from the Fear of an Invasion from some foreign Power, in the Absence of the 16,000 Men, that his Majesty has ordered to be sent into *Flanders*. As to the Queen of *Hungary*, I believe, this House is unanimous in their Opinion, that she ought to be supported; and if the Question had been, whether the Troops should be sent abroad, to her Assistance, or not, that Argument would have been proper; but has no Relation at all to the present Question. His Majesty has, without advising with his Parliament, thought fit to order those Troops to embark, and that Matter is not now under our Consideration; but, I hope, his Ministers are satisfied, that the *Dutch* and *Hanover* Troops will act in Concert with those Troops; the Embarkation will then be highly proper and justifiable, but otherwise mad and unaccountable.

' As to the Arguments drawn from the Fear of an Invasion, I cannot think Gentlemen were in earnest when they made use of them. Our Navy must be in a profound Sleep, and our Ministers void of Intelligence, if they suffer *Spain* to approach our Coasts; and as to *France*, her Finances are

Petition from
Perth relating to
the Linen Ma-
nufacture.

Debate on the
Report of the
Resolution of the
Committee for
transferring seven
Irish Regiments
to the British
Establishment.

Mr Phillips.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

so low, and she has so many Armies on Foot, to make good her Engagements to the new Emperor and her other Allies, that it would be ridiculous to imagine, she would attempt to invade us, especially when we have an Army marching to her Frontiers..

‘ It was said, a Necessity might arise of sending more Troops abroad ; if so, will it not be Time enough to send Troops abroad directly from *Ireland*, when that Necessity appears, and cannot they be soon replaced by new raised Troops here ? What Argument then can be used for taking into our Pay this additional Number of Troops ? None but what prevailed in the Time of the late Administration, but which, I was in Hopes, would have died with them, That it is always necessary to keep up a large standing Army in *England* ; a dangerous Doctrine ! and I will venture to say, that whoever advises a *British* King to delight in a standing Army, is an Enemy to his Country, as it tends to enslave the People, and instead of being a Security to the Crown, alienates the Affections of the Subject, and creates Murmurings and Jealousies ; for when People feel, they will complain. And I cannot help expressing the great Surprize I was under Yesterday, to hear so many Gentlemen that are professed Friends to Liberty, Advocates for the Increase of our Army. The Supplies already granted amount to above five Millions three hundred and eight Thousand Pounds ; the Embarkation of the Troops as they consist of so many Horse and Dragoons, will greatly increase that Sum ; and, I am sure, this Nation is not in a Condition to be at any Expence that is not absolutely necessary for its Safety. That these 4000 Men are necessary for that End, I cannot at all believe, and therefore, must give my Negative to them.

‘ The Hon. Gentleman that made the Motion Yesterday in the Committee, * was pleased to say, that when the 16,000 Men are embarked, you would not have above 11,000 Men left in the Kingdom. I am satisfied a less Number will be sufficient in our present Circumstances for the Security of the Kingdom ; but I beg Leave to take Notice, that the 1600 Men that are coming over from *Minorca*, instead of those that are to be sent there, are not included in that Number, neither are the Marines, and tho’ many of these are abroad, yet they are not all ; I am sure many of the Officers are at home, and they might soon raise Men to serve in Place of those that we have been obliged to send to help to man the Fleet. Shall we never have done increasing the Forces ? An Army of 66,000 Men is inconsistent with the Constitution, and must one Day ruin it. I was in hopes the

* Sir William Yonge,

the Redressing of Grievances would at least have kept Pace An. 15. Feb. II. 1742. with the granting of Supplies; but, alas! the one has quite distanced the other; and the great Expectations from this Parliament will, I fear, end in nothing, but granting more Forces and more Money, than has been granted in any Parliament within the so much talked of Period of twenty Years past.

Mr *Winnington* spoke next:

Mr *Winnington*.

Sir,

'In all Countries, especially in this, the People expect to be protected by their Government, they expect to be secured even from the Approach of Danger, and yet they grudge every Expence which becomes necessary for that Purpose: This renders it popular to oppose all publick Measures, because every publick Measure must be attended with a publick Expence; and this very often, I believe, creates a Prejudice in Gentlemen who are fond of Popularity, which makes them judge amiss of almost every Measure, and every Precaution that can be taken by the Government. It is to this Prejudice that I must impute the Opposition which the Measure now under our Consideration has met with; for if we consider it impartially, and without Prejudice, there can nothing, I think, appear more prudent or more reasonable. That the Queen of *Hungary* ought to be supported, that she ought to be assisted, has been for some Time almost the universal Cry of this Nation: We ought, they say, to assist her, not only in Consequence of our Engagements but in order to preserve ourselves, by maintaining the Balance of Power. Whether I concur in this general Opinion, it is not now necessary to declare; but now when it is resolved to send Troops to her Assistance, and some of those Troops are, for our domestick Security, to be replaced by others, Gentlemen begin to find Fault with both these Measures, because both must be attended with a publick Expence.

'We are told, that it will be mad and unaccountable to send our Troops abroad, unless we are well assured that those Troops will be joined by the Troops of some other Powers. Suppose we were not sure of being joined by the Troops of any other Power in *Europe*, except those of the Queen of *Hungary* herself, yet I cannot think it would be either mad or unaccountable to send a large Body of Troops over to *Flanders*; because it will shew, that we are not only willing, but ready to join with those other Powers of *Europe*, who have certainly as great an Interest, and ought to have an equal Concern for preserving a Balance of Power in *Europe*. There are several States and Princes in *Europe*, who at present affect a Neutrality, and yet we cannot suppose, they are

An. 25. Geo. II.
1742.

are quite easy at seeing the House of *Bourbon* giving Laws to the Princes of *Germany*, and appropriating to itself the greatest Part of *Italy*. Even the Princes of *Germany* themselves, who at present continue neutral, and, perhaps, some of those who are now joined in Alliance with *France*, may be prevailed on to join in a Confederacy for pulling down, or at least for prescribing Bounds to the overgrown Power of that Monarchy, as soon as they see the Armies of *Britain* upon the Continent, and ready to protect them against that Power which, in their present Situation, they find they cannot resist. This is an Effect which this Nation has, I am sure, great Reason to wish for; and as the transporting a Body of our Troops to *Flanders*, will be attended but with a very small additional Expence, and can be attended with no other Inconvenience, I think, it is worth our while to make the Trial, even tho' we be not previously assured, that either the *Dutch*, or any other State in *Europe*, will join their Troops with ours, or enter into any Confederacy for the Support of the Queen of *Hungary*, or for limiting the ambitious Views of the House of *Bourbon*.

From hence, I hope, Sir, it will appear, that the Embarkation of our Troops can in no Case be deemed mad or unaccountable; but when we send our Troops out of the Kingdom, it would certainly be both mad and unaccountable to leave this Island destitute of a sufficient Number of Troops for its Defence, and for securing its domestick Tranquility. Whatever others may think of the disaffected Party amongst us, I have so great an Attachment to our present happy Establishment, and to the Royal Family now upon our Throne, that I am still jealous of that Party, and apprehensive of their Power. True Love, they say, is always mixed with Jealousy; and this makes me dread every Opportunity, the Disaffected may think they have got, for putting their Designs in Execution. There are still many Gentlemen of Figure and Fortune amongst us, who openly profess their Attachment to the Pretender: There is a Sort of enthusiastical Spirit of Disaffection that still prevails among the Vulgar; and, I am afraid, there is by far too great a Number of Men of all Ranks and Conditions, who now seem to be true Friends to the Protestant Succession, that would declare themselves otherwise, if they thought they could do so without running any great or unequal Risk. These Considerations shall always make me jealous of the *Jacobite* Party's getting any Opportunity to rebel, and this they have always thought they had, and always will think they have, when they see the Nation destitute of Troops; for which Reason, I shall always be for keeping in the Island,

Island, in Time of War, as well as in Time of Peace, such a Number of regular Troops as may be sufficient for awing them into Obedience. An. 15, Geo. II. 1742.

But the Danger of an Insurrection at home, is far from being the only Danger we have to apprehend from not having in the Island a sufficient Number of Troops for our Defence. The Danger of an Invasion from abroad, with the Pretender at the Head of it, is equally to be apprehended; and the Nature of these two Dangers is such, that each contributes to the Increase of the other. We are now in actual War with *Spain*, and as we are vastly superior in Naval Force, even tho' she should be openly assisted by *France*, she can expect no Success: She must dread the Effects and the Event of that War, unless she can raise some domestick Combustion amongst us. Must we not then expect, is it not certain, that she will use every Art that can be thought of, for throwing 8 or 10,000 of her best Troops into this Island, with the Pretender and some of his Adherents at their Head? And is it not as certain, that upon their landing in any Part of the Island, they would be joined not only by all the Disaffected, but by all those of desperate Fortunes, who are always more ready to join in overturning, than in supporting an established Government; because, from their Success in the former, they must expect greater Encouragement than they can expect from their Success in the latter. *Spain*, we know, has a sufficient Number of Troops to spare for this Purpose; and we know what a small Number of Ships would be sufficient for transporting 10,000 Foot and dismounted Dragoons from *Spain* to the Southern, or South-West Parts of this Island; for they would have no Occasion to transport Horse to a Country where Horses are so plentiful, and which is so much inclosed, that Horse can, in very few Places, come to a regular Engagement. Twenty or Thirty good Merchant Ships would be sufficient for such a Purpose; and these might be provided, the Troops embarked, and even landed here, before our Court could have any Intelligence of the Design, which would have been the Case in the Year 1718, if their Fleet had not at that Time met with an accidental Storm and contrary Winds.

Our Navy, Sir, may be useful, it will always be sufficient, I hope, to defend us against a formidable Invasion, because we must have Intelligence of the Design, long before the necessary Preparations can be made for such an Invasion; and may, by a superior Squadron, lock the Enemy's Fleet up in their Port, before it can be ready to sail; but against a sudden Invasion with a small Force, such as I have mentioned, our Navy can never be a sufficient Security. For defending

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

sending us against such an Invasion, we must always have a sufficient Number of Troops in the Island; and I must leave to Gentlemen to consider what a woeful and dangerous Condition we should be in, if 10,000 of the veteran Troops of *Spain* were landed in the Southern or Western Parts of this Island, and we had but 10 or 12,000 regular Troops in the whole Island: They might march to our Capital, drive the Royal Family, and all its Friends, from thence, and place the Pretender upon the Throne, before we could bring an equal Number of our regular Troops together to oppose them; and if they could do this, who can say, that our regular Army itself, or a great Part of it, would not declare in favour of the Invaders?

The Danger of an Invasion from *Spain*, is not therefore such a Bugbear, as some Gentlemen seem inclined to represent it; but upon sending our Troops to *Flanders*, *Spain* is not then the only Country from whence an Invasion may be justly apprehended. The Design of our sending our Troops into *Flanders* is well known: It must be to circumscribe the Views of *France*, or directly to attack that Kingdom. Either of these will make *France* our Enemy, and will induce that Court to contrive, if possible, how to make an Invasion upon us. They are, 'tis true, at present at a great Expence: They have lost great Armies in *Germany*: They have still great Armies there; but they have likewise great Armies of regular Troops at Home, much more than would be sufficient for making an Invasion upon us, if we had but 10 or 12,000 regular Troops in the whole Island; and they now see, that they will be in Danger of losing all the Money they have spent, and all the Blood they have spilt, without being able to reap any Benefit to themselves; unless they can divert the Power of this Nation by raising a Civil War amongst ourselves. Can we suppose, that in these Circumstances they will not attempt making an Invasion upon us, if by our own Misconduct we put it any Way in their Power? By the Superiority of our naval Force, and by keeping a strong Squadron in the Channel, we may prevent their being able to make an Invasion upon us with any formidable Army; but considering how many Ports they have within a few Hours sail of our Coast, how many Ships, Fishing Vessels, and Barks fit for transporting Soldiers in such a short Voyage, they have in every Port, and how well acquainted their Smugglers are with every Creek and Corner of our Shore, we must admit, that it would be very easy for them to embark and land 10 or 12,000 of their best Troops upon our Southern Coast, before we could any Way hear of their Design, or send any Squadron to disappoint them; and this,

we may depend on it, they would attempt, if they knew that we had no sufficient Number of regular Troops to march and attack theirs as soon as landed. I must therefore think, it would be the Height of Madness in us, to leave this Island destitute of a Number of Troops sufficient for defending us against an Invasion, that can be made suddenly and unawares: And as the Army we have now in this Island, together with the Troops to be brought from *Ireland*, is no more than sufficient for that Purpose, I cannot but approve of their being brought hither, and must therefore be for providing for their Subsistence.

Ap. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Our Army, Sir, as it is at present modelled and commanded, is so far from being dangerous either to the Liberty or Property of the Subject, that I think it the surest Pledge we have for the quiet Enjoyment of both. I thought so under the late Administration: I shall think so under every Administration, unless I see an Attempt made to model it so, as to make it fit for serving the Ends of those that may aim at arbitrary Power. And as to the Millions we have raised, or may be obliged to raise, I wonder to hear them complained of by Gentlemen, who, upon former Occasions, exclaimed so much against our Inactivity, and who have lately appeared so sanguine for supporting the Queen of *Hungary*. Surely, they do not think, that War is to be carried on without the Aid of Millions; or that our Soldiers and Seamen are to fight their Battles for them, without the usual Subsistence. I wish we could raise ten Times as many Millions as we do: I am sure, I should think the whole well bestowed, if thereby we could procure a safe and honourable Peace both for *Europe* and ourselves. We may, perhaps, Sir, for I have not made the Calculation, have at present above 60,000 Soldiers, if all the Regiments were compleat, besides foreign Troops in our Pay; but no Man can imagine we have as yet too many, for if the War continues, and becomes general, we must raise more, or, at least, we must take a much greater Number of foreign Troops into our Pay; and I never heard that an Army upon the Continent, or any Army but an Army kept up in this Island, in Time of Peace, and without the Consent of Parliament, was of dangerous Consequence to our Constitution; therefore I must think, that no Gentleman can, with Reason, find Fault with the Number of Troops we have now in our Pay, were that Number twice as great as it is at present.

Gentlemen still talk of Grievances, and of redressing Grievances at the same Time we grant Supplies. They have harp'd so much during this Session upon that String, that the Subject is in some Measure become ludicrous. Surely, if they

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

think any Thing a Grievance, they ought to put the Question fairly to the House, and have it voted to be so, before they talk of having it redress'd; especially, as they know, that there are many Gentlemen in this House who happen to differ from them in Opinion, with respect to every Grievance they have been pleased to give us the least Hint of; for some of those Things they have been pleased to mention as Grievances are, I believe, by a Majority of the House, thought to be National Benefits, and others are, by the same Majority, thought to have no present Existence. Therefore, till the Question is fairly stated, and the Opinion of the House taken upon it, which is the only Way I can think of for determining the Question, it is impossible to tell what is or is not a Grievance, or whether we have at all any Grievance to complain of. For my own Part, I do not think we have any Grievance but one to complain of, and that is, our having a Set of Gentlemen amongst us, who oppose every Measure of Government, merely because they had no Share in advising it, nor are like to have any Share in carrying it into Execution. This, I shall grant, is a real Grievance, but this Grievance we have been always plagued with, and always, I fear, will, as long as we preserve our Liberties; therefore I shall never think of having it redressed: I shall only recommend it to all those who have now, or shall hereafter have, the Honour of being Members of this House, to consider seriously and impartially every Question that comes before them, and to give their Vote upon that Side which appears most suitable to the true Interest of their Country; for if this Advice be followed upon the present Occasion, I make no Doubt of having the Concurrence of a great Majority of this House, in agreeing with our Committee upon the Subject now under our Consideration.

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Mr Carew.

Mr Carew spoke next:

Sir,

Whether I am ever misled, or whether I may be ever misled by an Affection of Popularity, I shall not pretend to determine; but I must acknowledge, and I glory in the Acknowledgment of it, that I do affect Popularity; I do covet the Esteem and good Opinion of my Countrymen: I shall always covet it: And whatever Gentlemen may pretend, if they do not endeavour to be popular, it is not because they despise it, but because they find the Pursuit inconsistent with their Vanity, their Avarice, or some other more ridiculous Passion. I am sure, an Affectation to be a Courtier may, and does much oftner, mislead Men, than an Affectation to be popular; for when the People are fully inform'd

informed, and have had Time to consider a Thing coolly An. 15. Geo. II. 1742. and seriously, we seldom find them judge amiss; and the Reason is, because they have nothing in View but the publick Good, whereas a Court has seldom the publick Good in View so much as some private Interest of its own. This Observation, which is founded in Reason, is confirmed by Experience; for through our whole History we shall find, that where the Court and People have happened to be of different Opinions, the People have almost always been in the right. I do not however say, but the People may sometimes be in the wrong: When their Passions are inflamed, or when they have not a proper Information, they may judge amiss; and when this is the Case, it is the Duty of every Man who differs from them, to endeavour to set them right, and to maintain resolutely that Opinion which he thinks most reasonable; but upon such Occasions, a Man ought to examine and re-examine his own Opinion, and to take great Care that he is not misled by some private Passion or View of his own.

‘ I wish every Gentleman in this House would follow this Method: If they did, we should have no Contest, Sir, about the Expediency of free and frequent Parliaments; nor about the Truth of several Facts which some Gentlemen now seem to doubt of, or positively to deny. We should all join in declaring Septennial Parliaments to be a Grievance; for except the second Parliament of King *Charles II.* or rather the first called by him, I do not know that ever any Parliament lasted so long as seven Years, till the Septennial Bill took Place; and since that Time, I doubt if they have improved either in their Dignity or Use. We should all join in declaring it to be a Grievance, to have any Member of this House in Danger of losing the best Part of his Subsistence by voting according to his Conscience; and we should all join in having such a Suspicion of the late Conduct of our publick Affairs, as ought to be deemed a sufficient Ground for a strict Inquiry.

‘ In all these Things the People without Doors almost universally concur; and if no Gentleman amongst us was misled by his Attachment to the Court, or to some private View or Passion of his own, I am persuaded we should here be pretty unanimous in the same Opinion. We should likewise, in this Case, be unanimous, I believe, in our Opinion, that considering the great Number of Troops we have now on foot, we might safely spare to send 16,000 of them to *Flanders*, without calling over any Regiments from *Ireland*; for surely it will not be said, that those Regiments, while they remain here, can be of any Service to the Queen of

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

Hungary: On the contrary, they will do her a Prejudice, by consuming a Part of our publick Revenue which otherwise might be lent to her; and every one must grant, that ready Money is the Sort of Assistance she stands most in need of.

The Fear of an Invasion or an Insurrection in favour of the Pretender, is such a threadbare Argument, that I am surpris'd to hear it again seriously made use of in this House. What the Hon. Gentleman said of the Redress of Grievances may much more justly be applied to the Fear of the Pretender; for this Argument is never made use of lately, but you may see a general Smile spread itself over the whole House. Nay, in the Countenance of every Gentleman who makes use of it, you may see such a Contrast as is generally observed in the Countenance of a young Widow upon the Loss of an old Husband. She affects a Sorrow, but in spite of all she can do, her inward Joy breaks forth in the Disposition of some of her Features. I hope, all the Gentlemen of this House have a real Affection for our present Royal Family; but I wish, some of us would shew a little more Affection for the Liberties and Constitution of our Country; for whoever betrays them to his Jealousy or Fear of the Pretender, does our present Royal Family more Harm by his Jealousy, than he can ever do it good by his Affection.

It would be easy, Sir, to shew the Impossibility, or at least the Improbability of all the Insurrections and Invasions we have been terrified with in this Debate; but it is so self-evident, and has been so often and so fully explained upon former Occasions, that I do not think it worth my while to enlarge upon the Subject. Therefore, I shall only observe in general, that by some Gentlemen's Way of arguing upon this Subject, they make a very bad Compliment to our present Royal Family, or to those who have an Affection for that Family; for by magnifying to such a Degree the Danger we should be in from an Insurrection or sudden Invasion in Favour of the Pretender, they must either suppose, that his Majesty has no affectionate Subjects except those who are enlisted in his Army, or they must suppose, that those who are well affected towards our present Royal Family, have so little Courage, that they will neither risk their Lives nor their Fortunes for that Family, upon which, they think, their Liberties, Properties and Religion depend. But however free those Gentlemen, out of the Abundance of their Affection, may make with their King or their Countrymen, I am far from having such an Opinion of either. I am persuaded, his Majesty has many loyal Subjects, besides those of his Army, who would be ready to venture both their

Lives

Lives and Fortunes in his Defence: I believe, there are very few who would venture either for the Pretender; and therefore, if by a very extraordinary Concurrence of Events, 10 or 12,000 Foreigners were landed amongst us, with the Pretender at their Head, I am convinced, they would be joined by very few, but, on the contrary, would soon be overwhelmed by the Numbers of Men that would take Arms in Defence of their King, and the Liberties of their Country.

This I hope, Sir, is the Case at present: It will certainly be the Case, as long as the People think that the Preservation of their Liberties depends upon the Preservation of our present happy Establishment; but should the Scene be changed, should the People find the Liberties of their Country oppressed by a numerous mercenary Army, and that Oppression enforced and made legal by a more mercenary Parliament, they would probably turn their Eyes to the Pretender for Relief; and then if he should land in any Part of the Island, with half the Number of foreign Troops, his Army would increase like a Snowball; a few Days March would make it too huge and mighty for our mercenary Army to oppose, and the more so, because a great many of the common Soldiers, and perhaps some of the Officers, would certainly desert, and join the invading Enemy. I must therefore think, that those Gentlemen who are for securing the People's Loyalty by a numerous mercenary Army, are exactly in the Case of a jealous Husband, who, to secure his Wife's Chastity, locks her up: She will certainly, some Time or other, get an Opportunity, and the first she gets, she will certainly make the proper Use of, such an Use as such a Husband deserves. Sir, the *English* Padlock is certainly the best: Clap the Padlock upon the Minds of the People: This can no way be done but by trusting to themselves the Defence of their King and Country: Disband therefore your Army, or the greatest Part of that you have no Occasion for abroad: Take all possible Methods to make your People accustom themselves to Arms and military Discipline; and then you can be in no Danger from an Insurrection of a few disaffected Persons, nor from any Invasion that can be made upon you, as long as you have a superior Force at Sea.

For this Reason, Sir, I must be of Opinion, that the bringing these Regiments from *Ireland* and keeping them here, instead of preventing an Invasion, will probably encourage our Enemies to make the Attempt; and instead of defeating it when made, they will more probably contribute towards rendering it successful. Gentlemen tell us, Sir, that our Army, modelled and commanded as it is at present,

Am 13. Oct. 1743.

An. 15. Geo. II. 1742. sent, can never be dangerous to Liberty. For God's sake!

How would they have it modelled and commanded? Is it not modelled and commanded in the very same Manner those Armies were that have destroyed the Liberties of other Countries? Is it not under the arbitrary Command of the Prime Minister? Are not all the Officers Commissions at his arbitrary Disposal! Have not they been taught for twenty Years, that a blind Submission to his Orders, in civil as well as military Affairs, is the only Road to Preferment, the only Tenure by which they can expect to hold their Commissions? Is it possible to have an Army modelled and commanded in a Method more dangerous to Liberty? At the Revolution, I know, Sir, it was supposed, that no Army could be dangerous to Liberty, but an Army kept up within the Island, in Time of Peace, without the Consent of Parliament; but we have since, by Experience, been taught otherwise: We now know, that the Officers of an Army, modelled as it is at present, may endanger publick Liberty by their own or their Friends Votes in this House and at Elections, more than they can do by their Swords in the Field; and in this Way, we know, that an Army of *British* Subjects, even when employed upon the Continent, or kept in any of our remote Dominions, may be of dangerous Consequence to the Liberties of their Country. My Hon. Friend was therefore in the right when he said, that an Army of above 60,000 Men was inconsistent with the Constitution; for I shall always think so, as long as the Officers Commissions are all at the arbitrary Disposal of a Prime Minister.

What our Ministers intend to do with the Troops now ordered for *Flanders*, or what Encouragement they may have for sending them thither, I do not know; but if they have good Reason to expect that our Troops will be joined by the Troops of some neighbouring States, I hope, these Regiments that are to be brought from *Ireland*, and as many more as we can possibly spare, will be sent after the rest. I shall not as yet pretend to find Fault with this Measure of sending our Troops abroad; but if it should afterwards appear, that we had no good Reason to hope for being joined by any other Troops, besides those of the Queen of *Hungary*, nor any Reason to expect being able to form a Confederacy in favour of that Princess, I shall then certainly condemn the Measure; for surely we are not so mad as to imagine, that we are able to support the *Pragmatick Sanction* against all the powerful Princes of the Empire, united with *France* and *Spain* against it; and if we should be obliged to bring our Troops back without attempting any Thing,
we

we shall make a very poor Figure in the Eyes of all Europe; which, I am sure, will no Way contribute to restore our Character, but on the contrary, will sink it still lower, if possible, than our late Pusillanimity and perplexed Negotiations have done. If we are still to do nothing but negotiate, we might have saved ourselves the Expence of keeping in Pay such a numerous Army; or, at least, we might have kept our Money amongst ourselves, by keeping our Army at home. All the Powers of Europe know, that, as we are Masters of the Sea, and have always abundance of Transports ready at a Call, we can send an Army to the Continent whenever we please; and therefore, if none of them be now inclined to join us, I am sure, our putting ourselves to the Expence of sending a large Body of Troops thither, without some previous tho' secret Assurances, will not alter their Inclinations, because it will give them a very bad Opinion of our Conduct.

The Consequence will therefore, I hope, shew, that our Ministers had good Assurances from those that ought to give them: In that Case, I hope, the Regiments proposed to be brought from *Ireland* will be sent after the rest; but till they are sent, or just ready to be sent, I think we have no Occasion to transfer them from the *Irish* to the *British* Establishment; for which Reason I must be against approving the Resolution of our Committee.

Then the Question being put for agreeing with the Resolutions of the Committee, it was resolv'd in the Affirmative, Ayes 280, Noes 169.

Then the Call of the House was adjourned for a Fortnight, and it was ordered, that no Member do go out of Town, without Leave.

April 30. A Petition of the Manufacturers of Linnen in the Town of *Montrose*; also of *Aberbrothock*, *Brechin*, *Bervie*, and *Glasgow*, to the same Effect as that from *Perth*, was referred to the same Committee.

The Resolutions of the Committee agreed to by the House.

More Petitions relating to the Linnen Manufactory.

A Petition of *Thomas Stephens*, Agent for the People of *Georgia*, setting forth, That, by Letters Patent, dated the 9th of *June*, 1732, a large Tract of waste Land was granted to the Trustees for establishing the Colony; and that, in Pursuance thereof, large Sums have been granted by Parliament, several private Contributions made, Numbers of Gentlemen have adventur'd on their own Expence, many industrious poor Persons were sent over by the Trustees, to cultivate the Colony on their Scheme; and that the Failure of this Scheme, which has been found to be utterly impracticable, has been properly represented from Time to Time

Petition from T. Stephens, Agent for Georgia.

to

Ans. 15. Geo. II. to the Trustees, and necessary Alterations recommended and petition'd for, for near Seven Years; and that, through a Refusal thereof, and the Misapplication of the publick Money, great Delays in discharging the Debts due from the Trustees to the People, and many Abuses in the Civil Power, the Colony is so greatly reduced, as to be incapable of fulfilling his Majesty's most gracious Designs in establishing it; unless such present Redress be found for the injured People, and such Means procured for their Encouragement, as may concur with the natural Fertility of the Soil, the commodious Situation of the Province, and its excellent Harbour for Trade, to answer the generous Purposes of an effectual Establishment. This Petition was referred to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House.

Accounts from
thence, and from
South Carolina.

Mr Comptroller presented, pursuant to Address of the 15th of April a Copy of the Petition from and Representation of the Council and Assembly of South Carolina, and the Memorial of the Trustees of Georgia.

Farther Petitions
relating to the
Linen Manufac-
ture;

May 3. A Petition of the Manufacturers and Dealers in Linnen in the Burghs of Stirling, Queensferry, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, Dysart, Burntisland, Kirkcaldie, Renfrew, and Dundee, were referred to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House on the Linen Manufactory [See p. 226.]

Also against the
Spanish Wine
Bill;

A Petition of several Merchants of Exeter, against the Bill in favour of the Importation of Spanish Wines, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Resolved that an Address be presented to his Majesty, for Copies of the Petition of Thomas Stephens (who styles himself Agent for the People of Georgia) to his Majesty, dated March 26. 1742. with the Answer of the Trustees thereto, to be laid before the House.

May 4. A Petition of the Linen Manufacturers of Aberdeen and Paisly was referred to the Committee of the whole House on the Linen Trade.

Likewise from
insolvent Debtors.

A Petition of the insolvent Debtors in the County Goal of Salop, was ordered to lie on the Table.

May 5. Ordered that a Committee be appointed to consider of printing the Journals of the House.

The Spanish
Wine Bill com-
mitted.

Then the House proceeded to the farther hearing of Counsel on the Bill to impower Messrs Nuthall, Eydeh, Michell, &c. to import, from neutral Ports, a certain Quantity of Spanish Wines: After Debate, the said Bill was committed, Ayes 63, Noes 62.

Estimates of the
Danish and Hefsi-
an Troops pre-
sented.

May 6. Sir William Kenge presented to the House (by the King's Command) an Account of the Charge of the Danish and Hessian Troops paid by Great Britain, from the 25th of

of *March* to the 25th of *December* 1741: Likewise an Estimate of the Charge of the *Danish* Troops from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 3d of *March* 1741-2; and of the *Hessian* Troops from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 25th of *December* 1742: Likewise an Estimate of the Charge of the General and Staff-Officers for the Forces in *Flanders* for 1742; and also of the Officers appointed to attend the Hospital of the Service of the Forces in *Flanders*, commencing the 20th of *March* 1741-2, and ending the 24th of *December* 1742.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

A Bill for establishing an Agreement with the Bank of *England*, for advancing a certain Sum of Money towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank;

May 7. A Bill to explain and amend an Act made in the 13th Year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c.* was read a first Time, ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

Also a Bill relating to Vagabonds ordered a second Reading.

An ingrossed Bill for securing to *John Byrom, A. M.* the sole Right of publishing his Art of Short Hand, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Sir *Thomas Drury*.

Bill for encouraging Short Hand pass'd.

Ordered a new Writ for a Burgess for *Plympton*, in the Room of *Thomas Clutterbuck, Esq;* * made Treasurer of his Majesty's Navy.

Writ for Plympton.

May 10. A Bill to indemnify Persons, who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices, &c. was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*.

Bill pass'd for qualifying Officers.

Upon a Motion by Mr *Hayward*, seconded by Lord *Gage*, &c. a Bill was ordered in for the more effectual preventing any Cloth, or woollen Goods, remaining upon the Rack or Tilters, or any Wool left out to dry, from being stolen, or taken away in the Night Time.

Bill to prevent stealing Cloth off the Rack.

A Motion being made by Mr *Fazakerley*, seconded by Mr *Carew*, &c. that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the further Qualification of Justices of the Peace, the same was order'd in accordingly.

Bill for qualifying Justices of Peace.

May 11. A Bill to revive the Acts, For explaining, amending, and rendering the Laws more effectual, for punishing such Persons as shall wilfully and maliciously pull down or destroy Turnpikes for repairing Highways; or Locks, or other Works, erected by Authority of Parliament, for making Rivers navigable, and for other Purposes therein mentioned: And also to continue several Laws, for granting

Bill for explaining and continuing several Acts.

* He was so appointed on the Resignation of Mr Speaker, and was re-elected.

An. 15. Geo. II. Liberty to carry Rice from his Majesty's Province of *Carolina* in *America*, directly to any Part of *Europe* Southward of *Cape Finisterre*, in Ships built in, and belonging to *Great Britain*, and navigated according to Law, and to extend that Liberty to his Majesty's Province of *Georgia* in *America*: For preventing Frauds in the Customs, and to prevent the clandestine running of Goods: And for making Copper Ore of the *British* Plantations, an enumerated Commodity, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Account of all the Proceedings of the Trustees for *Georgia* ordered.

Then it was ordered that the Trustees for the Colony of *Georgia* do lay before the House, all Resolutions, which they have at any Time agreed upon, concerning the Tenures of Land in the said Colony: Also a Petition for Negroes from some of the Inhabitants, in the Year 1735: And a Remonstrance from the Inhabitants thereof to the said Trustees, in the Year 1740.

Petitions complaining of the Frauds of Soap-Makers.

May 12. A Petition of several Soap-Makers of *Exeter*, representing, That, notwithstanding the Care of those employed in securing the Duties on Soap, the Laws already enacted are not sufficient to prevent great Frauds daily committed by Soap-Makers, whereby the Crown is deprived of a considerable Part of the said Duties, and the fair Trader is greatly injured; and proposing, that an Impression be made with a Stamp upon every Piece of Soap, that is weighed, and charged with the Duty; and that those who shall expose any Cake of Soap to Sale, not having such Impression thereon, shall forfeit as the Parliament shall think fit, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Bill for borrowing 1,600,000 l. of the Bank, pass'd.

A Bill for establishing an Agreement with the Bank of *England*, for advancing 1,600,000 l. towards the Supply for the Year 1742, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*.

May 13. A Petition of several Merchants of *Great Yarmouth*, in *Norfolk*, against the Bill in favour of the Importation of *Spanish* Wines, was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House, viz.

Resolutions of the Committee of Supply for paying the Foreign Forces in British Pay.

I. That 47,273 l. 9 s. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. be granted for defraying the Charge of what remains to be paid to the Troops of the King of *Denmark*; being 1194 Horse, and 5692 Foot, together with the General Officers, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 25th of *March* to the 25th of *December*, 1741.

II. That 51,072 l. 4 s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. be granted for defraying the Charge of the *Danish* Troops, from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 3d of *March* 1741-2, together with the

the Proportion of the Subsidy due for the said Time, and also for 42 Days Pay, and Waggon-Money for their Return home, pursuant to Treaty. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

III. That 33,309 *l.* 7 *s.* be granted for defraying the Charge of what remains to be paid to the Troops of the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse Cassell*, being 1264 Horse, and 4908 Foot, together with the General Officers and Train of Artillery, in the Pay of *Great Britain*, from the 25th of *March* to the 25th of *December* 1741.

IV. That 161,607 *l.* 17 *s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of the said *Hessian* Troops, from the 26th of *December* 1741, to the 25th of *December* 1742, together with the Subsidy for the said Time, pursuant to Treaty.

V. That 25,731 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* be granted for defraying the Charge of the General and Staff-Officers, appointed to attend the Forces in *Flanders*, with the Contingencies for the other Service, for 1742.

And for the British Forces in *Flanders*;

VI. That 1365 *l.* be granted, for defraying the Expence of the Hospital, for the Service of the said Forces for 1742.

VII. That 20,000 *l.* be granted towards enabling the Commissioners for building a Bridge cross the *Thames*, from *Westminster* to the opposite Shore in *Surrey*, to finish the said Bridge. Also 20,000 *l.* for *Westminster* Bridge.

The Lord *Limerick* made a Report from the Committee of Secrecy, which he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table. Report from the Secret Committee presented.

Then a Motion being made by his Lordship, and seconded by Sir *John St Aubin*, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, for indemnifying such Persons, as shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries touching the Disposition of publick Money, or concerning the Disposition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in respect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford*. After Debate, a Bill was order'd in accordingly, on a Division, Ayes 251, Noes 228. A Bill order'd in for indemnifying Evidence against *Robert Earl of Orford*.

The Report, with the Appendix, from the said Committee was also ordered to be printed *.

Then it was farther resolved, that the Call of the House be adjourn'd for a Fortnight, Ayes 231, Noes 221.

May 14. On a Motion made by Mr *Carew*, a Bill was order'd in, more effectually to prevent Persons from assisting Prisoners to escape, or to attempt to escape, from their Confinement. This was brought in the next Day, read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading. A Bill to prevent the Escape of Prisoners order'd in.

May 15. A Bill for the more effectual preventing any

1742.

I i 2

Cloth,

* This the Reader will find at large in the Appendix to this Volume.

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

Bill to prevent
stealing of Fish.

Cloth, or woollen Goods, remaining upon the Rack or Tenters, or any Wool left out to dry, from being stolen, or taken away in the Night Time, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

On a Motion made by Mr *Phillips*, and seconded by Mr *Powney*, a Bill was ordered in for the more effectual punishing of Persons, who shall unlawfully and maliciously kill, destroy, or steal any Fish kept in Ponds or Stews, and also Persons, who shall wilfully or maliciously pull down or destroy the Pales or Walls of any Park or Paddock.

A Petition of several Sope-makers of *Launceston*, to the same Effect as that from *Exeter* [See p. 242.] was ordered to lie on the Table.

Mr Bell order'd
into Custody for
refusing to answer
before the Secret
Committee.

The Lord *Limerick* having reported from the Committee of Secrecy, that Mr *Joseph Bell** having been examined by the said Committee, refused to answer to what had been demanded of him, he was ordered into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms: On a Division, Ayes 117. Noes 110.

Bill relating to
the Earl of Or-
ford order'd a
2d Reading.

Then the Bill for indemnifying such Persons, as shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries touching the Disposition of publick Money, or concerning the Disposition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in respect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford* was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Proceedings on
the Officers Bill.

Then the House resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, on the Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons; and rejected the Clause for excluding all Officers of the Army under the Rank of a Lieutenant Colonel: On a Division: Ayes 146, Noes 113.

Petitions against
Frauds of Soap-
makers.

May 17. A Petition of several Soap-Makers of *Tarvisstock*, and of *Taunton*, to the same Effect as those from *Launceston* and *Exeter*, were ordered to lie on the Table.

Bill relating to
Houses of Cor-
rection;

A Bill to empower the Justices of the Peace of a Liberty, or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the House of Correction of the County, Riding, or Division, in which such Liberty or Corporation is situate, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Wilkinson*.

Another for se-
curing Trade and
Navigation, pas-
sed.

A Bill for the better protecting and securing the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom in Times of War, was read the third Time, and pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Sir *Robert Godschall*†.

May

* Comptroller of the Post-Office.

† See a Copy of the said Bill, and the Debate thereupon in the House of Lords, where it was rejected, in *TIMBERLAND's History*, Vol. VIII. p. 113.

May 18. A Bill for indemnifying such Persons, as shall, *An. 25. Geo. II.*
upon Examination, make Discoveries touching the Dispo- *1742.*
sition of publick Money, or the Disposition of Offices, &c. relating to the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford*, was read a second Time; and after Debate it was resolved, that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House: Ayes 228, Noes 216.

Then Sir *John Hind Cotton* mov'd, That the House do immediately resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House upon the said Bill, which was carried in the Affirmative, Ayes 233, Noes 221; and the Committee went through the Bill, and reported it with several Amendments.

May 19. A Bill for indemnifying Persons, who shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries, &c. relating to the Conduct of *Robert Earl of Orford*, was read the third Time, and pass'd: On a Division, Ayes 214, Noes 186; and sent to the Lords by Lord *Limerick*.

A Bill, for the more effectual punishing such Persons, as shall unlawfully and maliciously kill, destroy, or steal any Fish kept in Ponds or Stews, and also Persons, who shall wilfully and maliciously pull down or destroy the Pales or Walls of any Park or Paddock; was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

A Bill, more effectually to prevent Persons from assisting Prisoners to escape from their Confinement, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Carew*.

Mr *Pulteney* reported from the Committee of the whole House, the Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons; and it was resolv'd that the said Bill should not take Place 'till after the Expiration of this Parliament: On a Division, Ayes 152, Noes 75.

Ordered an Account of the Amount of the Duties paid on Cambricks, from *Christmas 1727* to *Christmas 1740*, inclusive; also of the Amount of the Drawbacks paid on Cambricks exported, during the said Time, to be laid before the House.

May 20. A Petition of several Soap-makers of *Tolness*, to the same Effect as those from *Exeter*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

A Motion being made by Mr *Phillips*, and seconded by Mr *Carew*, to bring in a Bill for remedying some Defects in the Act made in the 43d Year of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*; the same was granted accordingly, and those two Gentlemen, with Mr *Bramson*, Mr *Winford*, the Lord *Chetwynd*, the Lord *Percival*, and Mr *Legh Master*, were ordered to bring in the same.

Anno 1742.
 1742.

Sir John Hind Cotton having reported from the Committee of the whole House, the Bill for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom; the same, with the Amendments, was order'd to be ingross'd.

Proceedings on the Bill for stating the publick Accounts.

Then it was resolv'd, that the Number of Commissioners for taking, examining and stating the said Accounts, be seven, to be chosen by Ballot. It was also resolv'd, that no Person shall be a Commissioner, who hath any Office of Profit, or is accountable to his Majesty; but that the Commissioners may be Members of the House.

Address for all the Papers relating to the Convention with Spain.

Upon a Motion of Lord Limerick's, by Direction from the Committee of Secrecy, the House resolv'd to present an Address to his Majesty, for all the Powers, Instructions, Memorials, Letters and Papers, relating to the Convention * between Great Britain and Spain, concluded at the Pardo, January 14, 1739. N. S. as also all Memorials, Letters and Papers, relating to the said Convention, since the signing thereof, till the Declaration of the War with Spain: On a Division, Ayes 202, Noes 182.

Bill to exclude Officers;

May 21. A Bill to exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons, was read the third Time, pass'd, and ordered to be sent to the Lords by Mr Pulteney.

And another relating to Gold and Silver Lace, pass'd.

May 24. Notice being taken by some Members, that the said Bill had not been carried up to their Lordships, Mr Sandys was sent with the same.

Then a Bill for preventing the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace, and for settling and adjusting the Proportions of fine Silver and Silk, and for the better making of Gold and Silver Thread, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Sir Robert Godschall.

The Bill for recovery of small Debts;

A Bill for the more easy Recovery of small Debts was read a second Time. A Motion being made, and the Question put, that the Bill be committed, it pass'd in the Negative: On a Division, Ayes 97, Noes 111.

And another for Relief of insolvent Debtors, drop'd.

May 25. A Bill for Relief of insolvent Debtors, was read the third Time; and an Amendment made thereto; and a Motion being made, and the Question put, that the Bill do pass, it pass'd in the Negative: Ayes 79, Noes 87.

Resolutions relating to the Linen Manufactory.

The same Day Mr Hooper reported from the Committee of the whole House, on the Petition of the Merchants of London, and other Dealers in the Manufactures of Linens made in Great Britain and Ireland, the Resolutions of the said Committee, which are as follows:

I. That it is their Opinion, that the Manufactures of Linens made in Great Britain and Ireland, are greatly improved

* See the Debate upon this Subject, Anno 1739.

proved, whereby the Price of Linens, as well of Foreign as Home Fabrick, hath been considerably reduced.

II. That the further Extention of the said Manufactures of Linens will be a great Advantage to the said Kingdoms.

III. That the granting a Bounty upon the Exportation of all *British* and *Irish* Linens from *Great Britain*, will be a Means of extending the said Manufactures.

IV. That an Allowance of One Penny per Yard, upon all *British* and *Irish* Linens of the Value of Twelve Pence per Yard, and under, will be a proper Bounty for that Purpose.

V. That the said Bounty be paid by an additional Duty to be laid upon foreign Cambricks imported into *Great Britain*.

The above Resolutions of the Committee, being agreed to by the House, were referred to the Committee of Supply.

Then the Order for taking into Consideration the Report relating to the Bill to impower certain Merchants to import Spanish Wines from Neutral Ports, was postponed *sine die*; by which that Affair was quite drop'd.

Bill for import-
ing Spanish
Wines post-
pon'd.

May 26. A Petition of the several Sope-makers of *Bridgewater*, to the same Effect as those of *Exeter*, was ordered to lie on the Table.

A Bill for the farther Qualification of Justices of the Peace, was read the first Time, and ordered a second Reading, and to be printed.

Bill to qualify
Justices, order'd
a 2d Reading.

Then Mr *Coke* reported from the Committee, appointed to examine the Lists of the Names of seven Persons, to be Commissioners for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts, that the Majority had fallen upon the Hon. *Charles Hamilton*, Esq; *Edward Hooper*, Esq; *Sir William Middleton*, Bart. *George Grenville*, Esq; *Sir Richard Corbett*, Bart. *James West*, Esq; and *John Bance*, Esq; *

Names of seven
Commissioners
for stating the
publick Accounts
chosen by Ballot.

A Motion being made by Lord *Hillsborough* and seconded by Lord *Barrington*, for appointing a Committee to search the Journals of the House of Lords, as to what Proceedings are therein, with Relation to the Bill, intituled, *An Act for indemnifying such Persons, as shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries, touching the Disposition of publick Money, or concerning the Disposition of Offices, or any Payments or Agree-*

A Committee
appointed to
search the Lords
Journals con-
cerning their
Proceedings on
the Bill for in-
demnifying Evi-
dences against
Robert Earl of
Orford.

* The Numbers upon the Ballot stood thus :

Hon. Charles Hamilton	241	Edward Hooper, Esq;	238
Sir William Middleton	237	George Grenville, Esq;	236
Sir Richard Corbett	235	John Bance, Esq;	232
James West, Esq;	235	John Phillips, Esq;	229
Edward Thompson, Esq;	231	John Pitt, Esq;	228
Welbore Ellis, Esq;	231	Sir Charles Mordaunt	225
Thomas Fonnereau, Esq;	231	Hon. John Steuart	220

An. 15. Geo. II. *agreed in respect thereof, or concerning other Matters, relating to the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, and to make Report thereof to the House, the same was agreed to: On a Division, Ayes 164, Noes 159: And a Committee was appointed accordingly.*

Lord Strange's Motion to resolve, That the rejecting that Bill is an Obstruction to publick Justice.

Debate thereon.

Ld Hillsborough.

The next Day the Lord *Hillsborough* having made a Report from the said Committee, a Motion was made by Lord *Strange**, seconded by Lord *Quarendon*†, That the Lords refusing to concur with the Commons of *Great Britain*, in an Indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the Inquiry now depending in Parliament, is an Obstruction to Justice, and may prove fatal to the Liberties of this Nation: This occasion'd a warm Debate, in which Lord *Hillsborough* spoke as follows:

Sir,

' When the Nation has been oppress'd and plundered by a wicked Minister, or when there is a general Suspicion among the People that it has been so, publick Justice requires, that the Conduct of such a Minister should be fully and strictly inquired into, that he may be condignly punished if guilty, or his Character cleared from Suspicion if innocent: And when in the Course of that Inquiry it appears, that he has been so cunning as to prevent its being possible to carry it on with Effect by the Laws in being, such new Laws ought to be made as may appear necessary for attaining that End. That there is a general Suspicion against our late Minister, I believe, no Man can be ignorant who has ever been in any Coffee-House, or other Place of publick Resort, frequented by those who dare avow the Sentiments of their Heart; and from the Fate of the Bill which, we now find, has been rejected by the other House, I am convinc'd, that those Suspicions are well grounded; for it is impossible to suppose, that such a Bill would have met with such an Opposition in this House, or such a Fate in the other, if the Conduct of our late Minister had been blameless.

' As the Nature and the Necessity of that Bill were fully explained, and made evident to a Majority of this House in the Debates that happened upon it here, I have no Occasion to repeat what was said upon either. The Bill was shewn to be of such a Nature as could do no Prejudice to any innocent Man; and it was demonstrated, to a Majority at least of this House, that without such a Bill's being passed into a Law, it would be impossible for our Secret Committee to make any Discovery, even of those Crimes, which from

the

* Eldest Son of the Earl of Derby.

† Eldest Son of the Earl of Lichfield.

the Obstinacy of some of the Persons examined by them, An. 15. Geo. II
1742. there is too good a Ground for supposing to have been committed. It is therefore evident, that by this Bill's being rejected by the other House, the Course of our Inquiry is obstructed, and the People for this Session at least disappointed of that Justice they had a Right to expect from Parliament. But this is not all: The rejecting of this Bill will be attended with Consequences, which in a twofold Respect must be dangerous to our Constitution. It will make the People begin to despise Parliaments, and despair of ever meeting with any Relief from them; and it will make all future Ministers more daring in their Attempts to overturn the Freedom and Independency of Parliament. If any Minister should ever succeed in such an Attempt, the People would certainly, in a very short Time, have Reason to hate Parliaments: Nay, they would probably join with the Prince in laying them intirely aside; for an absolute Government, without any Form of Liberty, is certainly better and more tolerable than a Government supported by an Assembly of Men, who, under Pretence of being the Guardians of publick Liberty, take every Opportunity to betray it, and serve for nothing but that of making the Government more expensive, and the Prince more arbitrary.

' We have, 'tis true, in this Session made some Steps towards preventing this fatal Consequence: Our having established a Secret Committee; our having named of that Committee a Set of Gentlemen, most of whom were generally approved of by the People; and our having passed the Indemnifying Bill for rendering their Inquiry effectual, are Proofs that we were in Earnest: But I wish our Endeavours had been more vigorous and speedy; for considering that we might have easily foreseen and prevented what has now come to pass, I am afraid, lest the People should suspect the Integrity of our Intentions. They may perhaps imagine, that we knew our Inquiry would be ineffectual, without an Indemnifying Bill for encouraging Accomplices to become Informers; and that we delayed the bringing in and passing that Bill, till after we had passed the Mutiny Bill, and granted all the Supplies, that it might be safely rejected by the other House. Such a Supposition may at this Time be the more probably made, because it is well known, that some Bills have been lately passed in this House without Opposition, and, perhaps, with the Concurrence of some who were, in their Hearts, against the Bill, for no other Reason, but because they were sure of the Bill's being rejected by the other House.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

' I am far from saying, Sir, that there is any real Ground for such Suspensions; but they are such as may be entertained, and they are such as we ought in Duty to ourselves, and for the Sake of the Character of this House, to endeavour to prevent. In this Session we cannot, I think, take any other Method for preventing it, than by declaring openly our Sentiments of the Bill's being rejected by the other House; and therefore I have prepared a Motion, in which I cannot doubt of having the Concurrence of the House. I know I am not to expect the Concurrence of those who declared against the Bill, even when it was passing thro' this House; but as it was in every Step carried by a Majority, and as every Gentleman, who was a real and sincere Friend to the Bill must be of Opinion, that the rejecting of it is an Obstruction to Justice, and of the most dangerous Consequence to our Liberties, I shall, and I think I may with Hopes of Success, move you to resolve, That the Lords refusing to concur with the Commons of *Great Britain*, in an Indemnification necessary to the effectual carrying on the Inquiry now depending in Parliament, is an Obstruction to Justice, and may prove fatal to the Liberties of this Nation.'

Mr Sandys.

Mr Sandys spoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

' I hope no Man doubts of my Inclination, or my Sincerity, in carrying on the Inquiry that has been set on Foot, or in being a Friend to any Thing that has been proposed for rendering it effectual; and yet I cannot agree with the Noble Lord in the Motion he has been pleased to make to you, because I think it has a very different Tendency: In my Opinion, it would bring on an immediate Dissolution of our present Form of Government; for after our agreeing to such a Motion, I should expect, that the next Motion would be, to vote the other House useless, and that it ought therefore to be laid aside. I disapprove, as much as any Man can do of the Conduct of the other House, in rejecting the Indemnifying Bill we sent up to them, because I thought such a Bill necessary for obtaining Justice to a Nation that has, in my Opinion, been greatly injured; but tho' I disapprove of the Conduct of the other House in this Particular, I do not for that Reason think it ought to be laid aside, or that we have any Right to pass a Censure upon it. The Lords are generally called the Upper House of Parliament, and tho' it is not from thence to be inferred, that they are superior to us, yet it must be allowed, that they are quite independent,

dependent, and have as good a Right to refuse any Bill we send to them, as we have to refuse any Bill they send to us; and we cannot surely pretend to censure them for making use of a Right which we acknowledge to be inherent in them.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

‘ But suppose, Sir, we should agree to censure the other House for what they have done, without pushing our Resentment farther, our Censure would do more Harm to ourselves than it could do to them, because it would bring us into Contempt. Those who have no Power to punish, should always abstain from censuring, because it makes their Want of Power be taken Notice of; and as soon as their Want of Power comes to be generally known, their Censures will become ridiculous. We ought not therefore to agree to this Motion, without first resolving to push our Resentment farther; and I do not see how we can do so. We succeeded once, ’tis true, in voting the other House useless, and consequently laying them entirely aside, but we then had the Army at our Command, which we cannot now pretend to; and if we had, the Consequence of that Proceeding can be no great Encouragement for practising it a second Time; for that very Army which enabled the Commons to turn the Lords out of Doors, afterwards assisted their General in turning the Commons out of Doors, and supported him in the Exercise of a most arbitrary and tyrannical Power over these three Kingdoms during all the Days of his Life.

‘ The Fate of these Kingdoms at that Time, Sir, should be a Warning to latest Posterity, to beware of attempting any Thing that may tend to introduce Confusion, by overturning a regular and well established Government, which, in all Appearance, would be the Consequence of this Motion’s being agreed to, even suppose we should proceed no farther; for after our having passed such a severe Censure upon the other House, it would be inconsistent with their Honour to have any Correspondence with us, or to receive any Message, or any Bill from this House of Commons. This would lay his Majesty under a Necessity of dissolving the present Parliament; and if a new House of Commons should be chosen of the same Complexion, they would probably revive the Censure of their Predecessors, which would bring his Majesty under the Necessity of governing without a Parliament: A Necessity which would, I am sure, be most disagreeable to him, and a Necessity which might be of fatal Consequence to the Nation, because it would probably be attended with a Civil War.

‘ These Consequences, I think, Sir, are most justly to be apprehended from our agreeing to this Motion; and if

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

any such Consequence should ensue, would it not put an End to all Parliamentary Inquiries, either in this or any future Session of Parliament? Our Committee may not, perhaps, be able to make such ample Discoveries as they might have made, had this Bill been passed into a Law; but none of them have as yet said, they can make no Discovery. The contrary might, perhaps, be made appear; and they may in this Session make such farther Discoveries as may induce the other House to agree to a new Bill, of much the same Purport with that they have now rejected. But suppose this should not be the Case: Suppose no material or full Discovery should be made during this Session: The Inquiry may be revived, and a new Secret Committee appointed, as soon as we meet in the next Session: The same Bill may then be revived, and sent up to the other House at a Time when it would be dangerous for them to disagree to it; or a new Bill may be contrived, which, in my Opinion, would be the best Method; and as we now know the Objections they made to our former, we may form our new Bill in such a Manner as to obviate all those Objections.

For these Reasons, Sir, I cannot join in asserting expressly, that our late Bill's being rejected is an Obstruction to Justice; because I am not sure of our being quite unable to come at Justice without that Bill, and because if we do not come at it in this Session, we may in the next; but should this Motion be agreed to, I am sure, we can never come at Justice in a Parliamentary Method, either in this Session or the next, nor, perhaps, in any future. It would, in my Opinion, unavoidably produce a Civil War; and this surely is an Event which ought at all Times to be most cautiously guarded against, but especially in the present Conjunction, when the Trade and Navigation of this Island is in Danger of being destroyed by one Power, and the Liberties of *Europe* by another; and these by their Situation, Genius, and Interest, the two most constant and dangerous Enemies this Nation has in the World.

I am therefore convinced, that if the two noble Lords who made and seconded this Motion, had read and been well acquainted with the History and Constitution of their Country, they would not have offered such a Motion to your Consideration. Can they say, they have studied our Journals with that Attention which is necessary for forming a complete Idea of all the Consequences that may ensue from such a Motion? From their Youth it is hardly possible to suppose they have; and from their known Attachment to the Liberties and Constitution of their Country it is evident they have not; for no one that knows them

can

can suspect them of any evil Intention. I therefore hope, *An. 15. Geo. II.*
 when they have considered what I have said, and what may *1743.*
 be said by other Gentlemen in the Debate, that they will
 drop their Motion; for tho' I am convinced, it can meet
 with no Success, yet the very Appearance of it upon our
 Journals may produce some of the bad Effects I have menti-
 oned; and these, I hope, when they are apprised of them,
 they will be ready and willing to prevent.'

Sir John Hind Cotton spoke as follows:

Sir,

*Sir John Hind
 Cotton.*

' I would not have my old Friend, now over against me,
 tho' formerly he used to be of the same Side with me, I say
 I would not have him, nor some other Gentlemen in the
 House, imagine, that no Man doubts of their Sincerity in the
 effectual Prosecution of the Inquiry we have set on foot;
 for I can assure them, there are many without Doors who
 now begin to doubt of it; but if a Negative should be put
 upon this Motion, those Doubts will be at an End: Most
 Men will then be convinced, not of their Sincerity, but of
 their Want of it; and therefore, if those Gentlemen have
 any Regard for what is said or thought of them, they will
 not allow themselves to be frightened by chimerical Dangers,
 from vindicating their own Characters, as well as the Cha-
 racter of this House, from those Aspersions that will certainly
 spring up from the bad Success of our Inquiry occasioned by
 the rejecting of our Bill.

' It is well known, Sir, without Doors as well as within,
 that a new Minister generally endeavours to cast a Slur upon
 the Administration of an old one, in order to add a Lustre
 to his own, and to gain a little Applause at the Beginning of
 his Reign; but he always takes Care to prevent the former's
 meeting with condign Punishment, lest he should thereby pre-
 pare a Rod for his own Back; for it is ten to one but in few
 Years he may deserve Punishment as much as his Predecessor.
 It is likewise well known without Doors as well as within,
 by whose Eloquence and Advice our Bill was rejected in the
 other House; and considering their Intimacy and Connection
 with some Gentlemen in this, who appeared to be strenuous
 Advocates for the Bill, People already begin to suspect that
 the latter had some Sort of Foreknowledge of the Fate of the
 Bill, which gave them an Opportunity of gaining a little Po-
 pularity by declaring for a Bill which they were in their
 Hearts against; because if it had been passed into a Law, they
 were afraid, it would have brought to Light such a Scene
 of Iniquity, as would have put it out of their Power to pre-
 vent the Criminal's meeting with condign Punishment. Such

An. 15. Geo. II. a Suspicion, I say, has already arisen, and if by Means of those Gentlemen this Motion should meet with the same Fate in this House, as our Bill met with in the other, that Suspicion will be confirmed.

‘ I am surpris’d, Sir, to hear Gentlemen say, that if this Motion should be agreed to, they should expect its being followed by another Motion for voting the House of Lords useless. Surely, I may tell a Man he has done wrong, without any Design or Desire to murder him. On the contrary, if I am really his Friend, I ought to tell him my Opinion, in order to prevent his doing the like for the future, especially if his Safety as well as his Character should depend upon his doing so no more. This, Sir, is really the Case at present betwixt us and the House of Lords. That House has done wrong: The Hon. Gentleman himself says he thinks they have done wrong: I think so as well as he: He is for smothering his Opinion, and thereby sacrificing his Friendship to his Complaisance: I am for telling them bluntly what I think: Pray, which of us is the truest Friend to that House ?

‘ Sir, in all Cases that will admit of it, I shall be for treating my Friend with Complaisance; but in a Case where his Safety or Character is concerned, Complaisance is Treachery: I abominate it: I despise the Man who, upon such an Occasion, would make use of it. This, Sir, is the Light in which the present Question appears to me. The very Being, as well as the Character, of the other House depends upon their rejecting no more such Bills as that we lately sent up to them. It was not the Army: It was not the Commons, that put an End to the Existence of that House in King *Charles* the First’s Time: It was their own Conduct. By refusing their Consent to popular and necessary Laws, by endeavouring to screen guilty Ministers, they render’d their House hateful to the People. This enabled the Commons and the Army to turn them out of Doors; and the General’s being in a Condition afterwards to turn the Commons out of Doors flowed from the same Cause. If ever the like Case should again happen, the same Cause may very probably produce the same Effect; and therefore what happened at that Time should be a Warning to the other House, as well as this, to endeavour at all Times to preserve a good Character among the People.

‘ I shall readily grant, Sir, that at that Time there was such a Spirit of Republicanism and Enthusiasm prevail’d among the People, that it was difficult for the other House to preserve a popular Esteem, without sacrificing our Constitution both in Church and State; but this Spirit had been

raised

raised and propagated by the Conduct of those who were at that Time our Ministers; and in all such Cases common Prudence makes it necessary to yield a little to the Impetuosity of the Times. This should make all Ministers cautious of raising too violent a Spirit among the People against them; for when they do, it will always be necessary for the Parliament to proceed against them with more Severity than they may perhaps deserve; and those of either House, who have a true Regard for their Sovereign, and for the Constitution of their Country, will take Care to remove and punish a Minister before he has, by his Conduct, converted the Discontents of the People into a Spirit of Disaffection; for when this happens, the Example of King *Charles* the First's Reign is a Proof of its being almost impossible to confine it within any moderate Bounds.

' This, Sir, I think, we are in some Danger of at present, especially if it should begin to be generally thought without Doors, that both Houses of Parliament have joined in Skreening a guilty Minister, and in amusing the Publick with a sham Inquiry into his Conduct. The present Motion therefore, if complied with, may answer, and is, I believe, designed for answering two most salutary Purposes; that of letting our Friends, the Lords, (I hope I may yet call them so) know their Danger; and that of rescuing this House from the Danger of becoming despicable in the Eyes of the People. This Motion is so far from being design'd as a Censure upon the Conduct of the other House, that it is designed as an Act of Friendship. We certainly know the Sentiments of the People better than they can be supposed to do; therefore we are, and, I think, we ought to tell them what we, and, I believe, the far greatest Part of the Nation, think of their having rejected that Bill we so lately sent up to them. This may prevent their bringing themselves into that Contempt, which a few more such Steps as this will certainly bring them into. Therefore as Friends to them, as Friends to our Constitution, and as faithful Subjects to our Sovereign, we ought to agree to this Motion.

' But suppose, Sir, it were to be look'd on as a Censure. Is not Censure itself sometimes the Duty of a Friend? Does not the Church censure or admonish before she excommunicates? We are not by this Motion to excommunicate the other House; and, I hope, they will not excommunicate this, even tho' we should agree to this Motion. If they should, as we have the Purse in our Power, they would find themselves no great Gainers by the Bargain. They are sufficiently sensible of this, and therefore we have no Occasion to fear their resolving to receive no more Messages or Bills

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

An. 15. Geo. II. Bills from this House. Their Honour could not be any Way concerned in the Question ; because if they took it right, they would take it as a friendly Admonition ; and tho' they cannot recal what is passed, I hope, they would for their own Sakes take care to give us no more Room for such a Censure.

That they have a Right to refuse any Bill we send up to them must be acknowledged ; but that we have no Right to find Fault with the Use they make of that Right, no Man surely can with any Reason pretend. May not a Man make a bad as well as a good Use of any Right he enjoys ? And if he makes a bad Use of it, has not every other Man a Right to say he does, and to censure him for so doing ? Censure, Sir, when it is just, tho' it proceeds from no legal Authority, nor from any superior Jurisdiction, will always carry Punishment along with it. It affects the Character of the Person censured, and will affect it more or less, according to the Justice and Weight of the Censure. Therefore a Man who has no Power to inflict any legal Punishment may censure, without running any Risk of incurring Contempt. Nay, a Man may often for his own Sake be obliged to censure the Conduct of his Friend, in order to shew, that he had no Share in advising, nor had approved of that Conduct, which leads me to the other Purpose this Motion is designed for.

To vindicate the Character of this House from any Reproach will always, I hope, be considered as a Concern worthy of our Attention ; and considering the general Reproach that will certainly be thrown upon the rejecting of this Bill, I think it concerns us highly to convince the World, that we were no Way privy or consenting to its being rejected. The two Houses of Parliament generally are look'd upon, I hope, there will always be Reason to look upon them, as Friends ; and therefore, if one does a wrong Thing, and the other does not openly disclaim it, an Imputation will fall upon both. This is the Case in private Life, and this will always be the Case with two publick Assemblies that have such a Connection together as our two Houses of Parliament have, especially when it is known, that there is a close Intimacy and Friendship between the Members of the one and the Members of the other. As to my own private Concern, if I had no Regard for the Character of this Assembly, I might be perfectly easy ; for most of the Lords of my Acquaintance have, in the most solemn Manner, declared their Dissent to the rejecting of this Bill. But I have a Concern for the Character of this House : As a Friend to the Constitution, as a dutiful Subject to his Majesty, I think myself

myself obliged to have a Concern for it ; and, thank God ! An. 15. Geo. II. 1743. no one, either of our new or old Ministers, has such an Influence over me, as to prevent my expressing that Concern and acting accordingly. I therefore think, it is absolutely necessary for us, upon this Occasion, to take some Method for convincing the World, that we had no Foreknowledge, nor so much as a previous Suspicion, that a Bill so necessary for discovering the Conspiracy, that has for several Years been carrying on against the Liberties of this Nation, by a Minister and his Creatures, was to be rejected by the other House ; and as I can suggest no better Method than what the noble Lord has been pleased to propose, I shall be for agreeing to it.

‘ The other House, Sir, neither ought, nor will, nor can resent it. It is a Liberty we have often taken, and do usually take at Conferences, to declare very freely our Opinion of their Proceedings. There is therefore no Danger of a Breach between the two Houses, and much less of a Civil War, from our agreeing to this Motion ; but if a Negative should be put upon it, and an Encouragement thereby given to prosecute those Screening Measures which seem to be already concerted, I may prophesy, that a Civil War will certainly at last be the Consequence ; for, I hope, the People of England are not so senseless, or so cowardly, as to allow Slavery to be fixed upon them, under the Form of a free Government ; which will be the Consequence, if the Corruption practised by Ministers is never to be detected, nor punished.

‘ The Hon. Gentleman talks of what our Committee have done, or may do, and of the other House being induced to pass some such Bill as that they have rejected. Sir, it is impossible from the very Nature of the Thing : The Hon. Gentleman himself shewed, in our Debates upon that Bill, that it would be impossible for them to make any great Discoveries, unless the Accomplices were, at least, enabled to come in and inform. Let our Minister have been never so criminal, we cannot suppose him so weak as to have left any written Vouchers of his Villainy behind him ; especially considering the long Indulgence he had, after he knew he was to be dismissed, to ransack all the Offices, and destroy every Paper that might rise up in Judgment against him. We must therefore suppose, that the rejecting of our Bill has put it out of the Power of our Committee to make any material Discovery, especially such a full Discovery as will be necessary for convincing those that have no Mind to be convinced : This, I am almost sure, is the Case of a Majority in the other House, and, I am afraid of some in this, who are not

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

as yet suspected of being in such a Case: And from the Principle upon which our Bill was rejected in the other House, we must suppose, that while they adhere to that Principle, no Discovery can induce them to pass such a Bill. To encourage Informers, by granting them a Pardon as to themselves, was said to be unjust and dangerous to Innocence. Petty Thieves may, it seems, be encouraged by a Reward as well as a Pardon, to inform against one another; but great and publick Plunderers are to remain intrenched in their mutual Danger, from which no one is to be allowed to escape, lest he should betray the secret Avenue by which alone his Confederates may be come at.

' This, Sir, was the Principle, ridiculous as it is, upon which our Bill was rejected in the other House; and while they adhere to this Principle, can we expect they will agree, either in this Session or the next, to any Sort of Indemnifying Bill? To pretend to argue Men out of a first Principle, let it be never so absurd, is ridiculous, because it is impossible: If they be obstinate they must be beat out of it: If they be mad they must be physick'd out of it. A strong Purgation, I mean as to Salaries and Pensions, would, I believe, be the best Method the Nation could take for obtaining Justice from Parliament, both in this Case and every like Case that may happen hereafter. We cannot therefore expect Success for any such Bill, either in this Session or the next; unless by agreeing to this Question we shew that we are resolved to administer such a Remedy, if this Principle be not given up by those who are its present Supporters.

' How the Hon. Gentleman comes to talk of what may be done in the next Session, I do not know; for, I hope, none of those, who have the Honour of being his Majesty's Counsellors, will advise him to put an End to this Session by a Prorogation, till the Nation has obtained Satisfaction. A short Recess would, I know, be agreeable to most Gentlemen, but this we may be indulged in by an Adjournment as well as a Prorogation. Our Committee might then sit in the mean Time, in order to carry on their Inquiries; and when we assembled again, we might proceed from where we left off at our last Meeting; but a Prorogation will put an End to our Committee, and oblige us to begin every Thing afresh. Therefore, if this Question should be rejected, and an End put to this Session by a Prorogation, before the Nation has obtained any Satisfaction, I am sure, I shall expect no Justice nor Satisfaction; no, nor the least Step towards it, from the next Session of Parliament, nor from any Session of this Parliament, unless the People should be so wise, as to make this House change its Complexion, by the new Mem-
bers

bers they send up to us, instead of those whose Seats may An. 15. Geo. II.
happen to become vacated. 1741.

Lord Cornbury spoke next.

Lord Cornbury.

Sir,

I was very much surpris'd when I first heard this Motion made to you, and consequently was extremely curious to hear what could be said in favour of such an extraordinary and unprecedented Motion. As soon as I heard it, I thought it unconstitutional, dangerous and useless; and as I have a great Regard for the young Nobleman that mov'd it, as well as for those Gentlemen that have spoke in its Favour, I have attended to the Debate with a Sort of Prejudice; waiting, and even wishing, to hear something said that might alter the first Impression it made upon me; but I have been very much disappointed, for those Impressions have been made deeper and stronger, even by what I have heard in its favour. As our Constitution consists of three separate Branches, each of which, while they are distinct and independent, will always be a Check for preventing any Oppression's being exercis'd, or Injustice done, by either of the other two, the very Being of our Constitution depends upon preserving a Distinctness and Independency, and at the same Time a good Correspondence between the three Branches of our Legislature; and consequently our Constitution would be destroyed, if this mutual good Correspondence should be interrupted, or if any one of them should gain an Influence, and much more, a Power or Jurisdiction, over either of the other two.

If we design, Sir, that this Censure should be taken Notice of by the other House, so as to direct or overawe their Proceedings upon any future Occasion, the very Design is inconsistent with our Constitution; because it is a Design to gain such an Influence over them, as will destroy their Independency, upon which our Constitution subsists. Therefore, if this Censure should be taken Notice of in the Manner we design it should, it is unconstitutional; and if it is to be taken no Notice of, it is useless; but as it is, in my Opinion, very far from being decent, I believe it will be taken Notice of by the other House, not in the Manner we design, but in such a Manner as will destroy that good Correspondence which now subsists between the two Houses, and upon which the Preservation of our Constitution depends; therefore I must think it extremely dangerous, and as I think it will be of no Use to us, I cannot for this Reason agree to it.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Mr Cornewall.

Mr Cornewall spoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

As I very seldom speak so late at Night, I flatter myself, that the House will excuse me for now doing it, especially as I shall chiefly endeavour to answer the noble Lord who spoke last, and the learned Gentleman behind me; tho', I think, as that Gentleman was an Enemy to every Clause in the Bill, now thrown out by the other House, which was to indemnify those who were to give Evidence to the Secret Committee against the Earl of Orford, I should murder our Time, were I to spend it in obviating any Objections made by him, or any of his Friends, who have been so uniform and consistent with themselves, in the violent Opposition they have made to every Thing that tended in the least towards promoting the Inquiry.

But as to that Part of his Speech, wherein he thinks it pretty odd, that this House should have a Power to inspect the Journals of the other House, and asks, what Right we have to censure another superior House of Parliament? I have, Sir, no less Authority than your own to say, that both Houses of Parliament are equal; and that we only exercise a Power our Ancestors have used before. As the learned Gentleman has now, and on other Occasions, taken a Kind of Pleasure in paring down the Powers of this House, I hope, he will soon, for his long and implicit Services to his Majesty, be sent hence to preside in *Westminster Hall*, and take this trite Piece of Advice thither along with him; that it is the Part of a good Judge, not to curtail but amplify his own Jurisdiction.

Unless we now exercise this Right, and lay the Blame at the right Door, our Constituents won't think we have done our utmost, and been in earnest, in putting a great State Criminal fairly on his Trial; and nobody who reads that inimitable Protest, signed by above thirty of their Lordships, can doubt but that some invisible Influence must have operated on two Thirds of the House when they threw out our just and reasonable Bill; which puts me in mind of an Account there is, I think, in Father *Paul*, or some other Writer on the Council of *Trent*: He says, that the Powers concerned, pitched on *Trent* as a neutral Place, for all the Legates to meet at, and where no Prince could himself claim any Right to come; but, says the Writer, (who, I think, seems to be rather a good Catholick than a strong Papist) all the Decrees of this Assembly ran so much in Favour of the Pope, that altho' he could not come there himself, his Holiness sent the Holy Ghost thither from *Rome* every Day in a Cloak-Bag. I leave it to every Gentleman to make his own Application

plication of this Story, which the House, I see, is pleased An. 15. Geo. II.
to receive more favourably than it deserves. 1742.

‘ Even my Friend near me smiles, who, had he not now been in a very high Station in the Exchequer, would not have expostulated so roundly with the young Lords, as he calls them, who moved and seconded this Question, who, he says, cannot yet have read the History of their own Country. What they said, Sir, plainly evinced the contrary; but the Gentleman was so much alarmed at the Motion itself, that he could not attend to what was said in Support of it; but he goes on and says, the other House won’t bear it. As to that, Sir, give me Leave to ask him, How they’ll help themselves? But, says he, what is there that the Lords won’t do or say, when such Aspersions are cast upon them? I humbly submit it, Sir, that what is true can’t be called an Aspercion: We do it for our own Justification; and pray, let them take it for their Pains.

‘ And then, Sir, as to the Gentleman’s Prophecy, that his Majesty, if the two Houses differ, may dissolve the Parliament: The King, Sir, will think twice, before he once dissolves a good Money-giving Parliament; for if the present should not please him, I’ll venture to prophecy, that the new one will be far from mending the Matter. If such Advice, or such unpopular Measures should ensue, I flatter myself that instead of one, I should be chosen for three or four Places, which would happen to many Gentlemen of superior Merit in the same Way of thinking; and many other Country Gentlemen without Doors, would fill the Places of some who hear me, that might then be thought too courtly in their present Behaviour. I have my Reasons too for thinking, that the Hon. Gentleman’s Interest with the Crown is not very great: I am sorry for it; because if it was, I hope and believe, that more popular Measures would be pursued.

‘ But, Sir, since we have lost our Bill, I’ll be bold to say, that unless we put some Stigma upon that Proceeding, our Committee of Secrecy will be a Committee of Ridicule; and the noble Lord who so very worthily and indefatigably presides in it, must put one in mind of the mad *Frenchman* in Mr *Locke*, who fancying himself a King, cries out, *Où sont mes Gens d’Armes?* The noble Lord is my old Friend and Acquaintance, and will forgive me, I am sure, for blurting out so odd a Parallel; but I am really driven to say any Thing, and to think that, if this Question has a Negative put upon it, he will, notwithstanding his great Abilities, be little more than a Chairman of Straw; and that he’ll sit in great State, subject only to this single Inconvenience, that

An. 15. Geo. II. that no Soul alive will answer one single Question he asks him.
1742.

‘ But I ask the noble Lord’s Pardon, who so worthily represents the most learned Body in the World, that I’ve been so long without endeavouring to invalidate the Force of some of his Arguments; and, indeed, his Lordship’s Manner of saying every Thing is such, that he may say any Thing.

‘ He, Sir, is pleased to say, that there is an End of the Constitution, if any one Branch of the Legislature is influenced by the other; and it is much stronger in the Case of Censure.

‘ If the Influence were indirect or improper, or if the Censure were untrue or unconstitutional, I should agree with his Lordship; but in this Case I may more reasonably suppose, that the other House has been under some extraordinary Influence; and pray, Sir, have we not a Right at any Time to expostulate, or demand a free Conference with their Lordships? Ought they not even to lie under the Censure of the Commons, for rejecting this our most necessary favourite Bill, when the Committee declares, that they can’t proceed without it.

‘ As to his Argument, that it is not decent to say this to the Lords, and asking what good it will do us? I insist, Sir, that Truth is to be said at all Times, in all Places, and to all Persons; and as to the Good, it will vindicate the Honour of the Members to their Constituents: It will place the national Odium where it ought to lie; and not only make their Lordships cautious in screening State Criminals, but make them shew a Readiness perhaps to redress Grievances, and afraid for the future of giving the like Treatment to any publick national Bill carried thither by this House; and, Sir, ***** — *Desunt multa.*

‘ As to his Lordship’s saying, that a Protest is an Act of the Minority, I submit it, Sir, as the Act of Thirty two Noblemen of the greatest Quality, Figure, and Fortune in this Country; and as that House has exercised that Power for many Centuries, without even assigning Reasons to their Protestations, so now they have for near a Century, subjoined one or more Reasons, out of which Articles of Impeachment have been often framed, which I hope will be the Case at present, there having never been, in my poor Opinion, a fitter Time for it; nor a Protest, for the Printing of which, as I am warranted by Precedents, I shall presently move, that deserved more gloriously to be printed in Letters of Gold.

‘ Upon the whole, Sir, I am for every Tittle of the Motion, from the Bottom of my Soul.’

My

Lord Strange spoke as follows:

An. 15. Geo. II.

1744.

Sir,

Lord Strange.

As it is now very late, and the House, I see a little impatient, I shall only ask a noble Lord who spoke lately, how, he thinks we are to prevent the other House from doing Injustice, if we are never even so much as to censure any of their Proceedings? If they in any Case do a manifest Piece of Injustice, are we to take no Notice of it? If we do take Notice of it, can we do so without condemning it? This is now the Case. They have done Injustice to the Nation: They have refused to the whole People of Great-Britain what is never denied to the meanest Subject who has been greatly injured by Persons unknown, or against whom he has not a sufficient Proof. A Pardon to any Accomplice who shall discover, or come in and give Evidence against the principal Offender, is never refused to any injured Person: This the Lords have denied to the Nation, 'tho it has been greatly injured, as is apparent from its present Distress. Shall we take no Notice of this Piece of Injustice? Ought we not, for the sake of the People whom we in this House represent, to pass such a Censure upon it as it deserves? Ought we not to censure it for our own sakes, in order to shew, that we have been neither privy nor consenting to such a manifest Piece of Injustice? ****

Several other Members, who had voted for the Inquiry, declaring, that tho' for the Satisfaction of the Nation they wish'd the Bill had pass'd into a Law, yet they could not agree to this Resolution, lest it should create a Breach between the two Houses; the Motion pass'd in the Negative by 245 against 193.

Ld Strange's Motion to censure the Lords Proceedings on the Indemnity Bill, passes in the Negative: Also the Motion for printing the Report of the Committee relating thereto.

Then a Motion was made by Mr Cornwall, that the Report from the Committee, appointed to search the Journals of the House of Lords, with relation to the said Bill, be printed: But this also pass'd in the Negative.

In the foregoing Part of this Work [p. 183.] we took Notice of a Petition having been presented, complaining of the Grievance of Select Vestries, which was referr'd to a Committee. In Pursuance hereof several Petitions were presented *Pro* and *Con*. and several Reports made thereupon: But on the 28th a Motion being made by Lord Percival, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Regulation of the Vestries of the Parishes of St Martin, St Anne, St James, St Margaret, and St George Hanover-Square, within the City and Liberty of Westminster: It passed in the Negative: On a Division; Ayes 130, Noes 160.

Motion for a Bill for regulating select Vestries, passes in the Negative.

Then

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Bill to prevent
counterfeiting
the Coin.

Bill to prevent
Lunatics from
marrying.

Resolutions re-
lating to printing
the Journals of
the House.

Resolutions of
the Committee
of Supply.

Then a Motion being also made, and the Question put, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill for the better Regulation of Select Vestries and Parish Officers; It passed likewise in the Negative.

May 31. A Bill was order'd in for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or paying of false or counterfeit Coin; and that Mr *Arundel* *, Mr *Scrope* †, Mr *Clutterbuck* ‡, the Attorney-General §, and Solicitor-General ¶ do prepare the same accordingly.

On a Motion made by Mr *Gibbon*, and seconded by Mr *Batburst*, a Bill was ordered in to prevent Lunatics from marrying, during the Time of their being under Commissions of Lunacy.

Then Sir *Watkyn Williams Wynn* reported from the Committee, appointed to consider of printing the Journals of the House, the Resolutions of the said Committee, which, with an Amendment, were agreed to.

I. That all the Books of the Proceedings, or Journals of the House of Commons, now in the Custody of the Clerk, and commencing with the Book *Seymour*, which begins with the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, be printed.

II. That One Thousand Copies ** of the said Journals be printed, by the Appointment and Direction of *Nicholas Hardinge*, Esq; Clerk of the House; the same not to exceed thirty Volumes, with a proper Preface and Index to each Volume, and a general Preface and Index to the whole.

III. That a proper Recompence be made to the said *Nicholas Hardinge*, for the Loss of Fees, which he, and his Office, will sustain, by printing the said Journals.

The House voted also an Address to his Majesty, to order Five thousand Pounds to be advanced to *Nicholas Hardinge*, Esq; Clerk of the House, towards enabling him to print the said Journals, and likewise One thousand Pounds more, as a Recompence for the Loss of Fees; and to assure his Majesty, that the House will make good the same.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply, the following Resolutions, viz.

That towards raising the Supply, 800,000 *l.* be granted to his Majesty, to be raised by Annuities at three Pounds *per Centum*

* Master-Worker of his Majesty's Mint.

† One of the Secretaries of the Treasury.

‡ Treasurer of the Navy.

§ Sir Dudley Rider.

¶ Sir John Strange.

** Upon the Report, the following Words were added, viz. "For the Use of the Members of this House,

Centum per Annum, transferable at the Bank of England, An. 15. Geo. II. redeemable by Parliament, or by Loans; to be charged upon, 1742. and secured by the Sinking Fund: Also that an Act of the 12th Year of the late Queen Anne, intituled, *An Act for the better Encouragement of the making of Sail Cloth in Great-Britain*: Likewise, that the several Clauses in an Act of the 8th Year of the late King George, intituled, *An Act for the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom*, &c. relating to the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, &c. Also, that the two last Clauses in an Act of the 9th Year of his late Majesty, for more effectually preventing Frauds in mixing Silks with Stuffs to be exported: And, that the Clause in an Act of the 9th and 10th Years of the late King William III. intituled, *An Act to settle the Trade to Africa*, for allowing, during a limited Time, a Drawback of the Duties upon the Exportation of Copper Bars imported, &c. all which had been continued from Time to Time by several Acts, for that Purpose, were near expiring, and fit to be continued.

The first Resolution of the said Committee being read a second Time, Mr Philips stood up and spoke to the following Effect:

Sir,

'The Gentlemen on the other Side of the House cry out, Agree, agree; but as I do not find them so very ready to agree to any Proposal that comes from this Side of the House, to redress Grievances, or to promote Inquiries, and to render them effectual, I hope, they'll excuse me, if I do not immediately agree to this Proposition. Sir, when this Resolution was proposed and agreed to in the Committee, I was at so great a Distance from the Chair, that I could not distinctly hear it; therefore, I hope, I may be allowed to say a Word or two to it now, not that I have the least Expectation, that any Thing I can say will have such an Effect on the House, as to cause any Alteration in this Resolution; but I cannot let it pass without some Remarks.

'According to the Computation that I have made, the Supplies voted this Session amount to about 5,723,000 *l.* to which must be added the Deficiency of last Year's Malt and Land Tax, which comes to about 373,000 *l.* so that the whole Sum to be raised is about 6,097,000 *l.* The Ways and Means already voted amount to about 5,350,000 *l.* which being deducted from the 6,097,000 *l.* there will remain to be raised about 747,000 *l.* If I do not mistake, the Resolution of the Committee is to raise 800,000 *l.* which is about 53,000 *l.* more than is voted, and more than is wanted. — Sir, I am for raising all the Money that has been voted, not because I believe it is all

VOL. XIII.

M m

necessary,

Debate on the Resolution of the Committee of Supply for granting 800,000 *l.* to be raised by Annuities at 3 per Cent.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

necessary, but for this single Reason, because it has been voted, and the Parliament Faith, is, as it were, at Stake for it; but I can by no Means come into a Resolution of raising more Money on the People than has been voted, and I am surpris'd indeed to find it attempted.---If more Money is wanted, why was the Committee of Supply clos'd? Why was it not ask'd? For I beg Leave to take Notice, that so great a Confidence did the House place in the Gentlemen of this Administration, that every Thing that was ask'd was granted; but this is a new Way of asking, by turning a Committee of Ways and Means, into a Committee of Supply.

' If any Arguments are to be drawn from private OEconomy, I believe, we have all the Reason in the World to think, that our present Ministers will be as frugal as any that ever went before them; but, I hope, they will excuse me if I say, that to place an implicit Confidence in any Ministers, which we do whenever we pass a Vote of Credit, is unconstitutional and unbecoming a Parliament of *Great Britain*. I suppose it will not be denied, that the Representatives of the People are accountable to them for all the Money that is rais'd upon them; but if I should be ask'd, why this Overplus is rais'd, I should be puzzled for an Answer, and, I believe, the Gentlemen on the other Side the House could furnish me with no other than this, ' That it was to make up a round Sum.'

' I am sensible, if the House agrees to this Resolution, it will not be the only Vote of Credit of this Session: The 500,000 *l.* for the Service of the Queen of *Hungary* was an absolute Vote of Credit: The many Sums granted for Contingencies in the several Estimates laid before the House, are all so many Votes of Credit, and are therefore the strongest Reason in the World against your coming into this.---It may be said, why all this Stir about so small a Sum as 50 or 60,000 *l.* I allow it is a small Sum in Comparison of the *fix Millions* that we have granted; but be the Sum large or small, the Raising it in this Manner, by Vote of Credit, at the End of the first Session of this Parliament, is so bad a Precedent to future Sessions, that I dread the Consequence of it.

' I was in hopes, that instead of increasing their Demands, the Ministry would rather have abated of them, and have left something in the Hands of the Parliament by way of Pledge, that all the Sums that have been granted, shall be properly applied.---- I'll say but one Thing more: If we can't redress the People's Grievances, let us not be lavish of their Money: If we can't compass an Inquiry into past Mismanagements, let us not lay a Foundation for future ones: If

we

we can't obtain the Glory of doing all the Good we aimed at, let us at least avoid the Shame that must always attend all unjustifiable and unprecedented Measures. Sir, I call God to Witness, I have no End in saying these Things, but the publick Service and the Honour of this House; and therefore shall beg Leave to conclude with making you a Motion, That this Resolution be recommitted.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Then the Question being put upon Mr *Phillips's* Motion, it passed in the Negative, Ayes 86, Noes 118: And the said Resolution was agreed to by the House, as were the other Resolutions of the Committee; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in thereupon by Mr *Francis Fane*, Mr *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr *Compton*, Sir *John Rushout*, Mr *Gibbon*, Mr *Attorney General*, Mr *Sollicitor General*, Mr *Scrope*, Mr *Legge*, and Mr *Henry Archer*.

June 1. A Bill for granting to his Majesty a certain Sum, to be raised by Annuities, &c. Also a Bill to prevent Lunatics from marrying, during the Time of their being under Commissions of Lunacy: Likewise another for remedying some Defects in the Act made in the 43d Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, intituled, *An Act for the Relief of the Poor*, were severally read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading; and the last mentioned Bill was ordered to be printed.

Bill for granting 800,000 l. Also relating to Lunatics; and for Relief of the Poor order'd a second Reading.

Then the Bill for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom was read a third Time, and the Names of the Commissioners being inserted in a Blank left for that Purpose, a Motion was made, and the Question put, that the Bill do pass; it passed in the Negative by 136 against 66.

Bills for stating the publick Accounts rejected.

June 2. A Bill for the more effectual preventing Cloth upon the Rack or Tenters, &c. from being stolen in the Night Time, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Eathurst*.

Bills to prevent stealing of Cloth, and killing of Fish, pass'd.

A Bill for the more effectual punishing of Persons who shall unlawfully and maliciously kill, or steal any Fish in Ponds, &c. was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Philips*.

June 3. A Bill for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting of the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or paying of false or counterfeit Coin, was received, read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Bill relating to the Coin.

Mr *Francis Fane* reported from the Committee of Supply the following Resolutions, which were agreed to by the House, viz.

I. That after the 24th of June 1742, a farther Duty of 2 s. 10 d. be laid on the Half-piece of Cambrick, containing six Ells and a half, and 5 s. 8 d. upon the Whole-piece of

of Supply.

1742.

M m 2

Cam-

An. 15. Geo. II. Cambrick, containing 13 Ells, to be imported into *Great Britain*.
1742.

II. That the said Duty be granted for the Term of Seven Years, and from thence to the End of the then next Session of Parliament.

III. That Quicksilver, taken as Prize by his Majesty's Subjects, and brought into this Kingdom, be liable to pay the like Duties, as if it were imported directly from the Place of its Growth.

IV. That the permitting Rum, or Spirits, of the Produce of the *British* Plantations, to be landed before the Payment of the Duties, and lodging the same in Ware-Houses, till such Duties are paid, under proper Regulations, will be an Ease to the Importers, and encourage the Importation.

A Motion being made, that the Resolutions of the 25th of May, [See p: 246.] relating to the Manufactures of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, might be read; and they being read accordingly, a Bill was ordered to be brought in upon the said Resolutions, and also upon the two first of the above Resolutions of the Committee of Supply, and that Mr Francis Fane, Mr Hooper, the Lord Limerick, Mr Buchanan, Sir Charles Gilmour, Mr Oswald, Mr Murray of Philip-Haugh, Mr Archibald Stuart, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr Scot, Mr Bance, Mr Drummond, the Lord John Murray, and the Lord George Graham do prepare and bring in the same: It was also ordered that it be an Instruction to the Committee, to whom the Bill for granting to his Majesty a certain Sum, to be raised by Annuities, &c. was referr'd, that they have Power to receive a Clause pursuant to the third of the above Resolutions.

Then it was likewise ordered that a Bill be brought in upon the last Resolution of the Committee of Supply, by Mr Francis Fane, Sir John Rulbout, and Mr Drax.

Papers relating to the Convention presented, and referr'd to the Secret Committee.

June 4. Sir Conyers Darcy acquainted the House, that he had received his Majesty's Command to lay before them, pursuant to their Address of the 20th of May last, Copies of all the Powers, Instructions, &c. relating to the Convention with *Spain*, concluded January 14, 1739, N. S. as there has been Time to prepare; and that he was ordered to say, that Copies of the remaining Papers are preparing with the utmost Diligence to be laid before the House: And he presented Copies of such of the said Papers as he had received his Majesty's Command now to lay before the House, which were referred to the Committee of Secrecy.

In the Progress of this Work we have taken Notice of the several Petitions relating to the Decay of the Woollen Manufacture, the Result of which was that of Voting of an Address

Address to his Majesty, to cause strict and immediate Orders for the effectual putting in Execution the Laws now in Being, for preventing the Exportation of Wool or Yarn, from *Great Britain and Ireland*, to Foreign Parts. An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Then Mr *Francis Fane* presented to the House, a Bill for encouraging the Manufactures of *British* and *Irish* Linens, by allowing a Bounty upon Exportation of certain Species thereof from *Great Britain*, which was read a first Time, and ordered a second reading. Address relating
to the Exporta-
tion of Wooll.

Bill for encour-
aging *British* and
Irish Linens ;
and permitting
Rum to be land-
ed without Pay-
ment of Duty.

June 10. A Bill to impower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum, or Spirits, of the Produce of the *British* Sugar Plantations, to land the same before Payment of the Duties of Excise charged thereon, and to lodge the same in Ware-Houses, at their own Expence, for a certain Time, was presented by Sir *John Rushout*, read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Then Sir *William Yonge* reported to the House, that his Majesty would cause strict and immediate Orders to be given, for the effectual putting in Execution the Laws for preventing the Exportation of Wool or Yarn, from *Great Britain and Ireland*, to foreign Parts, in Pursuance of their Address. His Majesty's
Answer to the
Address relating
to Wooll.

Ordered a new Writ for *Truro*, in the Room of *James Hammond*, Esq; * deceased. Writ for *Truro*.

A Bill for granting to his Majesty 800,000 *l.* to be raised by Annuities, &c. and for ascertaining the Duties upon Quick-Silver taken as Prize, &c. was read a third Time, pals'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Francis Fane*. Annuity Bill
pals'd.

Then Mr *Sandys*, by the King's Command, presented Copies of the Remainder of the Papers relating to the Convention, which were referred to the Committee of Secrecy.

June 16. A Bill was ordered in for farther regulating the registering of Ships employed in the Plantation-Trade; and for limiting a Time for producing Certificates to discharge Plantation-Bonds given in *Great Britain*; for Relief of Merchants importing Prize-Goods from *America*; and for preventing Abuses, which may be committed by collusive Captures, made and carried into his Majesty's Colonies there, during the War; and to oblige the Claimers of Boats and Vessels seized for unlawful Exportation of Wool, or Importation of Goods and Merchandise, to give Security for Costs; and for allowing *East-India* Goods to be taken out of Ware-Houses, to be cleaned and refreshed; and that Mr *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, Mr *Gibbon*, Mr *Scrope*, Mr *Attorney General*, Mr *Solicitor General*, and Sir *John Barnard* do prepare and bring in the same. A Bill order'd in
to regulate the
Plantation-
Trade, &c.

Mr *Carew* reported the Amendments to the Bill for far-Justices Bill put
ther off.

* Captain *Boscawen* was elected.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.



Petitions against
the Linnen-Bill.

ther qualifying Justices of Peace: Then the farther Consideration of the said Report was adjourned for two Months, on a Division, Ayes 152, Noes 104.

A Petition of several Merchants, and others, Dealers in Cambrick, alledging, That if the Bill for encouraging the Manufactures of *British* and *Irish* Linens pass into a Law, the Petitioners will be very great Sufferers, having bought in foreign Parts, and paid for large Parcels of Cambricks, which cannot be imported within the Time limited by that Bill; that should the Petitioners import them after the Bill is to take Effect, they will never be able to vend them, without great Loss; and representing, that the laying a farther Duty of 5 s. 8 d. upon each whole Piece of Cambrick will not answer the Ends proposed, but divert the Course of Trade, by taking it out of the Hands of the fair Trader, and putting it into Smugglers Hands; and praying to be heard by themselves or Counsel, was referred to the Committee to whom the said Bill was committed: And it was ordered that the said Committee do admit the Persons, who petitioned for the Encouragement of the Manufacture of Linens made in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, to be heard against the last mentioned Petition.

June 17. A Bill for the farther regulating the registering of Ships employed in the Plantation-Trade, &c. [See p. 269.] was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Address relating
to Spanish Wooll.

Then it was resolved, that an Address be presented to his Majesty: that he will, by Proclamation, or Order in Council, take off the Prohibitions of the Act of the 13th Year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for prohibiting Commerce with Spain*, so far as the same relate to Wool and Barilla, of the Product of any of the Territories of the King of *Spain*, lying or being in *Europe*, or of the *Canary* Islands belonging to the said King.

The next Day Mr *Comptroller* acquainted the House, that his Majesty will give proper Directions in Pursuance of that Address.

Bill relating to
Lunaticks pass'd.

Then a Bill to prevent the Marriage of Lunaticks, was read a third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Gibbon*.

Also the Bill relating to Gunpowder.

June 21. A Bill for preventing the Mischiefs which may happen by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near *London* and *Westminster*, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Sir *Robert Godschall*.

June 22. A Bill to continue several Laws therein mentioned, relating to the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth in *Great Britain*; and for the Encouragement of the Silk Manufactures of this Kingdom, and relating to Copper Bars

Bars exported, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading. An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

A Bill to impower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum or Spirits of the *British* Sugar Plantations, to land the same before Payment of the Duties of Excise, &c. As also another for the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting of the current Coin of this Kingdom, were severally read the third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords. A Bill for importing Rum :
Another relating to the Coin :

June 23. A Bill for farther regulating the Plantation-Trade, &c. Also a Bill to revive and continue several Laws, &c. [See p. 271.] were severally read a third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr Henry Archer. Also for regulating the Plantation-Trade :

June 24. Ordered a new Writ for the Borough of *Shaftsbury*, in the Room of *Charles Ewer*, Esq; * deceas'd.

June 28. A Bill for granting to his Majesty an additional Duty on foreign Cambricks, &c. was read a third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Philips*. And for laying a Duty on Foreign Cambricks ; pass'd.

The House resumed the adjourned Consideration of the Report of the Bill, touching the Election of Members of Parliament, and to restrain the Partiality of returning Officers ; then a Motion being made, and the Question put, that the said Bill be recommitted, it passed in the Negative, Ayes 44, Noes 57 : And the Bill, with the Amendments, was ordered to be engrossed. Returning Officers Bill en- gross'd.

June 29. A Bill to explain and amend an Act of the 13th Year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, *An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws, relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, &c.* was read a third Time ; and a Motion being made, and the Question put, that the said Bill do pass, it was resolved in the Negative by 80 against 77. Vagabond Bill rejected.

Then Mr *Carew* reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of *Thomas Stephens*, Agent in Behalf of the People of *Georgia*, was committed, the following Resolutions of the said Committee.

I. That the Province of *Georgia*, by Reason of its Situation, may be an useful Barrier to the *British* Provinces on the Continent of *America*, against the *French* and *Spaniards*, and the *Indian* Nations in their Interests. Resolutions relating to the Colony of Georgia.

II. That the Ports and Harbours within the said Province may be a great Security to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom.

III. That the said Province, by Reason of the Fertility of the Soil, the Healthfulness of the Climate, and the Convenience of the Rivers, is a proper Place for establishing a Settlement, and may contribute greatly to the encreasing of the Trade of this Kingdom.

IV. That

* George Pitt, Esq; was chosen.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

IV. That it is very necessary and advantageous to this Nation, that the Colony of *Georgia* should be preserved and supported.

V. That it will be an Advantage to the Colony of *Georgia*, to permit the Importation of Rum into the said Colony from any other of the *British* Colonies.

VI. That the Petition of *Thomas Stephens* contains false, scandalous, and malicious Charges, tending to asperse the Characters of the Trustees for establishing the said Colony of *Georgia*.

The Agent for
Georgia reprimanded.

All which Resolutions were, upon the Question put there-upon, agreed to by the House, and the said *Thomas Stephens* was reprimanded by Mr Speaker for his Offence.

Bill to encourage
Sail-Cloth,
&c. pass'd.

June 30. An ingrossed Bill to continue several Laws, for the Encouragement of the making of Sail-Cloth, &c. was read a third Time, pass'd, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Henry Archer*.

Farther Report
from the Secret
Committee presented.

The Serjeant at Arms having summoned the Members, the Lord *Limerick* made a farther Report from the Committee of Secrecy, which being read, a Motion was made, and the Question put, that the said Report, with the Appendix, be printed; and the previous Question being put there-upon, it passed in the Negative, without a Division.

July 1. An ingrossed Bill from the Lords, *For explaining an Act made in the 14th Year of his present Majesty*, intituled, *An Act to render the Laws more effectual for preventing the stealing and destroying of Sheep and other Cattle*, was read a first Time, and ordered a second Reading.

Writ for London.

Ordered a new Writ for the City of *London*, in the Room of Sir *Robert Godschall*, deceased *.

Returning Officers
Bill, and

July 6. An ingrossed Bill to explain and amend the Laws touching the Elections of Members, and to restrain the Partiality, and regulate the Conduct of returning Officers, was read the third Time, and pass'd: On a Division, Ayes 93, Noes 92, and sent to the Lords by Mr *Pulteney*, where it was drop'd.

Sheepstealing Bill
pass'd.

A Bill from the Lords, *For the more effectual preventing Persons from assisting Prisoners to escape from their Confinement*, was read a first Time, and order'd a second Reading.

July 7. The Bill from the Lords, *For explaining the Act relating to sheepstealing*, was read a third Time, and pass'd with some Amendments, and sent back to the Lords by Mr *Thomas Gore*.

July 13. Ordered a new Writ for the University of *Cambridge*, in the Room of the Hon. *Edward Finch*, Esq; †

* William Calvert, Esq; was elected. † He was re-elected without Opposition.

appointed one of the Grooms of the Bed Chamber to his Majesty. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

For *Cockermouth*, in the Room of the Hon. *William Finch*, Esq; * made Vice Chamberlain to his Majesty's Household.

For *Grampound*, in the Room of *Daniel Boone*, Esq; * appointed Commissary General of the Musters. New Writs in the room of Members pre-
ferr'd.

For the City of *York*, in the Room of *Edward Thompson*, Esq; decess'd.

And for the *Devizes*, in the Room of *Francis Eyles*, Esq; appointed Super-Intendent of his Majesty's Founderies.

The next Day new Writs were issued for *Dorchester*, in the Room of *Nathaniel Gundry*, Esq; * appointed one of his Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law.

For *Rippon*, in the Room of the Hon. *Henry Vane*, Esq; * made Vice-Treasurer, Receiver-General, and Paymaster-General of *Ireland*.

For the Shire of *Edinburgh*, in the Room of *Sir Charles Gilmour*, Bart. * appointed Pay-Master of his Majesty's Board of Works.

For *Christ-Church*, in the Room of *Edward Hooper*, Esq; * made Paymaster of divers annual Bounties and Pensions.

And for the County of *Middlesex*, in the Room of the Rt Hon. *William Pulteney*, Esq; created Earl of *Bath*.

At the same Time a Reversionary Patent of the Office of Chief Remembrancer of the Court of Exchequer in *Ireland*, was granted to the Hon. *James Hamilton*, Son to the Lord *Limerick*.

July 15. A new Writ issued for *Orford*, in the Room of the Hon. *Henry Legge*, Esq; * appointed Surveyor-General of his Majesty's Woods on the North and South Side of *Trent*.

The same Day the King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to Eleven Publick and Four private Bills: After which his Majesty made the following most Gracious Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" THIS Session of Parliament has been drawn out in- King's Speech at
" to so unusual a Length, and the Season of the putting an End
" Year is so far advanced, that I am persuaded, you are all to the Session.
" very desirous of a Recess.

" I acquainted you, at the Beginning of the Session, with
VOL. XIII. N n " my

* They were all re-elected without Opposition; George Fox, Esq; was chosen for *York*; as was also Dr George Lee, whose Seat became vacant by being made a Commissioner of the Admiralty, for the *Devizes*, in the Room of *Capt. Eyles*; and *Sir Roger Newdigate* was elected for *Middlesex*.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

“ my Endeavours to bring about an Accommodation between those Princes, whose Union was most necessary in this critical Conjunction. The Treaty, lately concluded between the Queen of *Hungary* and the King of *Prussia*, under my Mediation, and so highly to the Honour of *Great Britain*, must undoubtedly produce the best Consequences to the common Cause.

“ The Successes which have attended the *Austrian* Arms in *Germany*, the Conjunction of the King of *Sardinia*’s Forces with those of the Queen of *Hungary* in *Italy*, the present favourable Disposition of the *States General* and of other great Powers, are, under God, chiefly owing to the generous Assistance afforded by this Nation to its ancient and natural Allies.

“ These happy Events cannot fail to give Encouragement to our Friends, and to establish the Reputation of our Strength, and our just Influence Abroad.

“ If, for the farther Support and Defence of the Queen of *Hungary*, and to restore and secure the Ballance of Power, so particularly recommended to me by my Parliament, it should become necessary for me to contract new Engagements, or to enter into farther Measures, I rely upon your Zeal and Perseverance, in so just a Cause, to enable me to make them good.

“ In the midst of these extensive Transactions, I have been, and shall continue to be, attentive to the Prosecution of the War against *Spain* with the utmost Vigour; which is of the greatest Importance to the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects; the Encouragement and Protection whereof, shall be one of my principal Cares.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ The Zeal, Unanimity, and Dispatch, with which you have given such large Supplies, for the Service of the current Year, demand my particular Thanks, and are fresh Proofs of your Duty to me, and of your Concern for the true Interest of your Country. The Success, with which these Supplies have been raised, must convince all the World of the established Credit of this Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have the justest Confidence in the Affections of my People; which I shall not fail to cultivate, by a constant Care of their Rights and Liberties, and by promoting their Prosperity and Happiness. Let it be your Endeavour,
“ your,

“ your, in your respective Countries, to make these my An. 16. Geo. II.
 “ good Intentions rightly understood ; to calm and heal 1742.
 “ all Animosities and Divisions ; to support my Authority
 “ and Government ; and to preserve the Peace and good Or-
 “ der of the Kingdom.”

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, Prorogation of
 prorogued the Parliament to the 16th of *September*. They the Parliament.
 were afterwards further prorogued to the 16th of *November*,
 on which Day his Majesty open'd the Second Session : The
 History whereof will be published with all convenient Expe-
 dition.



A T A B L E

OF THE

Publick ACTS pass'd during the First
 Session of the Third Parliament of King
 George II.

AN ACT, For continuing the Duties upon Malt, Mum,
 Cyder, and Perry, for the Service of the Year 1742.

An ACT to repeal so much of an ACT passed last Session,
 For the Preservation of the Publick Roads in England, as
 obliges Persons not travelling for Hire to make use of Wag-
 gons with Wheels bound with Streaks or Tyre of a certain
 Breadth, or the said Streaks to be fastened with Nails of a
 certain Size.

An ACT, For granting to his Majesty a certain Sum out of
 the Sinking Fund, towards the Supply for the Year 1742.

An ACT, For punishing Mutiny and Desertion, &c.

An ACT, For laying a Duty of Two Pennies Scots, upon
 every Scots Pint of Ale and Beer brewed for Sale, brought
 into, tapped, or sold within the Town of Kirkaldy, and
 Liberties thereof.

An ACT, For explaining, amending, and making more ef-
 fectual Two Acts of Parliament, for creating Workhouses,
 1742 N n 2 and

An. 16. Geo. II. and Houses of Correction, in the Town of Kingston upon Hull, for the Employment and Maintenance of the Poor there.

1742.

An Act, For granting a Land Tax, for the Service of the Year 1742.

An Act, Relating to the rebuilding the Church of St Catherine Coleman, in Fenchurch-Street, in the City of London.

An Act, For establishing an Agreement with the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, for advancing the Sum of 1,600,000 l. towards the Supply for the Service of the Year 1742.

An Act, To render more effectual an Act made in the Ninth and Tenth Years of King William the Third, For erecting Hospitals and Workhouses within the Town of Colchester, for the better employing and maintaining the Poor thereof.

An Act, For granting to his Majesty the Sum of 800,000 l. to be raised by Annuities transferrable at the Bank of England; and for ascertaining the Customs and Duties upon Quicksilver taken as Prize during the present War; and for the farther appropriating the Supplies granted in this Session of Parliament.

An Act, To prevent the counterfeiting of Gold and Silver Lace; and for settling and adjusting the Proportions of fine Silver and Silk; and for the better making of Gold and Silver Thread.

An Act, To indemnify Persons who have omitted to qualify themselves for Offices, Employments, and Promotions, within the Time limited by Law; and for allowing farther Time for that Purpose.

An Act, To exclude certain Officers from being Members of the House of Commons.

An Act, For securing to John Byrom, M. A. the sole Right of publishing, for a certain Term of Years, the Art and Method of Short-hand, invented by him.

An Act, To empower the Justices of the Peace of a Liberty or Corporation, to commit Offenders to the House of Correction of the County, Riding, or Division, in which such Liberty or Corporation is situate.

An Act, To empower the Importers or Proprietors of Rum or Spirits of the British Sugar Plantations to land the same before Payment of the Duties of Excise charged thereon, and to lodge the same in Warehouses at their own Expence; and for the Relief of Ralph Barrow, in respect to the Duty on some Rock Salt, lost by the Overflowing of the Rivers Weaver and Dane.

An Act, For the better enabling the Commissioners for building a Bridge cross the River Thames, from the City of

of Westminster to the opposite Shore in the County of Surrey, An. 16. Geo. II.
to finish the said Bridge, and to perform the other Trusts re- 1742.
posed in them, and for enlarging the Time for exchanging of
Tickets unclaimed in the last Lottery for the said Bridge,
and to make Provision for Tickets in the said Lottery, lost
burnt, or otherwise destroyed.

An Act, For the more effectual preventing any Cloth, or
Woollen Goods remaining upon the Rack, or Tenters, or any
Woollen Yarn, or Wooll left out to dry, from being stolen,
or taken away in the Night-time.

An Act, For the more effectual preventing the counterfeiting
of the current Coin of this Kingdom, and the uttering or
paying of false or counterfeit Coin.

An Act, For granting to his Majesty an additional Duty
on foreign Cambricks, imported into Great Britain; and for
allowing thereout, a Bounty upon certain Species of British
and Irish Linens exported.

An Act, To prevent the Marriage of Lunaticks.

An Act, For farther regulating the Plantation Trade;
and for Relief of Merchants importing Prize Goods from Ame-
rica, and for preventing collusive Captures there; and for
obliging the Claimers of Vessels seized for Exportation of
Wooll, or any unlawful Importation, to give Security for
Costs; and for allowing East India Goods to be taken out of
Warehouses, in order to be cleaned and refreshed.

An Act, For preventing the Mischiefs which may happen
by keeping dangerous Quantities of Gunpowder in or near the
Cities of London and Westminster.

An Act, To revive several Acts for the Punishment of
Persons destroying Turnpikes or Locks, or other Works erected
by Authority of Parliament, and for other Purposes therein
mentioned; and to continue several Acts relating to Rice, to
Frauds in the Customs, to the clandestine Running of Goods,
and to Copper Ore of the British Plantations; and for ex-
tending the Liberty given by the Act of the Twelfth Year of
the Reign of his present Majesty, for carrying Sugar of the
Growth of the British Sugar Colonies in America, in Ships
belonging to any of his Majesty's Subjects residing in Great
Britain, and navigated according to Law; and for the more
effectual preventing the cutting of Star or Bent.

An Act, To explain an Act made in the Fourteenth Year
of the Reign of his present Majesty, intituled, An Act to
render the Laws more effectual for preventing the stealing
and destroying of Sheep and other Cattle.

An Act, To continue several Laws for the Encouragement
of the making of Sail-Cloth in Great Britain, and of the Silk
Manufactures of this Kingdom; and for allowing a Draw-
back

An. 16. Geo. II. *back on the Exportation of Copper Bars ; and to explain a*
 1742. *Clause of an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, to*
prohibit the Exportation of Corn, and other Things therein
mentioned ; and to give farther Time for the Payment of
Duties omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts
of Clerks and Apprentices.

Also to Eight Acts relating to the Repairing the following Roads, viz. From Wendover to Buckingham : Also, between the Horseshoe House, in the Parish of Stoke Goldington, Co. Bucks, and the Town of Northampton, and the Road from the North Bridge of Newport Pagnal, Co. Bucks, to the Horseshoe House. Also, From Bromsgrove to Dudley, Co. Worcester ; and from Bromsgrove to Birmingham, Co. Warwick. Likewise, The Highways between Tyburn and Uxbridge, Co. Middlesex ; and from Brent-Bridge, over Hanwell Heath, through the Parishes of Hanwell, New Brentford, and Ealing, to the great Western Road in the said County. Also, From Sheet Bridge in the Parish of Petersfield, to Portsmouth, Co. Southampton. Likewise, From Cirencester Town's-End to St John's Bridge, Co. Gloucester. Also, From Stump-Cross to Newmarket-Heath, and the Town of Cambridge ; and from Foulmire to Cambridge. Likewise, From Ledbury, Co. Hereford, to the several Places therein mentioned.

And to 46 Private Bills.

F I N I S.



THE TWO
REPORTS
OF THE

Secret Committee,

Appointed to Inquire into the Conduct of

Robert Earl of Orford.

With the *APPENDIXES.*

THE TWO
R. E. P. O. N. T. S.

SECRET

Approved to be printed

Robert E. P. O. N. T. S.

With the

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A REPORT from the COMMITTEE of SECRECY, appointed to enquire into the Conduct of ROBERT Earl of ORFORD, during the last Ten Years of his being First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

YOUR Committee finding themselves obstructed in their Enquiry, by the Obstinacy of Mr. *Nicholas Paxton* upon his several Examinations, are under a Necessity of laying that whole Transaction before the House, (together with a short State of his Behaviour, as Solicitor of the Treasury and a public Accomptant) as also an Account of the Behaviour of *Gwyn Vaughan* Esquire, on his Examination.

An. 15. Geo. II.

1742.

Your Committee now think proper, in order to avoid Repetition, to acquaint the House, that, in pursuance of their Orders, all the Persons examined before the said Committee, were examined in the most solemn Manner; and Mr. *Michael Gibbons* being examined, said, he was Agent to *John Boteler* Esquire, who stood Candidate at the Election for a Member of Parliament for the Borough of *Wendover* in the County of *Bucks*, in 1735; that Mr. *Boteler* did, the Saturday Night before it came on, advise with the Examinant, what was proper to be done; that the Examinant told him, Nothing could be done without 5 or 600 *l.* that on this, he believes, Mr. *Boteler* told him, that he had not so much Money, but he would write a Letter to Mr. *Paxton*; that the next Morning one Mr. *John Jones*, who was a Friend of Mr. *Boteler*, was sent to *London*, and returned on the Monday Morning to *Wendover*, and on his Return told the Examinant, that he had delivered a Letter to Mr. *Paxton*, and Mr. *Paxton* had given him 500 *l.* he having at the same Time in his Hand a great Number of Bank Notes, which he told the Examinant was the 500 *l.* in Question, and which he immediately carried in to Mr. *Boteler*, who soon after came out, and informed the Examinant the 500 *l.* was come.

Account of the Election at *Wendover*, Anno 1735.

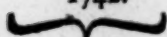
Examination of Mr. *Gibbons* relating thereto

Mr. *John Jones*, being examined, said, that he had no Interest in the Borough of *Wendover*, but was employed by Mr. *Boteler* as a Friend; that, before the Day of the Election, Mr. *Boteler* desired the Examinant to go to Town with a Letter to Mr. *Nicholas Paxton* for Money; that he found Mr

And of Mr. Jones

2 Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.



John Boteler,
Esq; examined

Paxton at *Fulham*, and gave him the Letter, and Mr *Paxton*, on reading it, desired the Examinant to meet him the next Day at *Roger Williams's* Coffee-house; that he did meet him accordingly, and Mr *Paxton* gave him a Parcel of Money (of which the greatest Part, if not the whole, was in Bank Notes) and told him, on delivering it, 'Here is your Answer,' the Sum, he believes, might be about 500 *l.* that he carried it the same Morning to *Wendover*, and delivered the same, or the greatest Part thereof, to Mr. *Boteler*.

John Boteler, Esquire, being examined, said, that when he stood Candidate at *Wendover*, in 1735, he did, on Occasion of that Election, and not long before it, make an Acquaintance with Mr *Paxton* Solicitor to the Treasury; that the Examinant was pushed at the Election, and wanted Money, and thinking he had some Pretensions to Favour, on Account of his having been ill used in his former Election, and knowing Mr *Paxton* was a Person about the Treasury that might have an Interest where the Money might be had, the Examinant, as he could not come away from *Wendover* without Money to defray his Charges, sent Mr *John Jones* to *London*, with a Message to Mr *Paxton* for Money, which Message, the Examinant believes, was a Letter for 500 *l.* that Mr *Jones* returned with the Money to the Examinant a little before the Election; that the Examinant did never give either Bond, Note, or Receipt for the Money, nor has Mr *Paxton* at any Time since made a Demand either of the Money, or any Security for the same, nor did he consider himself as a Debtor for the Sum thus received.

And Mr *Paxton* Mr *Nicholas Paxton* being examined, said, that he knows Mr *John Jones* very well, and has known him for some Years; that he likewise knows Mr *Boteler*, formerly a Candidate at *Wendover*, and has known him several Years; he believes, that Mr *Boteler* stood Candidate for *Wendover* in the Year 1735, but that he was not an Agent for Mr *Boteler*.

Mr *Paxton* being further asked, if he advanced any Money to Mr *Jones*, on the Account of Mr *Boteler*, about the Time of that Election?

He said, 'I will not answer that Question, as it may tend to accuse myself.'

The Committee desired he would consider of it. To which he answered,

'I desire no Time to consider of it.'

Then he was ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Question was read to him, and he was informed by the Chairman, that it was the unanimous Opinion of the Committee, that an Answer to this Question

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 3

Question did not tend to accuse himself, and therefore the Committee did insist on an Answer. To which

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

He said, ' I desire to be excused.'

Then he was again ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Chairman repeated the Question to him, and informed him, that the Committee did insist on an Answer, and would not excuse him. To which

He said, ' I will not answer that Question; and persisting in his Refusal, was ordered to withdraw.

Mr *Paxton* being, on the next Day, taken into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, by Order of the House, was on the Day following brought before the Committee, in order to be examined, and being again asked, if he did advance any Money to Mr *John Jones*, on the Account of Mr *Boteler*, about the Time of the Election at *Wendover*, in the Year 1735?

He said, ' I adhere to my former Answer;' upon which he was ordered to withdraw.

And being again called in, the Chairman by the Direction of the Committee, repeated the same Question to him, and acquainted him, that they expected he should give a positive Answer thereto. Upon which

He said, ' If you will have me give a positive Answer, I do say, I will not answer that Question, as it may tend to accuse myself.'

Your Committee in the next Place, proceeded to examine Mr *Richard Banks*, late Partner with Mr *Paxton*, who said, that he became a Partner in Business with the said Mr *Paxton*, about the Year 1731 or 1732, and continued to act with him as such, till within these four or five Years; that in their private Business he, *Banks*, generally received the Money from the Clients, tho' not always; that in other Business, which he apprehended related to the Public, he gave the Bills to Mr *Paxton*, who allowed them to the Examinant upon Account, as Money; that the Examinant had one Bill of near 3000 *l.* for Prosecutions relating to the Borough of *Orford* in *Suffolk*, in which Mr *John Lawton*, of the *Exchequer*, appeared to be the Client; that Mr *Lawton* paid the Examinant several hundred Pounds for carrying on this Prosecution, and sometimes he had Money for the same Purpose from Mr *Paxton*, for which the Examinant gave him a Receipt; but this was, for the most Part, when Mr *Lawton* was out of the Way, and when they met again, Mr *Paxton* usually gave up such Receipts to the Examinant, who then gave Mr *Lawton* others in Lieu thereof; that twice Mr *Masterman* received Costs from Mr *Moxon* who was concerned on the other Side, about 200 *l.* the first, and about 500 *l.* the second Time, and these Costs being allowed

Examination of
Mr Banks, relating to the Borough of Orford,

4 Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

to the Examinant by Mr *Masterman*, who taxed the Bills, the Examinant gave Mr *Lawton* a Receipt to their Amount, and, the Examinant believes, that he gave no Receipt to any Person, except as aforesaid, for Money advanced in this Affair, but to Mr *Lawton*, from whom most of the Money came; that at first the Examinant did not know whether this Prosecution was a public or private one, but he did at last believe it was answered by Public-Money; that it was understood by all Mr *Lawton's* Friends, as the Examinant believes, that the said Prosecutions were carried on with Public-Money, and that Mr *Lawton* did not bear the Expence thereof; that the Examinant, being at *Bury*, was one Evening in Company with Mr *Prime* and Mr *Lawton*, when Mr *Prime* took Occasion to talk to Mr *Lawton*, as not thinking he had received enough in that Cause, Mr *Lawton* told Mr *Prime* that Mr *Banks* had Orders to fee him handsomely, and asked *Banks*, what he had given him, who answered, five Guineas on each Information; and the Examinant informed the Committee, that there were several Informations; he further added, that Mr *Prime* said to Mr *Lawton*, I do not doubt, but this is an Exchequer, or Treasury-Prosecution (one or other Expression the Examinant was sure of) Mr *Lawton* then said to Mr *Prime*, Why do you ask me that Question? Mr *Prime* replied, I see there is Abundance of Care taken in these Prosecutions, and a Thing carried on by a private Purse would scarce have had two Solicitors; that thereupon angry Words passed between Mr *Lawton* and Mr *Prime*, and that at last Mr *Lawton*, said to him, 'I assure you, there has been no Money disbursed hitherto, but what has been out of my Pocket, but I do not pretend to say, I shall not be reimbursed it again;' that the Examinant has sometimes jocularly asked Mr *Paxton*, if these Prosecutions were not on the Public Account, but that Mr *Paxton* has been on the Reserve, and evaded it by telling the Examinant, 'What is that to you, as long as you are paid?' that there remains Seven hundred and odd Pounds unpaid of the Bill for these Prosecutions: That Mr *Paxton* has likewise charged himself with another Bill of the Examinants as Money in an Accompt * to pass between them in a Prosecution against a News-Writer for defaming Sir *Charles Gonter Nichol*, just after his Death, for having accepted of a red Ribbon; that Counsellor *Chute* recommended Mr *Paxton* to Lady *Nichol*, and Mr *Paxton* gave Orders to the Examinant for this Prosecution; and that a good while afterwards, the Examinant asked Mr *Chute*, who he should make out the Bill to; that Mr *Chute* told the Examinant,

And also as to a Paragraph in the London Evening Post, reflecting on Sir C. G. Nichol.

* The Paragraph in the London Evening-Post was to this Effect, 'In his early Days he acted like a Man of Honour, and a true Friend to his Country, but he changed his Principles for a Red Ribbon, and voted for that pernicious Project, the EXCISE.'

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 5

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

aminant, that he should be no Loser by it, but that he thought it was to cost Lady *Nichol* Nothing; and that he apprehended Mr *Paxton* was to pay it; on which the Examinant went to Mr *Paxton*, who at first made a little Demur about it, but after a while he did agree to allow the Bill to pass in Account, as aforesaid; but the Examinant never did apprehend it to be at Mr *Paxton*'s own Expence; nor doth the Examinant know, that Mr *Paxton* ever charged himself with the Examinant's Bills as Money, before he had actually received them, unless in what the Examinant apprehends was discharged with Public Money; but that Mr *Paxton* has engaged himself under his Hand, to answer for the before-mentioned Bills as Money in his Account with the Examinant.

Mr *Leonard Martin*, who has been Partner with his Father-in-Law, Mr *Paxton*, since *Michaemas* 1737, being examined, said, that he was concerned for the Borough of *Radnor*, but not till they came to apply for a new Charter; that he received his Directions from *Thomas Lewis* Esquire, who told the Examinant, as he believes, that he should be paid by the Government; that he consulted Mr *Paxton*, as well as Mr *Lewis*, and, to the best of his Remembrance, Mr *Lewis* told him, Mr *Paxton* was to pay him; that the Examinant's Bill for soliciting, and passing the new Charter, and for defending three Informations in the Nature of *Quo Warranto*, against three Members of the Corporation, was 1284*l.* of which upwards of 1200*l.* was on Account of passing the Charter, and it was paid him by Mr *Paxton* above a Year ago; that this new Charter was for an Incorporation, the old Corporation being broke up by Prosecutions and Judgments of Ouster; that he apprehends the Petitioners for this Charter were only Persons set up by Mr *Lewis*; for he was the Person that had it at Heart, and who chiefly solicited, and pushed it forwards.

Thomas Lewis Esquire, a Member of this House, being examined, said, that he applied to have the Expences of an intended new Charter for the Borough of *Radnor* born by the Crown; that he had a favourable Answer; and believes Mr *Paxton* has told him, he had Directions to take Care of it; that Mr *Martin* acted as Solicitor in procuring and passing the Charter, and furnished the Money for that Purpose; but the Examinant believes, Mr *Paxton* paid Mr *Martin* again; that the Examinant paid some Fees to the Counsel for attending the Attorney and Solicitor General in this Affair, which amounted to about 40 or 50*l.*; that he delivered a Bill for the same to Mr *Paxton*, who repaid him; that Mr *Paxton* in the same Manner supported the Expence of defending three Informations which were brought during the passing of the Charter

Examination of
Mr *Martin*, relating to a new Charter for the Borough of *Radnor*.

And of *Thomas Lewis*, Esq; Member for the said Borough.

6 Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 15. Geo. II. Charter, against the Bailiff and two Aldermen of *Radnor*;
1742. on which Informations they were ousted from their Offices
as Bayliff and Aldermen.

Account of Mr
Paxton's Beha-
viour as a Public
Accomptant.

Your Committee proceeded, in the next Place, to examine into Mr *Paxton's* Behaviour as a publick Accomptant; and find, that he entred on his Office of *Sollicitor of the Treasury* on the 22d of *December* 1730, from which Time till the Month of *July* 1734, being four Years and upwards, they find that he had passed no Account, nor was he in Readiness to pass the same; for it appears to your Committee, that, on the 2d of *July* 1734, he procured a Warrant from the Treasury for stopping Proceſs till the *Hillary* Term following; but it does not appear to your Committee, that, since that Time, Proceſs has ever been revived against him, or that any other Steps were taken towards his passing any Account, till about twelve Months ago, when his Account, ending the 22d of *December* 1732, was deliver'd into the *Auditor's* Office.

That, besides the Account just mentioned, there is another of Mr *Paxton's* ending the 22d of *December* 1734, now under Examination, which was delivered in to the said Office last *April* was twelve Months; there lies also before the *Auditor* a third Account, ending the 22d of *December* 1736, which was delivered in the 8th Day of *February* last.

And your Committee find, that, on the 8th of *February* last, a State of the Account of Mr *Paxton*, from the 22d of *December* 1730, (the Day of his Appointment to his Office) to the 22d of *December* 1732, amounting to the Sum of 28,235 *l.* 00 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$. and the Discharge whereof amounted to 26,630 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* was submitted to the Lords of the *Treasury* by Mr *Edward Bangham*, Deputy-Auditor, who has observed at the Foot of the Account, that for 3251 *l.* 17 *s.* Part of the Cravings of the said Mr *Paxton*, no Receipts, or Bills of the Particulars, were produced; and that it appears by the Warrant of the *Treasury*, which direct the Accomptant's Allowance of 500 *l.* per Annum, payable out of the *Exchequer*, that the said Allowance is to be, as well in lieu of Termly, and other Fees and Allowances, which he might claim for his own Pains and Service, as for Clerks, Coach-hire, and such other the like Charges, incident to the Execution of the said Office; but that it is alledged by the Accomptant, that the Services before mentioned are foreign to his Business as *Sollicitor of the Treasury*; and that he was directed, by special Orders, to attend the same; the greatest Part of which were before his Appointment, and required his Attendance in the Country; and it appears, that this State of the said Account, though it bears Date on the 8th of *February*, was not in Fact delivered into the

Relating to **ROBERT Earl of ORFORD.** 7

the *Treasury* till the 9th of *February* last, when your Committee, to their great Surprise, find, that, notwithstanding these Observations laid before the Commissioners of the *Treasury* by the *Deputy Auditor* of the *Imprest*, they did, the very same Morning, issue their Warrant to one of the *Auditors* of the *Imprest*, to authorize the passing and allowing of the said Account.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

But though, by this Means, the *Treasury* did grant to Mr *Paxton* all the Favour in their Power, his Accounts are not yet passed; for they must be first declared, and the Declaration is the judicial Act of the *Chancellor of the Exchequer*; in which he can revise, and, if he sees Cause, disallow them or any part of them, notwithstanding the Warrant of the *Treasury*, and the Allowance of the *Auditor*, founded thereon.

Your Committee finding, that Mr *Paxton* had actually passed no Account, during the whole Time of his being *Solicitor to the Treasury*, proceeded to enquire, whether any large Sums of publick Money had been intrusted to him, and find, that he stands Insuper 5,382 *l.* 18 *s.* 1 *d.* for Money paid over to him by Mr *Cratcherode*, when the said Mr *Paxton* was his Assistant; they also find, that he stands charged upon the *Imprest* Rolls with a Sum of 89,314 *l.* 19 *s.* 2 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. upon Account; so that the whole Sum of publick Money, with which he stands charged, is no less than 94,697 *l.* 17 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$.

It also appears to your Committee, that, besides the said Sums, they have already discovered, that Mr *Thomas Lowther*, one of the Messengers of the *Treasury*, has paid to the said Mr *Paxton* one Sum of 1500 *l.* by virtue of a Minute of the *Treasury*; for which Sum neither the said *Lowther*, nor the said *Paxton*, are publick Accomptants.

But your Committee are utterly unable to discover, by what Arts and Methods Mr *Paxton* could evade passing any Account during the Time of his being *Solicitor of the Treasury*, which is upwards of eleven Years; especially as it appears to your Committee, that it was the Duty of the said *Treasury*, to oblige him to prosecute all such Accomptants, as should appear to be in Arrear by the Certificates of the *Auditors* of the *Imprests*; for your Committee find, from a Report of the said *Auditors*, (which is hereunto annexed by way of *Appendix*) that, by a Warrant of the *Treasury* dated the 16th of *August* 1711, and signed *Oxford*, the *Solicitor of the Treasury* is directed to take Care, that the Process be regularly issued against such *imprest* Accomptants as shall appear to be in Arrear, by the Certificates of the *Auditors* of the *Imprests*, to the *Queen's Remembrancer*; as also against all Persons standing Insuper upon an *Imprest*, or

8 Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE.

An. 15. Geo. II. or other Accounts; which Warrant was confirmed in his late Majesty's Reign, as follows, *viz.*

1742.

Whitehall, Treasury-Chambers, 18 November, 1717.

Present

Lord Stanhope, Lord Torrington,
Mr John + Wallop, Mr Baillie.

‘ Renew the Order to the *Sollicitor of the Treasury* to
‘ prosecute Supers upon Accomptants.’

And your Committee are at a Loss to determine, what Motives could induce the Commissioners of the *Treasury*, to continue the said Mr Paxton so many Years in the Office of *Sollicitor of the Treasury*, and to direct, that such large Sums of publick Money should, from time to time, be lodged in his Hands; when they must have been informed, by the Half-yearly Certificates, delivered in to them by the *Auditors* of the Imprests, that he had past no Accounts from the Time of his first Appointment to be *Sollicitor of the Treasury*, which was on the 22d of December 1730.

Further Examination of Mr Paxton.

Your Committee, the better to be enabled to discover, by what Services the said Mr Paxton could deserve such singular and extraordinary Indulgence, did, on Friday last, direct the Keeper of *Newgate* to bring him before them; and, upon his being called in, the former Question was again repeated to him, *viz.*

‘ Did you advance any Money to Mr John Jones, on the Account of Mr Boteler, about the Time of the Election at *Wendover* in 1735?’

Upon which he desired, that his former Answer to the said Question might be read.

Which being read accordingly;

He repeated the very same Words, *viz.* ‘ I will not answer that Question, as it may tend to accuse myself.’

Whereupon he was asked, Whether the Apprehension that it might tend to accuse himself, was his only Reason for not answering?

He said, ‘ That is my principal Reason.’

Whereupon he was ordered to withdraw.

And Gwyn Vaughan Esq;

Gwyn Vaughan Esquire †, being examined, he was asked, If he knew of any Sum, or Sums of Money, paid out of the Salary, or Profits, of any Place, or Office under the Government? To which he answered, ‘ I do not know of any, at this Time.’

Being then farther asked, If he knew of any paid within these ten Years?

He desired to know, Whether he was to include himself, or only others?

† Now Lord Viscount Lymington. ‡ A Commissioner of the Customs.

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 9

He was then informed, that the Question was general, An. 15. Geo. II.
and included all Persons. 1742.

Then he said, that he was apprehensive, that an Answer to that Question might in part affect himself; and therefore desired to be excused answering.

Whereupon he was ordered to withdraw.

And upon his being called in again;

He was acquainted by the Chairman, that the Committee had considered of his Objection to the Question put to him, and would not press it farther at that Time.

Your Committee are now proceeding, with all possible Dispatch, in prosecuting the Enquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of Orford, during the last ten Years of his being first Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer; but they cannot conclude this Report, without representing to the House, the great Difficulty they labour under, from this obstinate and contemptuous Behaviour of Mr Paxton, who appears to have been directly or indirectly concerned in most of the Transactions, into which they have hitherto enquired; and when they consider the very large Sums, which have been issued to him, during the Time of his being Solicitor to the Treasury, and that no effectual Methods were ever taken to oblige him to account for any Part thereof, (a Circumstance, which could not arise from meer Negligence or Inattention) when they consider that the strong and well-grounded Remarks made on his Accounts by the Deputy-Auditor of the Imprests, were instantly followed by a Warrant of the Treasury, directing the Auditor to allow his Accounts; when they consider, what strong Suspicions must arise from the foregoing Evidence, that some Part, at least, of the Money in his Hands, may have been employed in Practices dangerous to the Liberties of this Nation, and destructive of the Independency of Parliaments; they cannot help observing, that this Perseverance in refusing to answer, seems to take its Rise from a premeditated Scheme, to obstruct and frustrate their Enquiry; and, should it pass unregarded, may probably communicate itself to other Persons, whom they shall have occasion to call before them; and, by that means, render it impossible to lay a clear State of Affairs before the House.

Your Committee therefore thought themselves obliged in Duty to Report these Matters specially to the House, and do humbly submit the same to their Consideration.

The Observations of the Committee on Paxton's obstinate and contemptuous Behaviour.

APPENDIX

TO THE

Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

Mr Lowndes's
Letter to the
Auditors of the
Imprest.

Gentlemen,

MY Lord Treasurer is pleased to order, that you, together with Mr *Borret* the Solicitor for the Affairs of the Treasury, do attend Mr *Attorney*, and *Solicitor General*, and advise with them of the most effectual Methods for making out the Procefs of the Exchequer from Time to Time, against Accomptants in Default, and for Execution of the same.

Treasury Chambers,
4 June, 1711.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your most humble Servant,
WILLIAM LOWNDES.

Auditors Imprest. { *To the Right Honourable Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain.*

Their Representation to the Earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer.

IN Obedience to your Lordships Order of the 4th of June, we have attended Mr *Attorney* and *Solicitor General*, and advised with them of the most effectual Method for making out the Procefs of the *Exchequer*, against Accomptants in Default, and for the due Execution of the same; and by whose Approbation do humbly propose,

That the Solicitor of the Treasury be directed to take care that the Procefs be regularly issued, against such Imprest Accomptants, as shall appear to be in Arrear, by the Certificates of the Auditors of the Imprests, to the Queen's Remembrancer; as also against all Persons standing Insuper, upon any Imprest, or other Accounts.

That the like Directions be given with Respect to the Receivers of the Land-Tax, who are behind with their Accounts; as also to the Solicitors of the Customs, Excise, Post-Office, Salt and Stamp Duties, with respect to the Persons standing insuper upon the Accounts of the Revenues; and that the Effect of such Procefs may appear, it is humbly proposed, that the same may be represented, by each Solicitor, in the Beginning of every Term to your Lordship, in the following Method; and that a Copy thereof, be each Term transmitted to the Auditors of the Imprests, and the Auditor of the Land-Revenue.

And whereas many of the Accomptants have no visible Estate in Land, and it has been found by long Experience

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APPENDIX to the REPORT, &c. II

that the issuing *Distringas ad Computandum*, have had very little Effect; it is therefore proposed, That in all Cases where a *Distringas* has once been issued without Effect, the several Solicitors should be directed to take out a *Capias ad Computandum* the next Term, to secure the Person of the Accomptant, till he gives Security for his rendering a due Accompt. An. 15. Geo. II. 1742.

E. Harley,
A. Mainwairing,

I approve of the Method proposed
Edward Northey,
July 20, 1711.

I likewise approve of this Method,
Robert Raymond,
July 30, 1711.

Accomptants appearing to be in Arrear by the Certificates of the Auditors of the Imprest.	Process issued against, and executed upon such Accomptants.	Reason why Process has not been executed.	Accompts brought into the Auditors since the issuing of Process.

Persons standing in super upon the Accompts of the Army, &c. for which no Accompt has been rendered.	Process issued against, and executed upon such Accomptants.	Reason why Process is not executed.	Insuper Accompts brought in since the last Certificate.

1742.

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After

12 APPENDIX to the REPORT, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II.
1742.

His Lordship's
Warrant to the
Sollicitor of the
Treasury, upon
that Occasion.

After my hearty Commendations, having considered the Representation, of which the within written is a true Copy, and approving thereof; these are to authorize and direct you to take Care, that all Matters and Things therein and thereby prescribed, for the Sollicitor of the Treasury to do, be carefully and duly done and performed by you; and that your Proceedings thereupon be, from Time to Time, represented in the Manner, and according to the Method thereby proposed; and for so doing this shall be your Warrant.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers,
16th August, 1711.

OXFORD.

To my very loving Friend William Borret,
Esquire, Sollicitor for the Affairs of the
Treasury.

Confirmation
thereof by the
Lords of the
Treasury, Anno
1717.

Which Warrant was confirmed in his late Majesty's Reign,
as follows, viz.

Whitehall, Treasury Chambers, 18 November 1717.
Present

Lord Stanhope, Lord Torrington,
Mr John Wallop, Mr Baillie.

Supers upon Accomptants, } Renew the Order to the Solli-
about Prosecutions, } citor of the Treasury to prose-
cute Supers upon Accomptants.

It is submitted, whether the Certificates from the Sollici-
tors, should not be every issuable Term, instead of every
Term.

The foregoing are true Copies from the Entries in the
Books in the Office of the Auditors of the Imprests.

Edw. Bangham, } Deputy Auditors.
Ja. Thomas, }

A

A Farther REPORT from the COMMITTEE of SECRECY, appointed to inquire into the Conduct of ROBERT Earl of ORFORD, during the last Ten Years of his being First Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer.

YOUR Committee having, in their former Report, An. 16. Geo. II. laid before the House the Obstructions they met with in the Courle of their Inquiry, and finding that the Lords had refused to concur in the Means proposed by this House to remove them, by rejecting the Bill for indemnifying such Persons as shall, upon Examination, make Discoveries touching the Disposition of publick Money, or concerning the Disposition of Offices, or any Payments or Agreements in respect thereof, or concerning other Matters relating to the Conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, have not thought it adviseable to enter upon any new Matter relating to the Transactions of the Earl of Orford. But as previous to the rejecting of the said Bill by the other House, they had several Matters before them of the highest Consequence and Importance to the Success of the War with Spain, and to the domestick OEconomy and good Order of the Kingdom, to the Payment of the Troops Abroad, to the Freedom of Elections at Home, and to the Quantity and Method of issuing publick Money for the secret Services of the State, in all which the said Earl appears to have had the principal, if not the sole Direction; your Committee thought it their absolute Duty to lay these Matters before the House, and were preparing to do it with as much Clearness and Perspicuity, as the many notorious Difficulties and Discouragements this Inquiry has labour'd under would permit. But in the Execution of this Design, they were again interrupted by a new and unforeseen Obstruction to one of the most material Points in Question, which therefore, together with the other Matters abovementioned, they find themselves under a Necessity of laying before the House.

As the vigorous and successful Prosecution of the War in America seems to have been the great Object of the Interests and Inclination of the People of Great Britain; and as an Expedition to a Climate so distant and dangerous, must unavoidably be attended with an immense Expence both of Men and Money to the Nation, your Committee therefore, considering how essentially it must affect the Glory of his

Ma-

14 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. Majesty's Arms, and the Justice due to this Nation, that those of their Countrymen, who chearfully undertook a Service, where the Enemy was the least Danger they were exposed to, should be justly and fully paid the great Sums raised to support them, have thought it their Duty to inquire into the Contract made for supplying his Majesty's Forces going upon the Expedition with Lord Cathcart, and to examine whether it had been established on the most just and advantageous Foot, for Troops so peculiarly deserving the Care and Attention of the Publick. And in proceeding therein,

Account of the Contract for supplying Money for paying the Forces sent to the West-Indies.

Your Committee find, that the Money, or rather the Currency of *Jamaica*, is of a less Value than *Sterling* Money; and, by the Examination of Merchants, it appears, that for some Years before the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, the Rate of Exchange between *Jamaica* and *England* was from 135 to 140, but generally at 140, very few Bills having been drawn under that Rate; that is, Persons at *Jamaica* generally paid 140 *l.* of the Currency of that Country, for a Bill which intitled them, or their Agents, to 100 *l. Sterl.* in *England*.

Mess. Burrell's and Bristow's Proposal for that Purpose.

Your Committee find, that on the 9th of *July* 1740, the following Proposal was made to the Treasury for furnishing Money at *Jamaica* for the Expedition under Lord Cathcart, by *Peter Burrell* and *John Bristow*, Esqrs. Members of this House.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the Proposal of *Peter Burrell* and *John Bristow*.

‘ That they are ready to furnish at *Jamaica* his Majesty's
 ‘ Forces going upon the intended Expedition with Lord
 ‘ Cathcart, with any Sums of Money, and at the Times
 ‘ which the Service shall require, at the Rate of 100 *l. Sterl.*
 ‘ for every 120 *l.* paid at *Jamaica* in the Currency of that
 ‘ Island; that the Sum of 27,000 *l.* be paid to them be-
 ‘ fore the Departure of the Troops, they furnishing their
 ‘ Bills at Sight on *Jamaica* for the Amount thereof, at the
 ‘ abovementioned Rate of 100 *l. Sterl.* for 120 *l. Jamaica*
 ‘ Currency. That the subsequent Payments be made upon
 ‘ their producing the Deputy-Paymaster's Bills or Receipts,
 ‘ who shall be directed to give the same for the Sums they
 ‘ shall receive from Time to Time.

London, *July* 9,
 1740.

PETER BURRELL.
 JOHN BRISTOW.

This Proposal was the same Day agreed to by the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Earl of *Orford* being then present at the Board, which appears the more extraordinary to

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 15

to your Committee, because the Commissioners of the Treasury (had they thought fit to inquire) must have found, that for several Months preceding the Date of this Proposal, all the Bills drawn from *Jamaica* for the Service of his Majesty's Navy and Ordnance, were drawn at the Rate of 140 *l.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* as appears by the Appendix (No. 1.)

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Your Committee also observe, that at the Time of the Delivery of this Proposal, it could be no Secret to Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Brislow* that the Exchange from *Jamaica* was 140 *l.* for your Committee find in the Minutes of a Court of Directors of the *South-Sea* Company, when Mr *Burrell* Sub-Governor, and Mr *Brislow* Deputy-Governor, were present, the following Order :

Friday, March 16, 1738 9.

' Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of Correspondence to consider, and report their Opinion concerning the Exchange from *Jamaica*, which is now at 140 *l.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* and yet the Company are not credited for the Dollars, Pistoles, and Bar-Gold, more than when the Exchange was at 135 *per Cent.*'

The Circumstances which preceded and occasioned this extraordinary Transaction, as far as your Committee have been able to trace them, are of a very singular Nature ; for it appears by the Examination of Captain *Alexander Wilson*, who was Agent to Lord *Cathcart*, when he was preparing for the Expedition to the *West-Indies*, which is annexed in the Appendix, (No. 2.) That in *May* or *June* preceding this Contract, the Paymaster-General communicated to Lord *Cathcart* a Method of paying the Troops, which his Lordship approved of ; this was by sending a Sum of Money by the Deputy-Paymaster, who was to attend the Expedition, and empowering him to draw what Bills should be necessary, and directing the Troops to be paid at *Jamaica*, at such a Rate of Exchange, as should appear to Lord *Cathcart* and the superior Officers to be most advantageous to the Troops ; and it being intimated some Time after to Lord *Cathcart*, that a Contract for paying the Troops, at 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* was then depending before the Treasury, he immediately procured a Meeting with Mr *Hanbury Williams*, Paymaster of the Marines, Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Brislow*, with a View, if possible, to get the Troops paid in a more advantageous Manner, for he did not apprehend the Contract was at that Time passed. At this Meeting he mentioned the Inconveniencies which might arise from the paying the Men at a Rate so much lower than the known Exchange, and the Danger there was from what he had observed Abroad, of its producing Dis-

Examination of
Capt. Wilson
relating thereto.

16 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

contents and Mutiny ; and after several Arguments raised on both Sides, their Meeting ended on Mr *Burrell's* or Mr *Brisfow's* declaring, that they had made an Agreement with the Treasury already, on the Terms of 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Money for 100 *l.* *Sterl.* and that they could not do it for less Profit.

And of Mess.
Burrell and *Brisfow*.

From the Examinations of Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Brisfow*, {which are annexed in the Appendix (No. 3.) it appears, that they applied for this Contract to the Earl of *Orford*, and to no other Person ; for when it was publickly known that the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, Mr *Burrell* acquainted the said Earl, that he had Correspondence in *Jamaica*, on the *South-Sea* Company's Account, who were Men of great Credit, and had the greatest Command of Money of any in the Place, and he thought, if Money was wanted there, he could supply the Government as well as any Body ; and that afterwards, considering the great Importance of the Affair, he thought it too much Hazard for himself alone, and mentioned it to Mr *Brisfow*, and they together settled the Terms of their Proposal ; and about the Month of *June*, 1740, the Parliament being then prorogued, they waited on the Earl of *Orford*, and proposed to him the same Terms, which were afterwards agreed to by the Treasury ; the said Earl asked them if these were the lowest Terms, and hoped they would not ask more than was reasonable, or what any Body else should complain of ; that he would not take it on himself, but desired them to make their Proposals to the Treasury, which seems to your Committee to have been entirely Matter of Form ; for it appears that when this Proposal was accordingly delivered to the Treasury, the Gentlemen cannot recollect to whom it was delivered, nor when, nor by whom they were informed of its being accepted ; nay one of the Gentlemen even does not remember, whether they themselves went with the Proposal when it was presented.

Also of Charles
Hanbury Williams, Esq ;

And your Committee having also examined *Charles Hanbury Williams*, Esq ; a Member of this House, touching the Conversation that passed between Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Brisfow*, and Lord *Cathcart*, at Mr *Williams's* Office, have also added his Examination to the others in the Appendix (No. 3.) to which they beg Leave to refer.

And of James
Knight, Esq ;

Your Committee cannot find that any Notice or Intimation was given to any Person, except what passed between the Earl of *Orford* and the Contractors, as is before mentioned, of the Intention of the Treasury to make this Contract ; for it appears by the Examination of *James Knight*, Esq ; which is annexed in the Appendix (No. 4.) that when he heard the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, and was told the Treasury would contract with private Persons for paying them, he did himself intend to make an Offer of furnishing the

he Money, but in very few Days after, he heard the Treasury had agreed with Mr Burrell and Mr Bristow, at the Rate of 120 *l.* and he did not believe the Treasury ever gave any Notice of their Intentions to make any such Contract. That what he expected was not a formal publick Notice, but that it should have been communicated to Merchants, as he has heard has been practised in Queen Anne's Wars, and had this been done, he believes several besides himself would have proposed, and that he himself would have furnished the Money at 130 *l. per Cent.* for 100 *l. Sterl.* and should have thought it a good Bargain, provided he could have had the same Money advanced to him which he has heard was advanced to Mr Burrell and Mr Bristow; that after the first Difficulty, which would be on the Arrival of the Troops, was over, he did not doubt but he could have contracted with the People of the Island to furnish the Money at the Rate of 137½, and if the whole Money was advanced to him here beforehand, and he was only to send it over and furnish it at *Jamaica* at the Rate of 130 *l. per Cent.* he thinks he should make 12, or 15 *per Cent. per Annum* of the Sums he furnished, by returning the same Money twice a Year.

This led your Committee into a Computation of the Profits which might have been made on this Contract, which they conceive to stand thus:

If the Value of 100 *l. Sterl.* be sent to *Jamaica* in Moidores, it appears they will produce 143 *l. 10 s. Jamaica* Currency; but by this Contract, only 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency was to be paid at *Jamaica* for every 100 *l. Sterl.* received here: To this 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, all the necessary Charges must be added, which your Committee conceive to be 1 *l. per Cent.* Commission, 2½ *per Cent.* Insurance, 1 *l. per Cent.* Freight, and ¼ *per Cent.* for the Charges of Shipping; in all, 4 *l. 15 s. per Cent.* which on 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, is 5 *l. 14 s.* of the same Currency, in all 125 *l. 14 s. Jamaica* Currency. So that the Profit to be made on sending Moidores, was the Difference between 125 *l. 14 s.* and 143 *l. 10 s.* which is 17 *l. 16 s. Jamaica* Currency, or 12 *l. 8 s. 1 d. Sterl.* out of every 100 *l. Sterl.* which is 14 *l. 3 s. 2 d. ¾. per Cent. Sterl.* And your Committee observe, that if half of the Sum sent had been in Six and Thirty-Shilling Pieces, and only half in Moidores, 100 *l. Sterl.* so sent would have produced 141 *l. Jamaica* Currency, which is only 2 *l. 10 s. Jamaica* Currency less than Moidores alone would have produced.

And your Committee cannot help observing, that if the Treasury had thought fit to send in Moidores to *Jamaica*, on the Account of the Publick, the same Sums of Money

18 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II. which they actually advanced to the Contractors, then every 100 *l. Sterl.* so sent would have produced 143 *l. 10 s.*

1742.

Jamaica Currency, except what may be allowed for Insurance, which your Committee is informed amounts to about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* on Money sent by Ships of War. Nor could frequent Opportunities have been wanting of sending, on Board his Majesty's Ships, such farther Supplies of Money as might at any Time have been necessary for that Service. But if it had been thought more adviseable to have supplied Part of this Expence by Draughts from thence, there can be no Doubt but that the Deputy-Paymaster being furnished with a proper Proportion of Specie from hence, would have been able to keep up the Exchange at 140 *l.* and in that Case no Charge would have attended that Part so supplied.

It further appears, that in the Course of this Affair, and before the Departure of Lord *Catbcart*, still greater Indulgences were granted to the Contractors; for by their first Proposal the Sum of 27,000 *l.* only was to be advanced them by the Treasury before the Departure of the Troops, but the subsequent Payments were not to be made to them till they produced the Deputy-Paymaster's Bills or Receipts: And yet on the 30th of *September* following, which was before the Departure of the Troops, 12,000 *l.* was further advanced to them by the Paymaster-General, for their Bill of that Date; and on the 1st of *October* 9500 *l.* more was advanced to them by the Paymaster of the Marines, for their Bill of the 30th of *September*; and on the 23d of *December* a Sum of 12000 *l.* was advanced by the Paymaster-General, for their Bill of that Day's Date; and on the 6th of *January*, a farther Sum of 9000 *l.* was advanced by the Paymaster of the Marines for their Bill of the 31st of *December*. All in Consequence of Minutes of the Treasury, as in the Appendix, No. 5.

Here your Committee cannot help observing that the paying these Sums amounting to 42,500 *l.* over and above the 27,000 *l.* originally advanced before there had been any Disbursements on the Part of the Contractors, altered the Nature of the Contract, and render'd it much more beneficial than as it was originally proposed by the Contractors themselves.

Mr *Burrel* said, he did offer the Half of his Share to his Brother, and a Gentleman engaged in Business with them, but they thought it too great a Risque for them to run: He likewise mentioned it to another Gentleman (whom he did not name) who would not accept of it, that these Refusals were very early before any Thing was done in it, more than passing the Contract, and that he mentioned them, to shew that he thought he had no great Bargain of it. And from the

the Examination of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Bristow*, it farther appears, that some Time after the making of the Contract, they offered Mr *Monson*, a Member of this House, one fourth Part of it, as far as it related to the Payment of the Troops in the Office where he is Deputy, which he accepted of, and has shared accordingly the Profits of this Contract from the Beginning; and some Time after the Earl of *Orford* mentioned to Mr *Burrel*, that Mr *Hanbury Williams* had desired him to speak to him, Mr *Burrel*, that one of Mr *Williams*'s Friends might have a Share in the Remittances, but he added, You are to do just as you please, I don't ask you to let any Body in, for the Contract is yours; and soon afterwards Mr *Hanbury Williams* spoke to the Contractors, and told them, that he had a Relation, one Mr *Hanbury*, a *West-India* Merchant, to whom he had Obligations; and as he had Money and Effects at *Jamaica*, he desired he might be concerned one fourth Part with them for the future, which he has accordingly been, in what relates to the Payment of the Marines in Mr *Hanbury Williams*'s Office.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

And it appears to your Committee, that neither the one nor the other of those Gentlemen advanced any Money, or were concerned in the Management, but were to be Sharers of the Profit or Loss only.

And it farther appears to your Committee, that on the Arrival of the Troops at *Jamaica*, and the tendering the Money to them at 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency, great Discontents were expressed by the Officers, and some actually refused to receive it, and with Time the Discontent increased, and nothing was talk'd of so much among the Officers of the Army, as the Hardship of being paid at 120 *l.* when the Exchange was at 140 *l.* every one of them became a Calculator, and complain'd he lost 16 *l.* 6 *s.* on every 100 *l.* he being paid his 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Money, with 62 Moidores, which is no more than 83 *l.* 14 *s.* *Sterl.* all which appears by the Letters of *Colebroke* and General *Wentworth*, annexed in the Appendix, No. 6. so truly were the Fears of Lord *Catcart* verif'y'd.

And this Uneasiness among the Troops was greatly increased by the peremptory Refusal of the Agents of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Bristow*, to furnish the Deputy-Paymaster at *Jamaica* with any Money upon their Credit, arising, as Mr *Colebroke* says in his Letter of the 20th of *February*, 1740, Mark'd (B) in the Appendix, (No. 6.) from their Views of appropriating the Profit to themselves, and being dazzled with the Prospect of getting 15 or 20 *per Cent.* instead of 2 *per Cent.* their Commission. Upon this the Deputy-Paymaster took up Money from other Persons, and gave them

20 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

AN. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

them Bills on the Paymaster-General; and tho' there were, as appears by the Extracts of Letters of the Deputy-Paymaster, of the 20th of *February*, and the 23d of *March*, 1740-1, which are mark'd (B and D) in the Appendix, (No. 6.) Combinations to distress him, yet the first Bills he thus drew were at the Rate of 130 *l.* and he, by Degrees, raised the Exchange, so that at last he drew at 140 *l.* whilst the Troops still continued to be paid at 120 *l.*

And it further appears to your Committee, that on the 5th of *June*, 1741, there is entered in the Treasury-Books the following Minute :

' Mr *Bristow*, one of the Remitters for the *West-Indies*, is called in, and acquaints my Lords, that he and Mr *Burrel* have discharged such of their Factors and Agents at *Jamaica*, as misbehaved themselves in their Conduct about supplying the Money for the publick Service there ; and that as General *Wentworth* has applied for the Troops to be paid at the Rate of 125 *per Cent.* he will take Care that the Remittance shall be made accordingly.'

And on the 10th of *July* following, the Commissioners of the Treasury agree and order, ' That Messrs, *Burrell* and *Bristow* pay the Troops in *America* at the Rate of 125 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency for 100 *l. Sterl.* from the 24th of *April* preceding.'

Now your Committee observe, on this new Contract, first proposed on the 5th of *June*, 1741, and finally regulated on the 10th of *July* following, that Mr *Colebrooke*, the Deputy-Paymaster at *Jamaica*, did on the 24th of *Feb.* preceding, being 19 Weeks before the settling of the said Contract, draw Bills on the Paymaster-General to the Amount of 1250 *l.* all at the Rate of 130 *l.* and did in his Letter of the 23d of *March* before mentioned, acquaint the Paymaster-General that he had happily overcome all Opposition, and could assure him on good Grounds, that whatever Money might be necessary to be raised for the Service, would be found at *Jamaica*, for Bills on the Paymaster-General for 130 *l.* and upwards, and this last Letter is dated above ten Weeks before the Proposal of Mr *Burrel* and Mr *Bristow*, to amend their Contract, and above fifteen Weeks before the final Acceptation of that Proposal by the Treasury ; and it is worthy of Observation that in the Months of *January*, *February*, *March*, *April* and *May*, preceding the *July* in which this second Contract at 125 *l.* was established by the Treasury, there were drawn from *Jamaica*, no less than 39 Bills for the Service of his Majesty's Navy, most of them at the Rate of 135 *l.* and the Remainder at the Rate of 140 *l.*

And it appears to your Committee, that several Bills amounting to the Sum of 11392 *l.* 17 *s.* were drawn on the

Paymaster

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD.



Paymaster of the Marines by his Deputy, between the 18th of Feb. 1740, and the 1st of August, 1741, Part of which Bills amounting to 5000 *l.* were drawn in the Month of February, preceding the new Contract; that these Bills were paid by Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Bristow*, and that Money was issued to them for that Purpose by the Paymaster of the Marines. But, your Committee have not been able to discover at what Rate of Exchange they were drawn, nor does it appear whether Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Bristow* have been allowed to take the Profit arising from the Difference between 120 *l.* the Rate of the Contract, and the Rate of Exchange the Bills were drawn at.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

And it further appears to your Committee, that the Bills drawn by the Deputy-Paymaster from *Jamaica*, on the Paymaster-General, when the Agents of Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Bristow* refused to supply him, amounting to the Sum of 29215 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* and which were drawn in the Months of February and March, 1740, and in April, May, June, July and August, 1741, at 130 *l.* 135 *l.* 137 $\frac{1}{2}$ *l.* and at last at 140 *l.* were sent for Payment to Mr *Burrell* and Mr *Bristow*, and also that Money was issued from the Pay-Office to them to discharge the said Bills; altho' it does not appear to your Committee what Pretence of Right the Contractors could have to the Profit arising from any of these Bills, after the Forfeiture of their Bargain by the Refusal of their Agents to furnish the Deputy-Paymasters at *Jamaica*.

But tho' these Bills were thus paid by Mess. *Burrell* and *Bristow*, yet your Committee find that on the 15th of December last, the Paymaster-General made a Representation of this Matter to the Treasury, as in the Appendix (No. 7.) praying a Direction of the Commissioners whether the Profit or Difference arising by the Exchange on the said Bills should be accounted for, and paid to the Agents of the said Contractors, or reserved in the Hands of his Deputy for the Use and Benefit of the Public: And your Committee find the following Minute in the Books of the Treasury:

Whitehall, Treasury-Chamber, 29th Dec. 1741.

'Read also to my Lords a Memorial from the same Paymaster, dated the 15th Inst. relating to the Remittance of Pay for the Troops in *America*, with respect to the *Jamaica* Currency, and ordered a Copy thereof to be sent to the Remitters for their Answer thereto.'

To which the Remitters gave in their Answer, annexed in the Appendix (No. 8.) in which it is remarkable, that in stating the several Charges upon sending over Specie to *Jamaica*, they make one Charge in the following Words; Three per Cent. Commission we pay in *Jamaica*: Whereas it appears by their Examinations, that they paid One per Cent.

42 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Geo. II. *Cent.* only to their Agent, Mr Colebrooks, for the Money
1742. sent out with Lord Catbcart.

This Answer was received on the 5th of Feb. last, and Nothing appears to have been done upon it while the Earl of Orford continued in the Treasury.

Your Committee have been obliged to dwell the longer upon this Contract, because the whole Behaviour of the Earl of Orford, who had the sole Direction of it, seems so extraordinary, that they fear this Part of their Report would want Credit, if they had not descended into the most minute Particulars of it.

Here they find a Contract entered into upon the good Faith of the Proposers only, with an Ignorance of the Value of the Exchange, whether real or affected does not appear to your Committee; and that Defect so far from being endeavoured to be supplied, by admitting Proposals or Information from any other Merchants, that it seemed a determined Point to shut it out, even when it seemed to obtrude itself, upon him, from the very Offices subject to his Inspection.

But as if this Injury to the Troops and Injustice to the Nation, had been too little, he rendered this Contract more advantageous to the Contractors than their most sanguine Expectation originally suggested to them.

For tho' by the Terms of the Contract the Public was to advance 27000*l.* only, in Money, yet we find the further Sum of 42000*l.* advanced to them before the Arrival of the Troops in *America*.

And your Committee observe, that the Shares of the Profits of this Contract were dealt out to the Deputy of the Pay-Office, and to a Friend of the Paymaster of the Marines, at the Request of the said Paymaster, without any Advance of Money or Trouble on their Part, and it is very remarkable that these Shares were confined to the Sums issued from the respective Offices.

And here your Committee must observe, from the whole Course of this Proceeding, that neither the Interest of the Soldier, or the Public, seemed to have been the Object of the Earl of Orford's Attention.

The Cries of the injured Soldiers, who had lost one Day's Pay in seven, where Provisions of all Kinds bear an excessive Price, made so little Impression, that the only Relief they obtained was an Advance of their Pay upon the Contract from 120*l.* to 125*l.* tho' there had been drawn upon the Navy-Office, during the six Months preceding, several Bills, none at less than 135*l.* and some at 140*l.* and tho the Deputy to the Paymaster-General likewise, 19 Weeks before, had drawn upon the Office at 130*l.* and 15 Weeks before had written to the Paymaster-General, that he might depend upon

upon being furnished with whatever Sums should be wanted at 130 *l.* and upwards, nor could there be any Reason to fear a Disappointment, in relying upon those Assurances of the Deputy-Paymaster, because to his Care wholly it was owing, that they were not disappointed upon the Refusal of the Contractors Agents to furnish him with Money.

Your Committee cannot but observe that the Treasury, in establishing this new Contract, where the Contractors proposed the Advance from 120 *l.* to 125 *l.* to commence from the 5th of *June*, 1741. order it with a Retrospect, and to commence from the 24th of *April* preceding, and are greatly at a Loss to find if the first Contract was upon just and equal Terms, why the Contractors submitted to any Advance at all; and if it was not upon equal Terms, why the Treasury did not extend their Retrospect, and order it to be rectified from the Commencement.

And so little was the Public to avail itself of this Injustice to the Soldier, that when the Contractors could furnish no Money at all, from their Agents refusing to answer their Credit, and consequently the Contract was dissolved, and the Army must have starved, if the Deputy-Paymaster, who is the Officer of the Public, had not procured Money by Draughts upon the Pay-Office, at 130, 135, up to 140 *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* Sterling; yet those very Bills were suffered to be paid by the Contractors, and public Money issued to them to pay the same, but by whose Orders does not appear to your Committee; as if the Profits arising from the advanced Prices of those Bills, drawn by a public Officer upon the Public, had belonged to the Contractors.

And your Committee observe, that when on the 15th of *December* last, the Paymaster prayed Directions from the Treasury, whether the Profits on those Bills should be paid to the Contractors, or reserved for the Benefit of the Public, even that could not be obtained, while the Earl of *Orford* remained in the Treasury.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you, the great Part which the Earl of *Orford* appears to have had in several Transactions which nearly concern the Freedom of Elections, and the Independency of Parliament, and they have the greatest Reason to believe, that had the Persons employed in these dark Transactions been properly indemnified, many Discoveries would have been made of the utmost Importance.

Your Committee having in their former Report laid before you the Share which Mr *Paxton* and Mr *Lawton* had in carrying on Prosecutions relating to the Borough of *Orford*, and particularly that *Lawton* had declared, that he did not intend to say he should not be re-imburfed his Expences on that

The Committee's Remarks on the Earl of *Orford*'s Transactions relating to Elections.

24 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Geo. II. 1742. *that Head, think fit now to acquaint you, that Mr Abraham Farley being examined, said, that about January, 1736, Mr Lawton told him there was an Order made out at the Treasury, in his (Farley's) Name, for 1200 l. and bid him go and receive it, which he did, and paid it over immediately to the said Lawton.*

Examination of
Mr Farley relating to the Borough of Orford;

And of
Mr Banks :

And Mr Richard Banks, upon his Examination, said, that John Lawton, Esq; of the Exchequer, appeared to be his Client in the Prosecutions relating to Orford, tho' he did not know what Relation Mr Lawton had to the Borough of Orford, but believed, that what Mr Lawton did was to oblige Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he apprehended Lawton was under Obligations ; that the whole Bill of near 3000 l. which the Prosecutions amounted to, was never satisfied ; that Mr Lawton, Paxton, and he (Banks) met about it, and after a good deal of Time allowed to examine the Bill, they on the 15th of December, 1736, came to a stated Account, when there was a Balance of 1200 and odd Pounds in his (Banks's) Favour, which Mr Lawton agreed he would pay in a Fortnight's Time, and he did soon after pay 500 l. to Paxton, who paid Banks 100 l. thereof, and promised soon to pay more, the remaining 700 and odd Pounds have not been yet paid ; that he (Banks) did about two Years ago file a Bill against Paxton in Chancery, to bring him to an Account ; that in this Bill Mr Lawton was made a Defendant, and that Lawton in his Answer did swear, that he detained the 700 l. in his Hands, to reimburse himself what was due to him from Paxton, and to secure the 200 l. still unpaid to Mr Masterman for his Bill.

Also of
Mr Martin.

Mr Leonard Martin, an Attorney, and Partner with his Father-in-Law, Mr Paxton, being examined, said that he has been concerned in several Suits about the Borough of Colchester, and that he had his chief Directions therein from Mr Daniel, an Attorney at Colchester, tho' Mr Lawton sometimes interfered, and that soon after Lawton's Death, he received a Letter from Daniel, as annexed in the Appendix, (No. 9.) that he received 133 l. for Fines, to which the Prosecutors were entitled, that he believed he advised with Lawton about framing a Petition to the Treasury for the King's remaining two Thirds of the Fine, that Lawton (who seemed very desirous of Success in the Affair of that Corporation) approved of it, and he believed Lawton might say he would speak about it, that he (Martin) thereon drew the Draught of a Petition, and sent it to Daniel to get signed, and on its Return he procured a Warrant from the Treasury, directing Paxton to pay him 280 l. that the Warrant was dated the 10th of July, 1741, and that he received the Money on the 26th of January last, and did imagine these Pro-

secutions

secutions were with a View of influencing the Election, and An. 16. Geo. II.
to turn the Borough, and to get out the Mayor, and get the 1742.
Returning Officer.

By all this it appears that the Management of this Affair was lodged in the Hands of *Paxton's* Partner and Son-in-Law, and the Expences attending it were in Part paid by the said *Paxton* in Consequence of a Warrant of the Treasury. But tho' your Committee here met with a fresh Instance of the Solicitor of the Treasury intermeddling in Matters relating to Elections, yet they did not think fit to examine him again, having little Reason to expect he would make any Discoveries after the other House had rejected the Bill by which he would have been indemnified. And your Committee cannot determine what could induce the Earl of *Orford* to continue *Paxton* in his Office upwards of 11 Years, and to suffer him to defer accounting for any Part of the large Sums, which were from Time to Time issued to him till the 9th of February last, and then to account for two Years only in so precipitate a Manner, but must submit to the Judgment of this House, whether that Indulgence was owing to a criminal Neglect, or to a more criminal Confederacy.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you a Trans-
action relating to the Borough of *Weymouth*.

Mr *Richard Jordan* being examin'd, said, That he was Examination of
Mayor of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb Regis* in the Year 1740. Mr *Jordan*, relat-
That on the 16th Day of June, in that Year, Mr *Pearse* and ing to the Bo-
Mr *Olmus* came down to *Weymouth*; that Mr *Pearse* applied rough of Wey-
to him (*Jordan*) and desired his Vote and Interest for himself mouth and Mel-
and Mr *Olmus*, and two others *in petto*, whom he did not comb Regis.
name; and told him at the same Time, that there would
be a Letter produced, obliging him and all the Officers in the
Service to vote for Mr *Pearse* and his Friends. That then
Mr *Pearse* desired him to go with him in private: That
when they were alone Mr *Pearse* said he was desirous to have
the Corporation filled up, and that a Hall should be called
for that Purpose. And he further requested, that he (*Jordan*)
would meet him (Mr *Olmus*) and some other Friends; but
Mr *Jordan* refused to meet Mr *Olmus*; and then Mr *Pearse*
left him. That on the 18th of June Mr *Pearse* came to his
House about Noon, and told him, that if he would come
into the Measures of him (*Pearse*) and his Friends, and fill
up the Corporation, in order to have a Returning-Officer, or
Words to that Effect, he had it in Commission to say, That
he (*Jordan*) should have the Collection of the Port of *Wey-*
mouth in a Month's Time, and a Letter from Sir *Robert Wal-*
pole, under his own Hand, to make good that Promise. Mr
Pearse then went from his House, and return'd about Four
of the Clock of the same Day, and brought to him a List

26 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

of such of the Revenue Officers as were to be displaced. He took this List, which was wrote in *Pearse's* own Hand, and read it over; and after Mr *Pearse* was gone he wrote it down from his own Memory. And it appear'd to your Committee, by this and the subsequent Examinations, that several of the Persons therein-named were displaced accordingly. And Mr *Jordan* farther said, That on the same Day, as he thinks, Mr *Pearse* told him he did not doubt of prevailing on Mr *Charles Taver* and Mr *John Carswell*, who were Aldermen, and others, that he should wait upon them and convince them that they were going against their own Interests, the Interest of the Government, and their Duty to his Majesty; and again pressed him (*Jordan*) to fill up six of the Vacancies with Friends of his (*Pearse's*) who are most of them since provided for. That he farther told *Jordan*, that if he was sure of the Returning-Officer, Sir *Robert Walpole* would send down two other Candidates. That Mr *Pearse* soon after went to *London*, but return'd to *Weymouth* on the 30th of *June*, and sent a Message to him (*Jordan*) by Mr *Richard Arbutnot*, desiring to speak with him at Captain *Tizzard's*; but he (*Jordan*) told the Messenger, That Mr *Pearse* knew very well where he lived, and he should not go to the Captain's House. That the Messenger reply'd, Mr *Pearse* had a Letter from Sir *Robert Walpole* to shew him. That when Mr *Arbutnot* found that he would not go to Mr *Pearse* at Captain *Tizzard's*, he told him he would go and fetch the Letter, and accordingly went and brought the Letter, which he (*Jordan*) read, and took it to be address'd to Mr *Pearse*; the Purport of which was, that whatever Mr *Pearse* promised to him (*Jordan*) Sir *Robert Walpole* would make it good; and that *Jordan's* Brother-in-Law, Mr *Franklin*, a Clergyman, should have the first Living that fell, in the Gift of the Crown or the Seals, worth his Acceptance. That with much Persuasion he did meet Mr *Pearse* at Mr *Tizzard's* Summer-House: That Mr *Pearse* there shewed him this Letter again, and told him it was Sir *Robert Walpole's* Letter, that it was signed *R. Walpole*, and he apprehends it was all wrote in the same Hand with the Signing. That at this Meeting Mr *Pearse* told him, You have four Aldermen now absent, I would have you call a Hall and fill up the Corporation: That he reply'd, He thought Mr *Pearse* had been long enough acquainted with him to think that he would not be prevail'd upon by base Means to betray his Friends. And he further said, That on the 19th of *September*, in the same Year, being two Days before the Election for Mayor came on, a Letter was produced to him from the Commissioners of the Customs, importing, that his Deputation as a Land-waiter was superseded, and *Robert* the Brother of *Richard*

Arb utnot

Arbutnot, who first brought Sir *Robert Walpole's* Letter to him, was to succeed him; and he said he had been employed in the Custom-House ever since the Year 1712, and had been Land-waiter in the Port of *Weymouth* from the 4th of May 1729 to the Time of his Dismission.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

The Reverend *Mr Franklyn* being examin'd, said, That on the 1st of *July*, 1740, *Mr Pearse* being then at *Weymouth*, sent for him to shew him, as he said, how much he had his (*Franklyn's*) Interest at Heart; but that he was sorry to tell him he was afraid his Brother *Jordan* would spoil all his Endeavours to serve him, for that *Mr Jordan* had promised to come into his (*Pearse's*) Measures, but now attempted to evade his Promise; but, however, *Mr Pearse*, to convince him what a Friend he intended to have been to him, shew'd him a Letter, which was sign'd *R. Walpole*; the Purport of which was, 'You have given me so good a Character of *Mr Jordan*, that whatever Preferment you shall think reasonable to offer him, shall be made good: And as for his Brother-in-Law, *Mr Franklyn*, he shall have the first Living that he will accept of which falls in the Gift of the Crown, or the Seals.' That *Mr Pearse*, at the same time, told him, that he expected his Brother *Jordan* would call a Hall and fill up the Corporation; which he (*Franklyn*) took to be to get a Returning-Officer. And *Mr Pearse* said, since his Brother *Jordan* had refused him, he had nothing to trust to unless he (*Franklyn*) could influence him; that he told *Mr Pearse*, he did not like the Affair and would not meddle with it, and *Mr Pearse* then reply'd, if fair Means would not do, foul must; and he thought *Mr Pearse* explain'd what he meant by foul Means, for he said he must have at their Charter: And he thinks their Charter has been since attack'd; for three Months after *Mr Pearse* attempted to set up a Mayor in a Manner contrary to the usual Custom of the Place, and *Mr Pearse's* Friends have filed several Informations in the King's Bench against the Corporation.

And of the Rev.
Mr Franklyn.

Thomas Pearse, Esq; being examined said, that some time before the last general Election, *Mr Joyeux* of *Weymouth* was sent up to *London* by his (*Pearse's*) Friends, with a Scheme for the Removal and Promotion of several Officers of the Revenue at the Port of *Weymouth*, without which Alterations, tho' he (*Pearse*) himself might be chose at the general Election, yet it was impracticable to carry all the four Members. Part of this Scheme was to remove *William Clapcott* Esq; from being Governor of *Portland Castle*, and *Mr Richard Tucker* from being Receiver of the Hawkers and Pedlars, and Surveyor of the King's Quarries in *Portland*; which last with the Salary of 500 l. per Annum, and 40 l. for a Clerk, was to be divided between *Mr Tizzard*, the

Also of *Thomas Pearse*, Esq;

28 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

then Collector, and *Mr Bryor*, which Alterations took Place; that *Mr Olmius* generally transacted with *Sir Robert Walpole* every thing about the Election; that he (*Pearse*) apprehended that all the Removes that were to be made were with a View to influence the Election; and *Mr Olmius* and he went together to *Sir Robert Walpole* to consult on Measures for carrying on the Election, but he believes that the Scheme was not shewed *Sir Robert Walpole* but only talked over with him. He further said, that when he was at *Weymouth* in the Summer 1740, he was told by *Mr Jordan*, the then Mayor, if he was made Collector in the Room of *Mr Tizzard*, that he would fill up the Corporation in order to chose a returning Officer against the general Election; but that he (*Jordan*) would not think of doing any such thing unless he saw a Letter of it under *Sir Robert Walpole's* own Hand: That when he came to *London* he did acquaint *Sir Robert* with the Desire of *Mr Jordan*, and he (*Pearse*) had a Letter from him, the Purport of which was, that whatever Friends *Mr Pearse* should recommend, he (*Sir Robert Walpole*) would endeavour to provide for: That he is well acquainted with *Sir Robert Walpole's* Hand, and believes the Letter to be of his Writing: That *Mr Franklyn*, a Clergyman, Brother-in-Law to *Mr Jordan*, was particularly mentioned in the Letter; *Sir Robert Walpole* saying he would use his Endeavour to get him any Living that should become vacant in the Gift of the Crown, or of the Lord Chancellor: That he (*Pearse*) returned with this Letter to *Weymouth*, and did shew it to *Mr Franklyn*, and he believes to *Mr Jordan*, and he thinks it was in a Conversation he had with *Mr Jordan* in *Mr Tizzard's* Summer-House; but that *Mr Jordan* flew from the Proposal, saying, Employments might be given one Day, and taken away the next; which much surpris'd him, and in a Day or two he quitted the Borough and came to *London*: That he did not know but after the Election was over he might say to *Mr Franklyn*, Have at your Charter: That he did not know what was become of *Sir Robert Walpole's* Letter, but he believed he has since burn'd it. That when he returned from *Weymouth* after *Mr Jordan's* Refusal, he call'd on *Sir Robert Walpole*, and told him he had been disappointed in his Scheme; that *Sir Robert* encouraged him to proceed, and he was told by *Mr Olmius*, that *Sir Robert Walpole* had recommended to him (*Olmius*) *Mr Cholmondeley* and *Mr Plummer*, to join with him (*Olmius*) and that he (*Pearse*) did join with them.

And of John Olmius. Esq;

John Olmius, Esq; being examined, said, that there was a rough Scheme of Alteration in the Officers of the Revenue at *Weymouth*, which was talk'd over at *Mr Pearse's*, and was intended to facilitate the Election at *Weymouth*: That the Person

who were mentioned to be advanced had all Interest in *Weymouth*; that he and Mr *Pearse* were with Sir *Robert Walpole* to desire that the Surveyor's Place might be given to Mr *Tixzard* and Mr *Bryor*, but he does not recollect if the whole Scheme was shew'd to Sir *Robert Walpole* or no; nor can he recollect Sir *Robert Walpole*'s Answer about the Scheme; but Sir *Robert Walpole* was very slow in promoting *Tixzard* and *Bryor*: That Mr *Olmius* had an old Servant whom he wanted to provide for, and he told Mr *Tixzard* and Mr *Bryor* that as he had so much Trouble to get them the Place, he expected they should give his Servant 50 l. per Annum, which they agreed to, but it has not yet been paid, for they have not as yet received their own Salaries: That Sir *Robert Walpole* said one Day to this Examinant, that Colonel *Cholmondeley* and Mr *Plummer* were very good Men, on which Mr *Olmius* said, he would give them all the Interest he could.

Your Committee find that tho' these Endeavours of the Earl of *Orford* to influence the Voters of *Weymouth*, and to procure a proper returning Officer by thus placing and displacing the Officers of the Revenue, did at that Time prove ineffectual; yet just before the Election came on, another Attempt was made of the same Nature, tho' with as little Success as before.

For Mr *Ezekiel Pomeroy*, Chief Clerk to the Clerk of the Cheque at *Deptford*, being examined, said, ' That on or about Monday the 27th of April 1741, Eight or Ten Days before the *Weymouth* Election came on, the Reverend Mr *Morgan* came to his House at *Deptford*, between Five and Six o' Clock in the Morning, and asked him if he was willing to go on a particular Message to Mr *Tucker* at *Weymouth*, which would be of singular Service to Mr *Tucker* as well as to him (*Pomeroy*); that he answered, he was willing to do any Thing which could be of any Service either to Mr *Tucker* or himself, but that he must have Leave to be absent from Duty: Mr *Morgan* told him he was going to Town to wait on Sir *Robert Walpole*, and he would return as soon as possible; and about Two o'Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day *Morgan* returned to him again, and told him he had got Leave for him, for Sir *Robert Walpole* had written a Letter to Sir *Jacob Ackworth* for Leave, that Sir *Robert* had inquired much of *Morgan* who *Pomeroy* was, and if he might be safely depended on; and that *Morgan* said he had answered to Sir *Robert Walpole* for his Fidelity; and between Three and Four o'Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day, he (*Pomeroy*) came to Town with *Morgan*, who carried him to the *Crown-Tavern* behind the *Exchange*, where they met Mr *Olmius*, and they three dined together; and after Dinner Mr *Olmius* told him (*Pomeroy*) that

Mr *Pomeroy*'s Examination relating to the said Borough.

30 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

that he found by Mr Morgan he was willing to go on a Message to Mr Tucker; he (*Pomeroy*) then asked him, what the Message was, and Mr Olmius told him, if he would go down to Mr Tucker, and tell him that if he would but agree to take him, (*Olmius*) Mr Pearse, and another Friend who was not mentioned, he (*Olmius*) was commissioned by Sir Robert Walpole, to assure him (*Tucker*) that every Friend of his that had been displaced, should have their Places again, or any others that Mr Tucker should please to ask; and as for Mr Tucker himself, he should have any Thing he would be pleased to ask, and that if he (*Tucker*) doubted of the Veracity of the Message, and either he or his Brother would come to Town, they should be fully satisfy'd of the Truth of it; and that he (*Pomeroy*) was not to communicate this Message to any Persons, but to the *Tuckers*, and his (*Pomeroy's*) Father, who had been Post-master, but was then out; upon this he observed to Mr Olmius, that Mr Pearse, who was his Patron, was then in *Dorsetshire*, that he would wonder to see him, and would ask him Questions; and he desired to know if he might be at Liberty to acquaint him, (*Pearse*) with the Message. On this Mr Olmius said he would write to Mr Pearse, and he did write a Letter to him, which he gave unseal'd to him, (*Pomeroy*) who read it two or three Times, and it was in Substance as follows.

Mr Olmius's Letter on that Occasion.

' Sir, Mr *Pomeroy* comes on a special Message from our good Friend S. R. W. (which he, *Pomeroy*, said he understood to mean Sir Robert Walpole) which Message he is not to communicate to any Body, but those to whom he is sent, therefore ask him no Questions; but be assured that Nothing shall be done or transacted but what shall be for your Interest, as well as for that of your humble Servant,
JOHN OLMIUS.

In Consequence of this, he (*Pomeroy*) set out Post the next Morning, which was on *Tuesday*, for *Weymouth*, and arrived there on *Wednesday* at Nine in the Morning; that he waited on Mr Tucker, and found him and his Brother both together; he told them the Particulars of the Message from Mr Olmius, and he was answered by Mr Tucker, that a Proposal of that Kind was absolutely too late, that his Word and Honour was engaged, and he would not go from it for any Consideration. He farther said, that Mr Tucker asked him if he had brought any Letter from Sir Robert Walpole, to which he said, No. He farther said, that Mr Morgan and Mr Olmius had often told him, that if Mr Tucker and his Friends refused to agree with Mr Olmius, and join their Interest to his, it would be the total Ruin of Mr Tucker and his Brother, and he Overthrow of the Charter.

John

John Olmius Esq; being again examined, and not recollecting several Things which had been mentioned by Mr *Pomeroy*, Mr *Pomeroy* was called in, and he repeated the same Evidence which he had before given, and the Minutes taken by the Clerk of that Evidence were also read in the Presence of Mr *Olmius*, who then recollecting himself confirmed the same: And further said, that he did communicate to Sir *Robert Walpole* his Intention to send a Message to Mr *Tucker*; that he told him he had got Mr *Pomeroy*, who was a Relation of Mr *Tucker's*, to go down to use his Interest with him; that Sir *Robert* said, by all Means do. That he told Sir *Robert Walpole* that if Mr *Tucker* came to Town, in Consequence thereof, his (Sir *Robert's*) Assistance would be necessary for the replacing of Mr *Tucker's* Friends; * that Sir *Robert Walpole* said; it was a very good Thought, that he would do every Thing that lay in his Power to serve him and his Friends; and that this was the Substance of what passed between them.

An. 16. Geo. III.
1742.
Who is examin'd
a second Time.

The Reverend Mr *John Morgan* being examined, and not readily recollecting some Circumstances mentioned by Mr *Pomeroy*, he was ordered to attend the Committee with Mr *Pomeroy*, who then repeating what he (*Pomeroy*) formerly said on his Examination, Mr *Morgan* did then agree, that the principal Part of what he (*Pomeroy*) asserted to have passed between them, was true; and further and particularly said, that Sir *Robert Walpole* did write a Letter in his Presence to one of the Commissioners of the Navy, for Leave for *Pomeroy* to be absent, which Letter he (*Morgan*) carried to Sir *Jacob Ackworth*.

Examination of
the Reverend Mr
Morgan.

To such notorious Attacks as these upon the Freedom of Elections your Committee apprehend, are owing the great, and possibly unwarrantable Expences that particular Persons may have been drove to engage in. Some Expences the Laws allow, by regulating the Manner of them; and those who engage in illicit Expences, are subject to heavy penal Laws, but there are none particularly adapted to the Case of a Minister who clandestinely employs the Money of the Public, and the whole Power and profitable Employments that attend the collecting and disposing of it, against the People; and by this Profusion and criminal Distribution of Offices, in some Measure justifies the Expence that particular Persons are obliged to be at, by making it necessary to the Preservation of all that is valuable to a Free Nation. For in that Case the Contest is plain and visible. It is, whether the Commons shall retain the Third State in their own Hands, whilst this whole Dispute is carried on at the Expence of the People; and

The Committee's Observations on the Attacks made upon the Freedom of Elections, by the above Proceedings.

* Mr *Pearse* and Mr *Tucker* were Members for Weymouth in the last Parliament; but upon the latter's accepting the Office of Surveyor of the King's Quarries in Portland, Mr *Olmius* was elected in his Room,

32 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

but on the Side of the Minister, out of the Money granted to support and secure the Constitutional Independency of the Three Branches of the Legislature.

This Method of Corruption is as sure, and therefore your Committee apprehends as criminal a Way of subverting the Constitution, as by an armed Force. It is a Crime productive of a total Destruction of the very Being of this Government; and is so high and unnatural, that nothing but the Powers of Parliament reach it; and as it can never meet with parliamentary Animadversions, but when it is unsuccessful, it must seek for its Security in the Extent and Efficacy of the Mischief it produces; and therefore your Committee apprehend it is the more necessary for your Consideration, for while it wants of Success, it leaves an Opportunity to preserve and maintain your Independency for the future.

The E. of Orford's Conduct relating to Money for Secret Service.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, with relation to the Quantity and Manner of issuing and receiving that Part of the Public Money, granted for the Support of the Civil Government, which has been employed in what is commonly called Secret Services.

Your Committee, having been informed that this Money had been issued under three different Denominations, called for an Account hereunto annexed, (No. 10.) of all the Sums issued for Secret Service, or for his Majesty's immediate or special Service, (the Money issued to his Majesty's privy Purse excepted) or to reimburse Expences during the last Ten Years in which *Robert* Earl of *Orford* was first Commissioner of the Treasury, &c. And the Account having been laid before them from the Auditor of the Exchequer's Office, there appeared to be issued under these three Heads only, including the annual Sum of 3000 *l.* paid to each of the Secretaries of State for Secret Services, the Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6s. 3d.

Remarks of the Committee thereupon.

The issuing such an immense Part of the Money, given for the Support of the Civil Government, to these particular Uses, during a Time of profound Tranquility till the late Rupture with Spain, greatly alarmed your Committee, and put them upon examining what Sums had been issued for the same Services in a former Period of the like Number of Years. And your Committee beg Leave to represent to you that exorbitant as this Sum may seem, they would have suppressed this Part of their Report, if by the Comparison they had entred upon, they could any Ways have reconciled their Silence upon this Head, to their Duty to this House, and the Nation; and your Committee hope, that the Period they have pitched upon, will evince the Truth of this Intention, as it comprehends a general and most expensive War Abroad, a Demise of the Crown, the happy Establishment of the present Royal

Family

Family upon the Throne, and an open and dangerous Rebel-
 lion at Home; in short, every Event that can happen to jus-
 tify extraordinary Expences in carrying on the Business of
 Government. And it is not easy to express the Surprize of
 your Committee, when they found by the Account laid be-
 fore them, which is annexed, (No. 11.) that from the 1st
 Day of *August*, 1707, to the 1st Day of *August* 1717, there
 was issued under the aforesaid Heads, no more than the Sum
 of 337,960 *l.* 4 *s.* 5 *d.* halfpenny.

Your Committee, observing that the Solicitors of the
 Treasury for the time being, are the only Persons to whom
 any of these Sums have been issued that are accountable for
 the same; and there having been issued to Mr. *Paxton*, the
 present Solicitor 68,800 *l.* in the last ten Years, in which
 the Earl of *Orford* was first Commissioner of the Treasury,
 and the Sum of 58,516 *l.* 2 *s.* 10 *d.* to Mr *Borret*, and
 Mr *Cratcherode* † successively Solicitors, between the 1st of
August, 1707 and the first of *August* 1717. These Sums
 substracted from their respective Totals, the Remainder will
 be 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* issued for Secret Services, during
 the last ten Years, and 279,444 *l.* 1 *s.* 7 *d.* halfpenny, issued
 for the like Services from the Year 1707 to the Year 1717;
 by which it appears, that the Sum expended on these Services
 during the last Ten Years, amounts to near Five Times as
 much as what was expended for the same Services in the
 Ten Years ending the first of *August* 1717; and your Com-
 mittee cannot see that any Exigency of Affairs, any Dimi-
 nution of the National Debt, or Accession of Wealth to the
 Nation, has happened to justify such Profusion.

And though your Committee very well apprehend, that
 no Form of Government can subsist, without a Power of
 employing publick Money for Services, which are, in their
 Nature, secret, and ought always to remain so; yet when
 such exorbitant Sums are issued for those Services, as by pas-
 sing through the Hands of a Minister, may become dange-
 rous to the Liberties of the People, your Committee thought
 themselves indispensably obliged to lay it before you in all
 the Lights which the very imperfect Evidence they have been
 able to procure, can throw upon this nice and dangerous
 Branch of Service.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the Proofs
 that the Money issued under the Three Heads of Secret Ser-
 vice, of Special Service, and to Reimburse Expences, were
 understood to mean one and the same Thing.

Christopher Tilson, † Esq; a Clerk in the Treasury, and
 who came into that Office in the Year 1684, said on his Exa-
 mination of Mr Tilson re-
 lating to Secret
 Service Money.

1742.

e

† Member for Leftwithiel,

‡ Member for Cricklade

} In the first Parliament of K. George II.

34 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

And of
John Shepherd.

mination, ' That he look'd on all these Monies to be of the same Nature ; that they are all without Account except as to what relates to the Solicitor of the Treasury, nor is there any Entry in the Treasury of the Application of any of these Sums of Money.'

John Shepherd, a Deputy-Messenger of the Treasury, who has received very large Sums under each of these Three Heads, being examined, said, ' That the Warrants upon which he received Money at the *Exchequer* under any of these Three Heads, whether in his own Name, or in the Name of other Persons, were all without Account, and that he made no Distinction, whether the Orders were for Special, or Secret Service, or to Reimburse Expences.'

But your Committee observe, that all the Money issued under the Head of Secret Service, is issued in the Name of *John Scrope*, Esq; * Secretary of the Treasury, but the Orders for the Sums which were issued under the Heads of Special Service, or to Reimburse Expences, are payable to *Mr Lowther*, *Mr Richards*, and *Mr Shepherd*, Messengers of the *Exchequer*, and to a great Variety of other Names, for which Sums no Receipts appear to have been given; but none of those to whose Names these Orders are payable, under either of these Three Heads, appear to have any Interest in the Sums thus issued.

Also of Mr
Geo. Campbell

And your Committee have the greatest Reason to believe that many of the Orders for this Money were issued unknown to the Persons to whom they were made payable; for *Mr George Campbell*, Banker, in the *Strand*, did, on his Examination before the Committee declare, ' That he was desired by the Earl of *Ilay* to go to the Treasury, and take up an Order which he would there find issued in his own Name, and to carry it to the Earl of *Orford*; that he accordingly went to the Treasury, where he received from one of the Clerks an Order for the Sum of 2231 *l.* 4 *s.* 6^d. for Special Service; that he carried this Order to the Earl of *Orford*, and indors'd it; and then the said Earl desired the Examinant to leave it for him at the Treasury; that he accordingly did leave it at the Treasury with *Mr Low*, one of the Clerks; that being at the Treasury about some other Affairs, in *February* last, he accidentally saw an Order that was made out in his Name for a Sum of Money, which he believes had been signed two or three Days before, but that he had no Notice from the Earl of *Ilay*, or any other Person, that such an Order would be made out in his Name.

And of
Mr Farley.

And *Mr Abraham Farley* being examined in Relation to an

* Member for *Lyme-Regis* in this Parliament, and formerly one of the Barons of the *Exchequer* in Scotland.

an Order in his Name for 1200 *l.* said, 'That about the Month of *January* 1736, Mr *Lawton* told him that there was an Order made out in his Name, and bid him go and receive it; that he did receive it, but not for his own Use, for he paid it over immediately to Mr *Lawton*, and that he did not know what *Lawton* did with it, nor did he (*Farley*) know that any such Order was made out, till Mr *Lawton* told him of it, and sent him to receive it.'

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

And Mr *Edward Bryant*, formerly Under Door-keeper to the Treasury, now Messenger, being examined before the Committee, in relation to two Orders, one for 3961 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* and the other for 2700 *l.* which were issued in his Name, said, 'That Mr *Tilson* called him to indorse those Orders, which he accordingly did, and then gave them to Mr *Tilson*; and that this is all that he knew about it,' for he never did receive the Money for those, or for any other Orders at the *Exchequer*, nor does he know who did.'

And of
Mr Bryant.

And your Committee also observe, that there have been a great Number of other Orders, which do not appear to have been communicated to the Persons whose Names were made Use of therein (if any such Persons there were) altho' their Names were indorsed on the Back of the respective Orders, as having received the Amount of the Sums therein specify'd; for a List of Persons in whose Names Money was issu'd during the Term of the Enquiry, lying before the Committee, many of these Names were read over, (a List of which is annex'd No. 12) to Mr *Tilson*, Mr *Fane*, and Mr *Shepherd*, and they all declar'd they knew no such Persons, tho' Mr *Shepherd* in particular had received Money on many of those Orders, and said he has wonder'd he never saw the Persons who endorserd for large Sums.' And tho' neither Mr *Tilson*, Mr *Fane*, nor Mr *Shepherd* knew who these Orders were indorsed by, yet Mr *Fane* said, 'That such Orders where the Persons were not known, have been sometimes taken away by the Earl of *Orford*, and other Lords of the Treasury, to be indorsed; and that they have often been sent away to be indors'd, and when they were thus sent away, it was generally to the Earl of *Orford*.'

In the next Place your Committee lay before you, That though they have the greatest Reason to believe, that the whole Sum of 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* (excepting the annual Allowance to the Secretaries of State for Secret Service) was under the sole Direction and Disposition of the Earl of *Orford*; yet in order to proceed with the utmost Care and Caution, they think it becomes them to distinguish to the House those Sums which they can trace into the Hands of particular Persons, from those which were evidently lodged

36 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

with the said Earl, or with Mr *Scrope*, Secretary to the Treasury, and which your Committee have the strongest Reason to believe, from collateral Proofs, (having not been able to obtain the direct ones) were deliver'd over by Mr *Scrope* to the said Earl.

Account of
50,077 l. 18 s.
paid to Political
Writers, &c.

And they begin with Mr *Lowther*, to whom the Sum of 177,610 l. 11 s. 6 d. has been issued within the Term of the Enquiry, which has been disposed of by him, from Time to Time, pursuant to Minutes of the Treasury, and he has paid in that Interval no less a Sum than 50,077 l. 18 s. to Authors and Printers of News-papers, such as *Free-Briton*, *Daily-Courants*, *Persuasive to Candour and Impartiality*, *Corncutter's-Journal*, *Gazetteers*, and other political Papers, as appears by the Appendix (No. 13.) And your Committee leave it to the Judgment of the House, whether this particular Sum was less under the Direction of the Earl of *Orford* than if it had pass'd through his own Hands.

Examination of
Mr Middleton,
relating to
30,119 l. 4 s.
paid on the E. of
Ilay's Account.

The next Sum to be ranged under this Head is a Sum of 30,119 l. 4 s. which has been paid to Mr *Middleton*, Banker in the *Strand*, on the Earl of *Ilay's* Account, being 27,769 l. 4 s. issued in his own Name, and 2350 l. paid him by *Shepherd*. Mr *Middleton* being examin'd, said, That all the Sums issued in his own Name, and what was paid him by *Shepherd*, was received by him on the Earl of *Ilay's* Account, out of which about 1500 l. was paid for Fees: That the Earl of *Ilay* has kept Cash with him for several Years; and that he keeps no Account of these Sums of Money distinct from his general Cash-Account with the Earl of *Ilay*, and that these Sums were drawn out of his Hands in the same Manner with the rest of the Earl of *Ilay's* private Money. That perhaps 5 or 6000 l. *per Annum* of the Earl of *Ilay's* Money may have pass'd thro' this Examinant's Hands; that this Examinant cannot charge his Memory that any large Sums were drawn out at any Time, except for Purchases and buying of *India* Bonds; nor has this Examinant remitted any Money into *Scotland* for Lord *Ilay*, nor does he remember that Lord *Ilay* has drawn on him from *Scotland* for more than one Sum, which was about 400 l. payable to a Merchant; nor did any Persons come to him for Money, according to the best of his Memory, but Servants and Tradesmen.

In the next Place, your Committee lay before you an Account of a Sum issued for his Majesty's Service, which tho' in itself not considerable enough to deserve the Attention of the House, yet is accompany'd with such Circumstances as make it their indispensable Duty to take particular Notice of it.

For

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 37

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

For Mr *John Lever*, High Bailiff of the City of *Westminster*, having incurr'd the Displeasure of this House, by acting at the general Election in an illegal and arbitrary Manner, in prejudice of the Rights and Liberty of the Electors of the said City, and in manifest Violation of the Freedom of Elections; and being in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House for the said Offence, your Committee find that 1500 *l.* issued under the Head of Money to reimburse Expences for his Majesty's Service, was (during his being in Custody) apply'd to the use of the said *Lever*; for *John Shepherd* said, That Mr *Scrope* sent for him and pull'd out of his Pocket an Order for 1500 *l.* which was in his (*Shepherd's*) Name, and told him he must carry it to Sir *Charles Wager* and endorse it, and leave it with Sir *Charles*; that he went accordingly to Sir *Charles*, took the Order of him again, pass'd it as usual, and receiv'd the Money, and deliver'd the 1500 *l.* Nett-money, into Sir *Charles's* own Hand. And *Francis Gasbry*, Esq; a Member of this House being examin'd, said, That Sir *Charles Wager* told him, that he was in Expectation of getting some Money for Mr *Lever*, the High-Bailiff of *Westminster*. And when he (*Gasbry*) one Day return'd from the Navy-Board, Sir *Charles* told him, that in his Absence 1500 *l.* had been brought him by one of the Treasury, and Sir *Charles* desir'd him to take the Money and pay it to Mr *Lever*; and that he receiv'd the 1500 *l.* from Sir *Charles* the 2d of *January* last, and has since paid it to the Use of the said *Lever*, as will more fully appear by his Examination hereunto annexed (No. 14.)

Examination of
Mr *Shepherd* relating to 1500 *l.* paid to the High Bailiff of *Westminster*.

Mr *Gasbry's* Examination relating thereto.

Besides these Sums there are two other Sums of 428 *l.* 12 *s.* and 2,110 *l.* 13 *s.* to be added to this Account, issued to Mr *Le Heup*, which he said were to answer Bills drawn from abroad. These Sums already mentioned, together with the Money issued to the Secretaries of State for Secret Service, are all the Money which your Committee has been able to trace into the Hands of particular Persons, and amount in the whole to the Sum 271,769 *l.* 0 *s.* 6 *d.* and this being taken from the Sum of 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* the whole issued under the three Heads for Secret Service, there remains the Sum of 1,112,831 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* which Sum your Committee conceive they have traced more immediately into the Hands of the Earl of *Orford* or Mr *Scrope*, and do now proceed to lay the Proofs thereof before you, as also the Circumstances which induced them to believe that whatever Sums were paid into the Hands of Mr *Scrope*, were by him paid over to the Earl of *Orford*.

Examination of
Mr *Le Heup*.

They first observe that this last Sum of 1,112,831 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* hath either been issued under the Head of Secret Service in the Name of Mr *Scrope*, or under the Heads of Special Service

vice

38 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

Farther Examination of Mr Shepherd relating to Secret Service Money.

vice, and to reimburse Expences in the Names of *Richards Shepherd*, and others, the greatest Part of which hath been received at the Exchequer by *Shepherd* or his Predecessor *Richards*.

For *John Shepherd* being examined said, ' That he has received at the Exchequer several Sums of Money by Orders made out in his own Name, and other Sums by Orders made out in the Name of Persons unknown to him, and that he has generally received the Secret Service-Money which is in Mr *Scrope's* Name: That the Orders for these Sums were generally given to him by Mr *Fane*, or Mr *Scrope*, and sometimes by Mr *Tilson*, or an under Clerk but chiefly by Mr *Fane*; and that he usually repaid the Money when he had received it, to those from whom he received the Order, unless they particularly directed him to pay it to other Persons; and that all his Warrants were without Account; and he made no Distinction whether the Orders were in his own Name or Mr *Scrope's*, or in unknown Names; nor whether for Special or Secret Service, or to reimburse Expences: That he has sometimes paid Money which he has thus received to the Earl of *Orford*; and this has sometimes been the Secret Service-Money which is in Mr *Scrope's* Name, amounting to 5, 6, 7, or 8,000 *l.* at a Time; and that he has paid him likewise Money that was issued in his (*Shepherd's*) Name but that he has not made these Payments often; and that what he had been employed in had been formerly done by Mr *Richards*, but when Mr *Richards* died it was put on him (*Shepherd*.)

And of Mr *Tilson*.

Mr *Tilson* being examined said, That he has had Secret Service-Money brought to him, but that he never did receive any Money at the Exchequer himself, *Shepherd* always brought it to him; but that he has always delivered all Moneys he has received, whether for Secret Service, Special Service, or to Reimburse Expences, to Mr *Fane*, Mr *Scrope*, or the Earl of *Orford*: That he has, to be sure, paid very considerable Sums of Secret Service-Money to the Earl of *Orford*, but has no way of ascertaining by Book what he has paid, the Transition was so quick.

Also of Mr *Fane*.

Henry Fane Esq; a Clerk of the Treasury said, ' That he has received verbal Orders from the Earl of *Orford* to prepare Warrants for the King to Sign, and to bring to him, the said Earl, the Money. That Sums of Money for Secret Service have been frequently put into his Hands which were sometimes brought him by a Messenger; and that he delivered this Money either to the Earl of *Orford* himself, or to Mr *Scrope*, to carry it to the said Earl. That when he gave it to Mr *Scrope* it was for him to carry

to the Earl of Orford, and he believes all such Sums came into the said Earl's Hands, excepting some trifling Sums of 40 or 50 *l.* which he has paid to others. That he has paid many Sums to the said Earl, but kept no Account; nor could he recollect the particular Sums he has thus paid. That what he has received and paid, and what he has acted in these Affairs was by the said Earl of Orford's Directions either from himself or signified to him by Mr Scrope; and he does not know that any other Lord of the Treasury has ever given him Directions for either receiving or paying any Secret Service-Money.

And he farther said, 'That the Orders he has received to prepare Warrants upon the three Heads of Secret Service, Special Service, or to reimburse Expences for his Majesty's Service, have been either directly from Lord Orford himself, or from other Persons who signified to him that those Orders were from Lord Orford.'

Your Committee next observe, that the Sum issued in Mr Scrope's Name for Secret Service, during the Time of the Enquiry, amounts to 815,819 *l.* 5 *s.* 2 *d.* And there has been issued in the Name of *Shepherd*, within the same Time, exclusive of what he paid to Mr Middleton, and Sir Charles Wager, the Sum of 78,633 *l.* 14 *s.* 2 *d.* and in the Name of *Richards*, 45,546 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* and out of 32 Orders in various Names, which the Committee call'd for, 26 of them, amounting to the Sum of 119,211 *l.* 8 *s.* 4 *d.* appear to have been received by *Shepherd*; for he said he always signed them on the Back, as a Witness when they were not in his own Name. These Sums, thus issued in the Names of Mr Scrope, *Shepherd*, *Richards*, and of other Persons received by *Shepherd*, amount in the whole to 1,059,211 *l.* 6 *s.* 2 *d.* And this Sum your Committee think they have traced into the Hands of the Earl of Orford, or Mr Scrope, who, Mr Fans believes, carried all he received to the said Earl. There is still wanting to make up the Sum of 1,112,831 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* the Sum of 53,619 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* And this last Sum hath been issued by Orders, six of which, amounting to 23,650 *l.* were in Names not known, and witnessed by Persons belonging to the Treasury, tho' not by *Shepherd*; and the Remainder were generally for such small Sums, that your Committee did not think it necessary to enter into a more minute Examination about them.

It farther appears to your Committee, that besides the Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* already mentioned, there has been paid in the ten Years preceding the 10th of February last, the Sum of 45,675 *l.* without Account to the Society of the Post-Office for the Time being, as by an Account hereunto annexed, (No. 15.) by virtue of a Warrant from

Ann. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

An. 16. Geo. II. from the Treasury ; and this for a Service formerly in-
 1742. fiderable. Your Committee find, by Papers laid before them,
 that the first Payment of this Kind was in the Year 1718,
 and amounted to 446 *l.* 2 *s.* 0 *d.* and the succeeding Pay-
 ments for some Years were about 750 *l.* *per Annum*, from
 whence it has gradually increased to 4700 *l.* the present
 annual Allowance ; and the present Secretary, *John David*
Barbutt, Esq; being examined as to this Allowance, said,
 ' That the greatest Part of this Money is for defraying the
 Expence of a private Office for the inspecting foreign Cor-
 respondence ; that he cannot say as to the first Establishment
 of this Office, having been but three Years and an half in
 the Post-Office ; but he apprehends there was always an
 Office of this Kind, and that it was defrayed formerly by
 the Secretaries of the State. The Establishment in this
 Office seemed so extraordinary to your Committee, that they
 have added the Particulars, as contained in the Examina-
 tion of Mr *Barbutt*, hereunto annexed, (No. 16.) Your
 Committee cannot but observe, that this Method of giving
 Warrants for Money, without Account, on the Offices, where
 any Part of the Civil-List Revenue is received, is highly
 irregular, as it tends to disguise the Sums issued for Secret
 Service, and may conceal the Amount of the Revenue it-
 self ; for if the Sums paid by such Warrants are deducted
 from the Receipt of the Revenue before it is accounted for,
 and the Balance only paid into the Exchequer, the Revenue
 must appear to be less by so much as the Deductions a-
 mount to.

Your Committee now proceed to lay before you the last
 Transactions of the Earl of *Orford*, as first Commissioner of
 the Treasury ; by which it will appear that besides the vast
 Sums they have already mentioned, he not only exhausted
 the Remains of the Public Treasure, which his former Prose-
 cution had left in the Exchequer, but even presumed to anti-
 cipate the Revenues of his Majesty's Civil-List for a considerable
 Sum, and by altering the regular Course of Exchequer-Pay-
 ments, did avail himself of that Anticipation, and got a large
 Sum of Money into his own hands, disguised under three
 different Orders. For on the 9th of *February* last, which was
 but two Days before he quitted his Employments, Orders
 were signed by him for the Payment of 23,641 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* for
 Secret Service, and to reimburse Expences, besides two other
 Orders payable out of the Civil-List-Revenues, which he
 signed on the same Day, for 5047 *l.* 16 *s.* 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$, there
 being then other Orders in the said Revenue, standing out
 and uncomplished with ; for the Sum of 1562 *l.* 9 *s.* 8 *d.*
 amounting in the whole to the Sum of 30,257 *l.* 12 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$
 notwithstanding, that on that Day there was but 14,284

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 41

17 s. 0 d. 3 in the Exchequer, applicable to the Uses of his An. 16. Gen. II. Majesty's Civil Government, as appeared to your Committee, 1742. by a State laid before them of the Cash of the Civil-List-Revenues, on that Day; and in order to shew the Irregularity which the said Earl was guilty of in the Course of this Affair, it is necessary to lay before the House an Account of the regular Course of Payment at the Exchequer.

John Shepherd being examined, said, that the Course of receiving Money in the Exchequer, is thus: The King issues his Sign Manual for a certain Sum, which is countersigned by the Lords of the Treasury, and thereon the Lords of the Treasury direct a Warrant, signed by them to the Auditor of the Exchequer, who on the Receipt of it makes out an Order, signifying that Order is taken that Payment shall be made; this Order is sent to the Treasury, and signed by the Lords, and then one of the Secretaries of the Treasury signs a Letter to the Auditor, directing the Money to be issued when the before-mentioned Sign Manual, Warrant, and Order, are produced; that these Instruments, together with the Letter, are carried to the Auditor, who directs the Payment of the Order to one of the Tellers, and then sends it to the Clerk of the Pells, in order to its being recorded, but keeps the Sign Manual and the Warrant till the next Morning, when upon applying to him he delivers them up to the Person who is to receive the Money, who carries them to the Clerk of the Pells, where they are compared with the Order, and then the Clerk of the Pells writes them upon the Order, under the Auditor's Direction, Recorded such a Day; then the Order being carried to the Tellers, the Money is paid.

By this it appears that according to the regular Course of the Exchequer, there must be many Steps thro' the different Offices between the issuing of the Warrant and the Receipt of the Money from the Tellers, which were not observed in the case of the Sum, which the Earl of Orford did, on the 9th of February, get into his own Hands; for it appears, that this Sum was received in consequence of two Warrants, issued in the Name of Mr *Scrope*, for Secret Services, one for 8442 l. and the other for 5969 l. and one other Warrant, issued in the Name of *Shepherd* for Special Service, for 3050 l. and was paid to the Earl of Orford on the very Day the Warrants were signed by him the said Earl. This was effected by depositing the Orders with the Bank-Officer at the Exchequer, before they were properly directed by the Auditor, for Mr *Matthew Collet*, the principal Bank-Clerk, who attends at the Exchequer, being examined, said, that he paid the Money for those Orders to Mr *Fane*,

42 Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE

An. 16. Geo. II on *Tuesday* the 9th of *February* last, that the Orders were not directed by the Auditor, till the 11th of *February* following,

and he did not receive the Sums for those Orders at the Exchequer, till the 17th; and Mr *Fane* being examined, said, That he received on the 9th of *February* last the three Sums of 8442 *l.* of 5969 *l.* and 3050 *l.* as Secret Service Money. That it was from the Bank-Officer that he received this Money, and left the Orders with him, and that the same Day between the Hours of 11 and 1, he paid them altogether in one Payment to the Earl of *Orford* in his Closet at his House in *Downing-Street*; that he took his Directions from the said Earl, to prepare the Warrants for these three Sums, and was at the same time ordered to bring the Money to him; and he being again farther examined, said, that on the *Thursday* preceding the Earl of *Orford*'s Resignation of his Employments, being the 4th of *February*, Mr *Scrope* ordered Mr *Fane*, to draw a Warrant for a Pension of 4000 *l. per Annum* to the Lord *Orford*, during the joint Lives of the King, and of the Earl, which he accordingly did, and gave it to Mr *Scrope*, who returned it him the next Day, and said, the Earl of *Orford* had perused it, and approved of it with some immaterial Alterations; and when it was wrote over fair, Mr *Scrope* took it again, and as Mr *Fane* believes, left it with the Earl of *Orford*.

1742.
Mr *Fane*'s Account of 1746 *l.* paid by him to the E. of *Orford* as Secret Service-Money.

Examination of Major *Forth* relating to a Bill of 7000 *l.* drawn by the D. of *Bolton* on the E. of *Orford*. It appears to your Committee, that one of the Orders, sign'd by the said Earl, on the 9th of *February*, was for 2000 *l.* payable to Major *Forth*, under the Head of reimbursing Expences for his Majesty's Service.

And Major *Forth* being examin'd, said, That he advanced a Sum of Money to the Duke of *Bolton*, for which he was to receive 7000 *l.* at 1000 *l.* each half Year; and that the Duke drew a Bill, directed to Sir *Robert Walpole*, which run thus: 'I desire you will pay to Major *Forth* 1000 *l.* or 'his Order, every half Year, for three Years and a half, to 'commence from *Lady-Day* last, Value receiv'd, 16 *May*, '1738.' That Sir *Robert Walpole* verbally accepted this Bill, but would not indorse it: That he has receiv'd 5000 *l.* at five different Payments, from Sir *Robert Walpole*'s own Hands in Bank Notes; and that Lord *Orford* told him, about the 9th of *February* last, that a Warrant was sign'd for the 2000 *l.* unpaid, which was the first Order that had pass'd through the Treasury.

Mr *Tilson*'s Account how Money issued for Secret Service was accounted for to his Majesty. Your Committee being further desirous to inform themselves in what Manner the vast Sums issued for Secret Service were accounted for to his Majesty, sent for Mr *Tilson*, who being examin'd, said, That when his Majesty sign'd a Sign Manual for the paying of any Sum of Money to Mr *Scrope*, for Secret Service, he also sign'd at the same time

Relating to ROBERT Earl of ORFORD. 43

a Receipt to Mr Scrope for the same Sum, but that there was always a Blank left for the Date, and the Dates are at the same time put in at the Treasury to the Warrant, the Order, the Sign Manual, and the King's Receipt; and this is usually done by the Entering-Clerk, who wrote the Sign Manual, that it may all appear in the same Hand: That the Date of the Receipt is always made the same as the Date of the Order. And he produc'd to your Committee a Paper, the Copy whereof is here insertcd, and is as follows:

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

GEORGE R.

We acknowledge to have receiv'd of our trusty and well beloved John Scrope, Esq; the Sum of 5969 l. being the same Sum which in pursuance of an Order, bearing Date this Day, was issued to him, at the Receipt of Our Exchequer for Our Secret Service. Given at our Court of St. James's, the 9th of February, 1741, in the 15th Year of Our Reign.

GEORGE R.

Examined. ORFORD.

And your Committee being inform'd, that the Paper deliver'd by Mr Tilson was the Hand-writing of Mr Thomas Wilkin, sent for him; and he being examin'd, said, That the said Paper was his Hand-writing, and was by him copied from a Paper deliver'd to him by Mr Tilson, and he believ'd was an Original: That he has never seen the King write, but he has seen many Sign Manuals, and he thinks there was the same Hand to that Paper: That he has never seen the Earl of Orford write, but what was to the Paper, he copied, was like what he had seen for the Earl of Orford's Hand: That he believes the Copy he made was not examin'd, but he copied it exactly, Word for Word, and took the Sums and Dates exactly, and he believes it was a true Copy.

Examination of
Mr Wilkin re-
lating thereto.

Your Committee cannot but observe, that this Receipt is for one of those very Sums which Mr Fane receiv'd, by Anticipation, of the Bank-Officer, the 9th of February, and which was not really issued at the Receipt of the Exchequer till the 17th of February, and never went into the Hands of Mr Scrope, but was immediately carried to Lord Orford.

Your Committee were at a Loss to know, what was meant by those Words, *Examined*, ORFORD, it being impossible to mean the witnessing to his Majesty's Receipt of it from Mr Scrope on that Day; for Mr Scrope never had the Mo-

ney,

44 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16 Geo. II.
1742.

And of
Mr Scrope.

ney, therefore could not pay it into his Majesty's Hands, as that would imply. Nor have your Committee been able to inform themselves, whether or no this is conformable to any antient and regular Way of discharging Persons for the Receipt of such Sums, or a modern Invention.

And in order to clear up this, and other Matters of far greater Importance, your Committee apply'd to the House for Leave to examine *John Scrope, Esq;* in consequence whereof he did attend on the 4th of *June* instant, when he did acquaint the Committee, That he had read the Oath and found it to be a strong one, and desir'd the Opinion of the Committee how he was to behave: That if they intended to examine him about the Secret Service Money, he doubted he could not answer without having his Majesty's Leave: And he said he was tender of doing any thing that might leave a Stain upon his Character; though he believes he can give no Information to the Committee more than what they have already got. And then he withdrew. And then Mr *Scrope* was again call'd in, and the Chairman inform'd him, That the Committee had consider'd of what he had said, and he was directed to acquaint him, that they did not think themselves to be in a Situation to direct or advise in the Affair; but the Committee desir'd to know, whether he would submit to take the Oath or not? To which Mr *Scrope* answer'd, I hope you will give me Time to consider of it, as being a Matter of great Consequence; and then he withdrew: Upon which the Committee appointed him to attend on the 14th instant *June*; on which Day he did accordingly attend, and your Committee being inform'd, that he desir'd to speak with the Chairman and the Committee, he was call'd in and ask'd, What he had to say?

Whereupon Mr *Scrope* said, He was extreemly sorry that he should give the Committee so much Trouble, for he did assure them, that his Refusal was not premeditated, for he came the other Day resolved to take the Oath, tho' he had then Doubts if he should answer in what related to Secret Service Money, and he thought he might have made his Objections, when he was examin'd to it; and accordingly began to take the Oath; but when he came to the general Words, he found them to be so strong, and general, that he doubted if he should not be guilty of Perjury, if he should take the Oath and not answer.

That he had improved the Time the Committee had been so kind to give him, and had consulted with the ablest Lawyers and Divines, and they have made his Scruples stronger; and that he did not do it to obstruct the Enquiry, but could not as an honest Man, and with a safe Conscience, take the Oath; that he had laid his Case before the King.

and

and was authorized to say, 'That the Disposal of Money
issu'd for Secret Service, by the Nature of it, requires the
utmost Secrecy, and is accounted for to His Majesty only,
and therefore His Majesty cou'd not permit him to disclose
any Thing on that Subject.'

Who refuses to
take the Oath,
and to answer
certain Questions
put to him on
that Occasion.

That he had well considered with himself, and consulted
other Persons, and thinks he should be criminal if he took
a general Oath, when there were particular Questions which
he did not intend to answer; that he hoped he should not
incur the Displeasure of the Committee, for if the Oath
was confined, he was ready to be examined.

Which Behaviour of Mr *Scrope* greatly surpriz'd your
Committee, considering the Information they had received
from the many Papers relating to the Secret Service, which
had been laid before them, and from the Examination of
the Messengers, and the most knowing and active Clerks
in the Office where he is Secretary.

Remarks of the
Committee
thereupon.

Mr *Scrope* having thus refused to answer to this material
Part of this Enquiry, your Committee beg Leave to observe,
that those Sums which are specify'd to be for Secret Ser-
vice, and which have always been issu'd in Mr *Scrope*'s
Name, are the only Money for which His Majesty gives a
Receipt, and may therefore be all that the Crown conceives
to be issu'd without Account; for the specious Titles of
Special Service, and to reimburse Expences, seem, from the
very Phrase, to imply some Account; and what is issu'd to
the Solicitor of the Treasury, under the Head of reimbur-
sing Expences, is actually accounted for, so that His Ma-
jesty may possibly be led to believe, that all the Money
issu'd under these Heads is accounted for, as he gives no
Receipt for the same; and thus it may happen, that by the
Artifice of a Minister, such Sums of Money may be issu'd
under the Heads of Special Service and to reimburse Ex-
pences, as may endanger the publick Liberty, while the
Crown may be ignorant of the same, and by attending on-
ly to what is specify'd to be for Secret Service, may believe
that Service is kept within reasonable Bounds.

These are the most remarkable Particulars that your Com-
mittee think proper to lay before you, relating to the Head
of Secret Service, which, if it be considered either by Com-
parison, or by its Consequence, either by the Sum, or
the Manner of its Issue and Receipt, are equally exorbitant,
dangerous, and destructive.

If it be considered by the gross Comparison, then it stands
as above; as 1,384,600 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* to 279,444 *l.* 1 *s.* 7 *d.*
Halfpenny; if by descending into Particulars, then it will
appear, the two remarkable Years 1733 and 1734, amount

46 *Farther Report of the SECRET COMMITTEE*

An. 16. Gor. II.
1742.

to 312,128 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* being considerably more than the Total of the whole Ten Years, from 1707 to 1717.

And what is most astonishing, the Demands for Secret Services, in the six Weeks immediately preceeding the Resignation of the Earl of *Orford*, amount to more than the whole Expence, upon that Head, in the Three Years ending *August* 1710, and the Draughts upon the *Exchequer* for that Use, in one Day only, being the 9th Day of *February* last (the last indeed he sat at the Treasury) amount to a greater Sum than was issued for that Service, in any one of the aforementioned Three Years, so gloriously distinguished by repeated Victories.

And if the Consequences of this Profusion be considered, what can they be but the Alteration of a Government, which so lately was supported in that Branch for one fifth Part of the Expence upon the medium of the Ten Years. Your Committee have informed you how the Power, the Influence, the Offices of the Government have been employed by him towards violating the Freedom of your Elections; and they apprehend they have just Grounds to suspect that Part of these immense Sums have been expended for the same most pernicious Purposes; and the rather when they consider from what Question the obstinate Silence of *Paxton* took its Rise, as also what Sums have been given towards the defraying the Expences of the new Charter at *Radnor*, and to carry on the Prosecutions at *Colchester*, as also the strong Probability of the same Practice being carried on with Respect to the Borough of *Orford*; besides the remarkable Sum to *Lever*, as a Reward to a most unjust returning Officer, censur'd by, and actually under the Punishment of Parliament, as a Violator of the Liberties of his Country.

Nor are the Apprehensions of your Committee at all lessened when they consider the Manner of issuing and receiving these great Sums; For here they find the regular Course and Order of the *Exchequer* was, on the 9th of *February* last, overturned by pawning the Orders to a Bank-Man for immediate Payment, by which Means the Earl of *Orford* got 17,461 *l.* into his own Hands, one of the last Days he remained in the Treasury, which was disguised in three Warrants, and was much more than there actually was in the *Exchequer* applicable to the Uses of the Civil Government.

They also find the Sums issued under the two Heads of Special Services, and to reimburse Expences for his Majesty's Service, tho' they seem to imply open and determinate Uses, yet they are issued without Receipt from his Majesty as well as without Account, except what relates to the Solicitors of the Treasury; so that it is possible the Sums under these two

Heads,

Heads, amounting to 508,781 *l. 1 s. 1 d.* may be issued An. 16, Geo. II. 1742. and employed for Uses, which the Crown itself may look upon as no ways making Part of the Article of Secret Service; and if a profuse and designing Minister should by these Means get a Power of squandering such vast Sums of Secret Service Money upon his own arbitrary Designs, while the Crown may be misled to imagine that this Branch of the Government is carried on at a moderate and justifiable Expence, your Committee apprehend that the King may be impoverish'd, the Civil List exhausted, the just Debts unpaid, and the People in Consequence loaded with new Burthens to replace that Profusion which may be so dangerous to their Liberties.

Your Committee have now laid before you the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*, with relation to the Payment of the Troops, the Freedom of your Elections, and the Quantity as well as Manner and Consequence of issuing and receiving the Publick Money, supposed to be employed for Secret Services of the State, notwithstanding the Obstructions they have met with either for want of Power to compel or indemnify the unwilling Witness or Accomplice, and from their Inability to protect and support those who might have been more ready to do their Duty to the Publick.

Your Committee are now proceeding in the Examination of the Copies of the Papers and Letters, and Extracts of Letters relating to the Convention, referred to them by the House, which they will report with all possible Dispatch.



APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO THE

Farther REPORT of the *Secret Committee.*

NUMB. I.

NAVY-OFFICE,
15 April, 1742.

AN Account of all Sums of Money drawn by Bills from *Jamaica*, for the Service of his Majesty's Fleet, since the Commencement of the War against *Spain*, and at what Rates of Exchange the said Bills were drawn.

	Date of the Bills.	By whom drawn.	Sum.			Exchange, per Cent.
			l.	s.	d.	
Account of Bills drawn from <i>Jamaica</i> for the Service of the Fleet.	26 Oct. 1739.	Mr George Hinde, Naval Officer at <i>Jamaica.</i>	300	00	00	40
	1 Dec.		300	00	00	
	8 Jan.		400	00	00	
	13 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	18 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	25 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	14 Feb.		1071	8	7	
	23 Ditto.		500	00	00	
	24 March		474	5	8	
	25 Ditto, 1740.		200	00	00	
	26 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	27 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	21 April		400	00	00	
	23 Ditto.		200	00	00	
	25 Ditto.		300	00	00	
	21 May		100	00	00	
	22 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	23 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	26 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	27 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	28 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	21 June		200	00	00	
	23 Ditto.		300	00	00	
	24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
	25 Ditto.		100	00	00	

26 June

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

49

An. 16, Geo. II.

1742.

Date of the
Bills.

By whom
drawn.

Sum.

Exchange per Cent.

	l.	s.	d.	
26 June, 1740.	200	00	00	
27 Ditto.	500	00	00	
2 July	100	00	00	
3 Ditto.	100	00	00	
4 Ditto.	200	00	00	
23 August	300	00	00	
25 Ditto.	300	00	00	
26 Ditto.	300	00	00	
29 Septemb.	200	00	00	
30 Ditto.	100	00	00	
1 October	200	00	00	
2 Decem.	100	00	00	
3 Ditto.	300	00	00	
Ditto.	100	00	00	
5 Ditto.	100	00	00	
6 Ditto.	100	00	00	
8 Ditto.	100	00	00	
9 Ditto.	250	00	00	
10 Ditto.	500	00	00	
11 Ditto.	200	00	00	
Ditto.	200	00	00	
12 Ditto.	100	00	00	
16 Ditto.	100	00	00	
17 Ditto.	100	00	00	
18 Dec.	100	00	00	
26 Ditto.	70	00	00	
29 Ditto.	200	00	00	
30 Ditto.	100	00	00	
1 January	50	00	00	
2 Ditto.	60	00	00	
3 Ditto.	50	00	00	
6 Ditto.	182	00	00	
7 Ditto.	200	00	00	35
9 February	100	00	00	40
21 Ditto.	200	00	00	
3 March	250	00	00	
13 Ditto.	200	00	00	
17 Ditto.	200	00	00	
18 Ditto.	200	00	00	
19 Ditto.	100	00	00	35
14 Ditto.	50	00	00	
7 April 1741.	150	00	00	
11 Ditto.	100	00	00	
12 Ditto.	200	00	00	
13 Ditto.	200	00	00	

Mr George Hinde,
Naval-Officer at
Jamaica.

1742.

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14 Ditto.

50 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II. *Date of the*
1742. *Bills.*

By whom
drawn.

Sum.

Exchange per Cent.

14 April 1741.
20 Ditto.
21 Ditto.
23 Ditto.
24 Ditto.
25 Ditto.
27 Ditto.
29 Ditto.
30 Ditto.
1 May
19 Ditto.
22 Ditto.
23 Ditto.
24 Ditto.
26 Ditto.
27 Ditto.
28 Ditto.
30 Ditto.
31 Ditto.
15 June
16 Ditto.
13 July
14 Ditto.
17 Ditto.
18 Ditto.
19 Ditto.
29 Ditto.
6 August
11 Ditto.
12 Ditto.
15 Ditto.
18 Ditto.
19 Ditto.
Ditto.
20 Ditto.
21 Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
Ditto.
27 Ditto.
28 Ditto.
4 Sep.

Mr George Hinde,
Naval-Officer at
Jamaica.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
100	00	00
200	00	00
150	00	00
150	00	00
200	00	00
100	00	00
100	00	00
50	00	00
170	00	00
400	00	00
600	00	00
150	00	00
100	00	00
150	00	00
200	00	00
248	00	00
100	00	00
200	00	00
400	00	00
600	00	00
150	00	00
130	00	00
200	00	00
150	00	00
160	00	00
150	00	00
200	00	00
70	00	00
100	00	00
100	00	00
70	00	00
70	00	00
162	11	06
200	00	00
500	00	00
250	00	00
200	00	00
100	00	00
100	00	00
100	00	00
200	00	00
100	00	00
200	00	00
150	00	00
150	00	00

5 Sep.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 51

Date of the Bills. By whom drawn. Sum. Exchange per Cent. An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.

		l.	s.	d.	
5 Sep. 1741.	Mr George Hinde, Naval-Officer at Jamaica.	150	00	00	40
8 Ditto.		200	00	00	
14 Ditto.		1000	00	00	
Ditto.		400	00	00	
26 Oct.		800	00	00	
27 Ditto.		168	4	01	
29 Ditto.		200	00	00	
31 Ditto.		400	00	00	
3 Dec.		170	00	00	
21 Ditto.		2000	00	00	
Ditto.		100	00	00	
23 Ditto.		300	00	00	
22 January		300	00	00	
6 February		1000	00	00	
Ditto.		500	00	00	
Ditto.		200	00	00	
Ditto.		1000	00	00	
8 Ditto.		100	00	00	
9 Ditto.		1200	00	00	
29 Dec. 1739.	By Robert Kerby, Naval-Officer at Port Antonio.	200	00	00	35
18 March		100	00	00	
14 July, 1740.		90	00	00	
Ditto.		110	00	00	
23 Sept.		150	00	00	
27 Nov.		200	00	00	
14 April, 1741.		200	00	00	
22 Ditto.		100	00	00	
24 Ditto.		100	00	00	
13 June		100	00	00	
22 Ditto.	40	100	00	00	40
28 August		100	00	00	
31 Ditto.		100	00	00	
3 Sept.		100	00	00	
13 Oct.		100	00	00	
29 Ditto.		100	00	00	

Richard Haddock, John Fowler, Ja. Ackworth, John
Philipson *, Thomas Pearse †.

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An

* Member for Harwich in this Parliament.

† See the Report, p. 25.

An Account of the Sums of Money drawn by Bills from *Jamaica*, for the Service of his Majesty's Ordnance, since the Commencement of the War against *Spain*, and at what Rates of Exchange the same were drawn.

Drawers.	Dates.	Rate of Exchange.	Sum Sterling. l. s. d. f.
Capt. William Douglas	1739 Dec. 28		31 14 10
Thomas Broderick	Feb. 23		21 1 8
George Berkeley	21	140 per Cent.	48 13 6
Charles Windham	23		16 4 1
Edward Boscawen	March 1	In Sterling.	170 00 00
F. Percival	19		86 1 3
Thomas Watfon	22		46 15 8
Digby Dent	1740 May 8	140 per Cent.	61 8 10
Charles Knowles	30		127 12 00
Edward Boscawen	1739 Feb. 3	In Sterling.	9 12 00
Charles Windham	1740 May 8		16 19 3
George Burrish	1739 Dec. 20		11 19 3
Edward Boscawen	1740 June 21		37 4 5
P. Mayne	Aug. 20		17 13 6
Thomas Trevor	20		22 11 7
William Knight	25		37 7 9
George Berkeley	Sept. 4	140 per Cent.	10 00 00
Digby Dent	23		1 8 6
William Douglas	Oct. 8		11 15 3
M. Stapylton	June 19		23 15 10

Commanders of his Majesty's Ships.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 53

Drawers.	Dates.	Rate of Exchange.	Sum Sterling.		
			£.	s.	d.
John Rogers, Storekeeper at Jamaica.	1740 Oct. 1	140 per Cent.	{	100	00
	Jan. 3			300	00
	1741 June 26			500	00
John Turner, Commissary and Pay-Master to the Train of Artillery.	1741 June 26	130 per Cent.	{	1400	00
	17			500	00
	17			700	00
	Dec. 18	140 per Cent.	{	200	00
	18			100	00
	18			200	00
	18			400	00
	16			100	00
	17			100	00
	Oct. 26	137 : 10 per Cent.	{	182	10
	Nov. 9			100	00
	Dec. 18			200	00
	Jan. 26			400	00
	Feb. 9	140 per Cent.	{	295	18
	9			75	00
	9			200	00
	9			80	7
	9			134	00
	9			365	3
	9			250	00
	9			500	00
	9				
	9				

All the foregoing Bills are drawn from Jamaica. No Bills have been remitted to Jamaica.

54 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Received Advice of the following Bills drawn from *Jamaica*, but as they are not yet arriv'd, the Rates of Exchange are not known.

Drawers.	Dates.	Sum Sterling.		
		l.	s.	d.
<i>John Turner.</i>	{ 1741 Oct. 27	100	00	00
		28	429	10 00
		28	174	00 00
<i>Major Jonathan Lewis.</i>	Dec. 4	150	00	00
	May 18	600	00	00

Office of Ordnance,
April 17, 1742.

W. R. EARLE (a), Clerk of the Ordnance.

NUMB. II.

Capt. Wilson's
Examination re-
lating to the Me-
thod of paying
the Troops sent
to the West In-
dies.

CAPT. *Alexander Wilson* being examined in the most solemn Manner, this 21st Day of *April*, 1742, said, That he was an Agent to Lord *Cathcart* when he was preparing for his Expedition to the *West Indies*. That in or about *May* or *June*, 1740, Lord *Cathcart* received from Mr *Pelham* (b) a rough Draught of Instructions, which Mr *Pelham* proposed to give to his Deputy Pay-Master, that was to attend the Troops under Lord *Cathcart*. That this Examinant perused the said Draught together with Lord *Cathcart*. That it contained Directions to the Deputy to pay the Troops at *Jamaica*, at such a Rate of Exchange, as should appear to Lord *Cathcart* and the superior Officers, to be most advantageous to them. That this Rate of Exchange should be constant and invariable; and that the said Deputy should keep an Account current of what he thus paid; and if any Advantage accrued from the Currency thus settled, the Publick were to be entitled to it; but if there was any Loss, the Publick were to make it good: And it was also proposed, that the Deputy should carry with him a Sum of Money for this Purpose, and should be authorized to draw the necessary Bills on the Paymaster-General. That Lord *Cathcart* approved of these Instructions; but on or about the latter End of *June*, or the Beginning of *July*, 1740, it was intimated to the Lord *Cathcart* from the Pay-Office, or by Messieurs *Burrell* (c) and *Brisfow* (d), that the

Trea-

- (a) Member in this Parliament for Malmsbury.
- (b) Member in this Parliament for the County of Suffex.
- (c) Member in this Parliament for Haslemere.
- (d) Member in this Parliament for St Ives.

Treasury were of Opinion, that the Troops were not to be left to the Uncertainty of finding Money Abroad, since Merchants might make their Advantages of the Necessities the Troops might sometimes be under, and that in Consequence of this Opinion, a Contract for paying the Troops at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* was then depending before the Treasury. That Lord *Cathcart* immediately on this Information, applied, by this Examinant, to Mr *Williams* (e) and Mr *Monson's* (f) Offices for a Meeting. His declared Purpose in procuring this Meeting, was, if possible, to get the Troops paid in a more advantageous Manner, for he did not apprehend that the Contract was already pass'd, but only that it was then depending. That at this Meeting, which was at Mr *Williams's* Office, between the 4th and 13th of *July*, 1740, there were present Lord *Cathcart*, Mr *Hanbury Williams*, Paymaster of the Marines, Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Bristow*, and this Examinant; Mr *Pelham* was then in *Yorkshire* with Mr *Arundel*, as he believes. Lord *Cathcart* took Notice of the Inconveniences which might arise by paying Men only 120 *l. Jamaica* Money for 100 *l. Sterl.* when, by the concurring Reports from *Jamaica*, and of Merchants, the Exchange was at 135 to 140. That he hereupon mentioned what he had observed in Armies Abroad, particularly what happened at *Ghent* and *Bruges* in 1712, where the Troops mutiny'd on Account of some small Deductions for Camp Necessaries and Bread, which were taken from some Regiments and not from others. That this Examinant said at the same Time, that as the Troops from *North America*, under Colonel *Blakeney*, were paid at the full Currency of the Exchange in those Parts, he apprehended, that if they received less Money, when they join'd Lord *Cathcart*, than what they had before, they might begin a Mutiny, and by informing Lord *Cathcart's* Men, might occasion Discontents and Mutiny amongst them also. The Contractors answered to this, that the Difference of Currency in the North Provinces of *America*, from whence Colonel *Blakeney's* Troops came, was rather more to the Advantage of those Troops than the intended Payment of 120 *l. per Cent.* That the Contractors explained themselves on this Particular, in a Manner that this Examinant could not answer, nor indeed understand. That Lord *Cathcart* was silent. The Contractors reckoned up several Articles of the Charge it would be to them, some of which were the Insurance of the Money, the Freight, the Commission which they were to pay their Correspondents in *Jamaica*, with other incident Charges which

(e) Member in this Parliament for the County of Monmouth.

(f) Member in this Parliament for Lincoln.

56 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II. which this Examinant cannot remember. All these together, 1742. they said, was the Cause why they could not contract for less Profit, than what they should get by paying 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l.* *Sterl.* There was some other Talk upon this Affair, which all ended in Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow* (but thinks it was Mr *Burrell*) declaring, that they had made an Agreement with the Treasury already upon these Terms, and that they could not do it for less Profit. That this Declaration of Mr *Burrell*'s put an End to the Debates, and the Meeting, for Lord *Catbcart* acquiesced in what the Treasury thought fit, as he was under Orders. He was a polite Man, and did not choose to signify his Disapprobation when it was of no Consequence: So, on the said Declaration, he said he was to be determined by superior Powers; but in private Conversation afterwards with this Examinant, he wished it had been better. That this Examinant cannot, of his own Knowledge, say what Steps had been taken with the Treasury with Relation to the first intended Instructions, nor does he know of any publick Notice given by the Treasury for receiving Proposals, nor has he heard of any Proposals from others but Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*: But he is not in the Way of Treasury Affairs.

Being further examined on the 27th Day of April 1742, in Relation to the rough Draught of the Instructions mentioned above, said, That Mr *Pelham*, in Conversation with Lord *Catbcart*, when this Examinant was present, delivered it as his Opinion, that the Troops might be supplied in the Manner there laid down, especially as he supposed that Money would be brought into *Jamaica* by taking of Prizes. That the rough Draught was delivered to Lord *Catbcart* after these Conversations. That it began with the Style of Instructions, in the same Manner as was customary to give to all Deputy Pay-masters Abroad, empowering him to take up, and draw Bills for the Supply of the Troops, &c. That it was written in a running Hand, and, as he thinks, in two Sheets of Paper, Folio-way, but all the Sides were not filled. That as it was to be perused by Lord *Catbcart* as a Plan, on which, if approved of, Instructions were to be formed, there was Room left for Additions and Alterations; but that Lord *Catbcart* finding, that so far as it related to himself, it was complete, and wanted none, neither Lord *Catbcart* nor this Examinant made any therein, but returned it to the Pay-Office unaltered. That this Examinant believes Lord *Catbcart*'s Secretary carried it back, or perhaps Mr *Pelham*'s Deputy might call for it. That this Examinant saw the final Instructions given to the Deputy Pay.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 57

Pay-master, but he only looked over it transiently; however, he read so much as to be sure, that the Power of drawing upon the Pay-master in Case of Necessity or Disappointment, was therein contained, tho' he cannot expressly speak to those Words. This Examinant adds, That he has been informed by one of the Clerks of Mr *Williams's* Office, that Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow* did ensure the Money they sent to *Jamaica*, but he does not know at what Rate.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

NUMB. III.

Peter *Burrell*, Esq; * being examined in the most solemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742, said, That about the latter End of the Year 1739, going down Stairs from the House of Commons, he was asked by Sir *Robert Walpole*, if he, this Examinant, or his Acquaintance, had any Money in the Northern Colonies. That about Three Weeks or a Month afterwards, he told Sir *Robert* that he could not meet with any Persons, whom he could depend on, who had. And Sir *Robert* then replied, he believed there would be no Occasion for any. That as soon as it was publicly known that Troops were going to *Jamaica*, this Examinant took Occasion from this Incident to apply to Sir *Robert Walpole*, and to acquaint him, that as he, this Examinant, had Correspondents in *Jamaica* on the *South-Sea* Company's Account, who were Men of Credit at *Jamaica*, and who had the greatest Command of Money of any in the Place, this Examinant thought he could supply the Government as well as any Body, if Money was wanted there: To which the Examinant then received no positive Answer. That after this, this Examinant considering with himself the great Importance of this Affair, he thought it too much Hazard for himself alone, and thereupon asked Mr *Brislow*, if he thought it could be undertaken without a great Risque. That when they had consulted together, they agreed on the Forms on which they would propose it, and about the Month of *June*, the Parliament being then prorogued, they waited on Sir *Robert Walpole* at *Chelsea*, and made an Offer of furnishing any such Sums as might be wanting for the Payment of the Troops, on the same Conditions, which were afterwards agreed to by the Treasury. That Sir *Robert Walpole* asked them, if those were the lowest Terms, and hoped they would not ask more than what was reasonable, nor what any Body should complain of. And the Exami-

1742.

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* Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

nant assured him, that, upon the best Calculation, they had not. That he would not take it upon himself, but desired them to make their Proposals to the Treasury. That a few Days after this Conversation with Sir Robert Walpole, they did lay this Proposal before the Treasury, without any Thing else passing between them and Sir Robert Walpole in the Interval; nor had the Examinant any Conversation with any other Lord of the Treasury before he offered his Proposal to the Board. That on Delivery of these Proposals, he does not recollect whether he was called in or no, nor can he say when he received the first Notice of his Proposal being accepted, nor by whom he was informed of it; but he thinks, if any Thing particular had happened on this Occasion, he must have remembered it; nor does he recollect of meeting Mr Hanbury Williams the Morning this Proposal was delivered. This Examinant does indeed remember that he one Morning met Lord Cathcart, or Capt. Wilson, who desired a Meeting at Mr Hanbury Williams's Office, but he is not sure that this was the Day of his Contract's being agreed to, but rather believes it was a Week or a Fortnight after. That the same Day this Meeting was desired, Mr Bristow and this Examinant met Lord Cathcart and Capt. Wilson, and Mr Hanbury Williams, who came after. That this Examinant does not conceive, that Lord Cathcart would desire a Meeting, or could have any Thing to do with this Examinant and his Partner, but as Contractors; and therefore he thinks this Meeting was after the Contract was passed; and that he supposes the Intention of this Meeting was, that Lord Cathcart might be satisfied, that the Troops would not be disappointed, but that due Care would be taken to supply them with Money when Abroad. That at this Meeting Lord Cathcart talked to Capt. Wilson of the Manner in which the Troops were to be paid; saying to them, that if the Troops going to *Jamaica* were not paid at the same Rate of Exchange as those from *North America*, it might occasion Discontents, as he remembered a Mutiny had like to have happened in *Flanders*, on the like Account. That they said they had nothing to do with the paying of the Troops, what they had contracted for, was to deliver the Money at such a certain Rate. That this Examinant takes it for granted, that Lord Cathcart by his Enquiry, wanted to know in what Specie the Troops should be paid, and not at what Rate the Money was to be furnished to the Deputy Pay master. That this Examinant does not remember there were any Disputes at this Meeting, whether the Contract was a good or a bad Contract, or indeed whether there was Mention made about it; and he believes at the Beginning of the Conversation Lord Cathcart knew of the Contract being passed;

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 59

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

passed; and he is persuaded that Capt. *Wilson* knew it, because the Gentleman who is gone over Deputy Pay-master, was informed by the Examinant with every Step taken in this Affair, and he was intimate with Capt. *Wilson*. That this Examinant does not remember to have told Capt. *Wilson* that the Contract was passed, but if he had met him, he believes he should have told him, but he takes it for granted, that it was understood to be done in their whole Conversation at that Meeting; and he does not remember that either Lord *Catbcart* or Capt. *Wilson* shewed any Surprise at that Time, on hearing it was done; and that he thinks that this Meeting with him and Mr *Brislow*, was on the Footing of their being Contractors for the Money. That Lord *Catbcart* asked them how they would supply the Money; and they told him they would send Foreign Gold; but this Examinant cannot remember if there was any Talk about Insurance, Freight, or other Items. That in this Conversation, which he does not know lasted half an Hour, many Things of another Nature were talked of between Lord *Catbcart* and Capt. *Wilson*, as about the Embarkation of the Troops, &c. That tho' this Examinant had contracted at 120 *l.* he does not recollect, that the Rate was mentioned at this Meeting. The Reason for fixing the Price at 120, was upon the Consideration of the probable Fall of the Exchange at *Jamaica*, when so great a Demand must be made, upon the Payment of so large a Body of Troops. That as the Exchange had advanced since the last War from 111 to 135, during which Time, there not having been any extraordinary Demand for Money in that Island, the Reverse might reasonably be expected when a Demand of Money was made, that greatly exceeded the natural Currency. This plainly appeared upon Col. *Blakeley's* Arrival with but 3000 Men, who, with great Difficulties, raised between 9 and 10,000 *l.* at 120, and could not have procured more at above 110, at least that was the Demand from those who had Money by them. In regard to the Par of Exchange between *Jamaica* and *London*, I am not informed by what Rule that Calculation is made, unless it be from the Value they have stamp'd on the Silver Specie of this Kingdom, a Shilling passing there current for Fifteen Pence, which answers to the Exchange of 125 *l.* for 100 *l.*

From the Uncertainty of obtaining Money at *Jamaica*, I desired Mr *Colebrooke* to enquire at what Rate he could procure Bills on that Place; and he informed me, he could not get Bills at any fixt Rate, not even at 120 *l.* nor any other Price, than what should appear the current Exchange of the Island, as the same should happen to be, at the Time their Bills should appear there. We had then no other Resort,

1742.

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but

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

but to send out some Specie to supply the Want of Currency in *Jamaica*, and in that there was no Certainty as to its Value, as whatsoever was the nominal Price there appeared no Act of Council to oblige any one to receive it; and the Valuation is so out of Judgment that no Man could conceive it to be made but by Chance, as a Moida of 27 s. is above 3 per Cent. higher than a Moida of 36 s. in proportion to the intrinsic Value of each; which determined us to buy heavy *Portugal Money* of the Bank, not only to prevent any Complaint, if received by Tale, but to answer their full Value, if received by Weight. The first Parcel sent being heavy Money of 36 s. each, which if had been obliged to sell at *Jamaica* by the Ounce, would have rendered Loss instead of Profit to the Contractors. The Insurance of this Money was at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. which went by the Men of War with the Troops, but we apprehend we had the Risque of a Deviation, if the Ships had been ordered to *Cartagena*, or any other Port but to *Jamaica*, which would have thrown the Risque on us; but if from any Accident the Ship where our Money was had not arrived with the Troops, we had then been at the Mercy of the Inhabitants, and in such a Case, I would willingly have compounded for 10 per Cent. Loss. We agreed for one per Cent. Freight, for all but what we sent with the Troops, but we are informed one of the Captains has sued our Agents for a Freight of 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. The Charge of Shipping is put at one per Cent. for the Expence of Guards, Iron Chests, Servants, and Coaches to attend it, and for the Risque and Charges of sending the Money in a Boat from *Portsmouth* to *St. Helens*.

That in regard to the nominal Value of the Gold Species at *Jamaica*, at a Medium, deducting the Commission and Charges, we allow there doth not remain a Profit of 3 per Cent. upon the present Contract. That no other Persons but Messieurs *Burrel* and *Brislow* were consulted or concerned in the Contract, when they first engaged in it; that after the first Imbarkation, and this Examinant believes after the second, but before the Contract was raised to 125 £ Sir *Robert Walpole* spoke one Day to this Examinant and told him, that Mr *Hanbury Williams* had desired him to ask the Contractors, that a Friend of his, a *West India* Merchant, might have a Share in the Remittances. But he added, 'You are to do just as you please: I don't ask you to let any Body in; for the Contract is your's.' That some little Time afterwards Mr *Hanbury Williams* spoke to this Examinant and Mr *Brislow*, telling them, that he had a Relation, one Mr *Hanbury* a *West India* Merchant, to whom he had Obligations, and as he had Money and Effects at *Jamaica*, he desired he might be concerned, for the Future, one fourth

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 61

Part with them : And since that Time he has been accordingly concerned one fourth Part in what relates to the Payment of the Troops in Mr *Hanbury Williams's* Office. That Mr *Hanbury* had wrote, as he told the Examinant, to his Correspondents at *Jamaica*, that in Case any Money was wanting, he might pay it into the Hands of their Agents, and receive their Bills for the same ; but the Examinant said, that though Mr *Hanbury* wrote, no Use has been made of it. That before this Sir *Robert Walpole* never recommended any Person to be concerned with the Contractors, nor had any Knowledge of any one that was ; but that some Time after the Contract was passed, he (the Examinant) asked Mr *Monson*, Deputy Pay-master to Mr *Pelham*, whether he would take one fourth Part of it ; telling him, that though the Profits might not be great, yet unless some unforeseen Accident happened the Loss could not be much. That Mr *Monson* accepted of it, and has one fourth Part of the Contract, as far as it relates to the Payment of the Troops in the Office where he is Deputy. And being asked if Mr *Monson* had any Effects at *Jamaica*, he said he could not tell ; nor had he any there himself, nor has he (Mr *Monson*) advanced any Money, nor has had any Share or Trouble of the Management, but is to stand his Share in the Profit or Loss ; and besides these, no Person else is concerned with them, to the Knowledge of this Examinant ; that this Examinant did offer half his own Share to his Brother, and a Gentleman engaged in Business with him ; but they thought it too great a Risque for them to run. He likewise mentioned it to another Gentleman, who would not accept of it. That these Refusals were very early, before any Thing was done in it, more than passing the Contract ; and that he mentions them to shew that he thought he had no great Bargain of it. A Copy of a Minute of the Treasury lying before the Committee, dated the 29th of *January* 1740-1. relating to the Refusal of the Agents of the Contractors at *Jamaica* to supply the Troops under Col. *Gooch* and *Blakeney* with a Sum of Money, being read to the Examinant, and it being therein said that Mr *Burrell* agrees, that those Troops were always understood and intended as contained and included in his and Mr *Brisson's* Proposal to the Treasury ; this Examinant said, that Minute had mistaken their Meaning ; for their Agreement was for the Troops under Lord *Catcart*, and those he should find at *Jamaica* ; and that this Examinant never understood, that the Troops under Col. *Gooch* and Col. *Blakeney* would be included in the Contract before the Arrival of Lord *Catcart* at *Jamaica*. That this Examinant believes, that it was about *June* or *July* 1741, that he had the first Account from *Jamaica* of the Refusal of his Agent's to comply with the Demands

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

62 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16 Geo. II. 1742. Demands of the Deputy Pay-master. That the Contractors having Advice from *Jamaica*, that there was no Money in the Island, and that it was proposed, that Notes of Hand should have a Currency, they had applied to the Treasury for the Advance of a second Sum; and that in *December* following there being a second Imbarkation, they procured a third Sum from the Treasury on Account of the Convenience they had of sending it.

And being further examined, this 15th Day of *June*, he said, That Mr *Colebrooke*, the Deputy Pay-master, who went with Lord *Cathcart*, supplied the Place of an Agent for the Examinant and the other Contractor; and that Mr *Colebrooke* had a Commission of one *per Cent.* only. And, he added, that there never had been any Money advanced to the Contractors, without their delivering a Memorial to the Treasury.

June 23.

P. Burrell.

Examination of Mr Bristow, relating to the said Contract.

John Bristow. Esq; † being examined in the most solemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742, said, That the first Notice he had, relating to the Remittances, was from Mr *Burrell*, who told him, that probably there would be a Contract for supplying the Troops under Lord *Cathcart* with Money; and he thinks Mr *Burrell* mentioned his having talk'd with Sir *Robert Walpole* about it, but he cannot be positive. That Mr *Burrell* asked him, (this Examinant) if he would be concerned. To which he agreed; and then, between them, formed a Proposal to be laid before the Lords of the Treasury. That previous to their laying of it before the Treasury, they waited on Sir *Robert Walpole*, who was then at *Chelsea*, the Sessions, as this Examinant believes, being ended. That in this Proposal, he thinks, they mentioned 120 *per Cent.* as the Rate at which, they would agree to furnish the Money. Sir *Robert* said, that he expected they should offer it at a reasonable Profit, that the Publick may be well served. That this Examinant cannot recollect any other Conversation that passed, either with Sir *Robert Walpole*, or any Body else, before their Proposal was communicated to the Treasury, nor does he believe that they spoke about it to any other Lord of the Treasury. That when it was laid before the Treasury, he does not remember whether they went with the Proposals themselves, but is inclined to believe they did, and that they delivered it to some Person in Office, who carried it in. That he cannot remember, whether there were any Debates about it, nor whether he was called in or no; but from a Copy of a Minute of Treasury lying upon the Table before the Committee, he thinks the Proposals were immediately accepted; and he is pretty sure he had Notice

† Deputy Governor of the South-Sea Company.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 63

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

of it when it was accepted, though he cannot say by whom, nor can he be sure that at that Time he acquainted Mr *Hanbury Williams* he had agreed. That he remembers the Meeting of Lord *Cathcart*, Mr *H. Williams*, and Capt. *Wilson*, at Mr *H. Williams*'s Office, where Mr *Burrell* was likewise present; but he is pretty sure no Body from Mr *Pelham*'s Office was there, and believes it was in July 1740, and believes it was after the Contract was passed, tho' he cannot say if it was that Day; nor can he remember who first proposed this Meeting, tho' he believes Lord *Cathcart*; nor where or when the Agreement to meet was made. That the Substance of the Conversation, at this Meeting, was the Manner in which the Troops were to be paid. That Lord *Cathcart* talked about the Pay of the Troops, but this Examinant cannot tell if Lord *Cathcart* supposed the Contract to be passed, or to be only a Proposal, though he apprehends that the Contract was then made, and that Lord *Cathcart* knew it was made, because otherwise they, as Contractors, could have nothing to do with Lord *Cathcart*. That this Examinant believes it might be possible Lord *Cathcart* might except to the paying of the Troops at a low Rate. That this Examinant and his Partner said in Substance, that the Rate the Troops were to be paid at was no Concern of theirs. That their Business was only to supply the Money at a certain Rate; but this Examinant does not apprehend, that the Troops were to be paid at a lower Rate than what they had contracted for. That this Examinant thinks Lord *Cathcart* desired to know in what Specie they intended to send out their Money. That they told him in *Portugal* Gold. That the Contractors proposed the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterling*, for the following Reasons; that they were to furnish Money in a Place where there was not much; that therefore in case a considerable Sum was demanded at once, the Owners of the Money would make the most Use of it they could, and lower the Exchange under the Rate of 120 *l.* at which they had contracted; for that Colonel *Blakeney*, before Lord *Cathcart*'s Arrival, drew on the Pay-Office for a small Sum, and this with Difficulty, as he has heard, at or under 120; and had he wanted a larger Sum, he must have doubtless drawn even still lower. That this put them under a Necessity of sending out Funds or Money to supply the Want of Currency in that Place. That as Men of Business, it was natural for them to consider the several Species of Money, which might be proper to send thither. That in this they found a great Variety. That they could not find there was any Law to settle the Currency of different Species of Coin, and the different Species of Coin were actually at different Proportions of Value in their Currency;

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

rency ; the Guinea in particular being at a lower Rate than the Thirty-Six Shilling Pieces, and both these lower than the Twenty-seven Shilling Pieces. That this Examinant is not sure, that any considerable Sum of Moidores or Thirty-six Shilling Pieces were there before ; and they were apprehended, that the Sum sent out by the Contractors, which was the greatest Part in Thirty-six Shilling Pieces, and the rest in Moidores, might on its Arrival at *Jamaica*, be reduced to an Equality with Guineas ; and in order to prevent in some Measure the Loss, which must attend an Alteration in the Value of these several Species, which was not improbable when the Disproportion should come to be considered in the Island of *Jamaica*, the Contractors sent the major Part of the Supply by the Fleet under Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, in weighty *Portugal* Gold of Thirty-six Shilling Pieces, that at all Events they might be the Value in Gold. That the Contractors sent their Money on board three Men of War, and insured it ; but notwithstanding this, they were liable to many Risques and Accidents ; for had the Men of War been ordered to any other Place, this would have been a Deviation from the Voyage, and would have vacated the Insurance ; and that the very Want of Money at *Jamaica*, or even what was on board one Ship only, though it had not been lost, would have sunk the Exchange ; and that this was no improbable Accident, for three or four of the capital Men of War were actually separated from the Fleet and driven to *Lisbon* ; and had the Money been on board either of these Ships, the Contractors would have been under great Disadvantages, as they must have rais'd it at *Jamaica*, at a great Loss ; and as it was, all the Money sent out had, upon the Arrival of the Fleet, no more Effect than to raise the Exchange to 130, and small Sums soon after got up to 135 and 140. Soon after which the Contractors came to a new Agreement at 125. That they have been told lately that the Victualling and Navy have drawn at 135 and 140 ; but this being for Stores and Provision is not like Money, but is really no Exchange at all. And this Examinant did not inform himself of the Rates at which the Navy and Victualling drew, when he was deliberating about his own Contract. He added, that he has since been told, that the Independant Companies at *Jamaica* are paid at 125. That he believes, that he might communicate a Memorial, containing the Reasons for fixing the Currency at 120, to Lord *Orford*, before this Examinant's Memorial of the 5th of *February* last was laid before the Treasury. That soon after Lord *Catbcart's* Arrival, Messrs. *Merewether* and *Manning*, their Correspondents, from a Misunderstanding, did refuse to furnish Money for the Troops, but the Deputy Paymaster, Mr *Cotbrooke*, drew on

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 65

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Mr Pelbam. That this Examinant believes, that the Reason of the Refusal of their Agents, was their thinking they could make a greater Advantage of their Money from the Necessity of the Public, than what they could get by complying with our Commission. The Reason urged by them, was the indefinite Demand of Mr Colebrooke, who refused to specify either the Sums, or the Times when they would be wanted. That as the Contractors were to pay the Difference of these Bills drawn on Mr Colebrooke, if they had been under 120 or 125 per Cent. they thought they had a Right to those Bills, when drawn at a higher Rate, and they accordingly took them up and paid them as soon as due, with Money they received from the Pay-Office; but these Bills are still in Dispute, and our Contract does not subsist any longer; for the Lords of the Treasury have within this Day or two given Order to the Deputy at Jamaica to draw on the Paymaster: That no Persons were concerned with them in their Contract 'till after it was made; but that now Mr Monson, Deputy Paymaster to Mr Pelbam, and Mr Hanbury, a Merchant, are Sharers. Mr Monson has One fourth Part of what is paid in the Office where he is Deputy; Mr Hanbury has from a certain Time been intitled to One fourth Part of what relates to the Marines, which are paid in Mr H. Williams's Office. That the Offer to Mr Monson was made jointly by the Contractors, on their own Motion, and without the Desire or Knowledge, as he believes, of any other Person whatsoever, and before any Remittances were made; and he never offered a Share to any Person but Mr Monson. That as to Mr Hanbury, Sir Robert Walpole mentioned to them, that Mr H. Williams desired his Relation, Mr Hanbury, should have a Part. That Sir Robert had been spoke to by Mr Williams about it; but he (Sir Robert) told the Contractors, he left it to themselves; and it is most probable Sir Robert Walpole mentioned this to the Contractors before Mr H. Williams spoke to them. That neither Mr Monson nor Mr Hanbury have advanced any Money on this Affair, nor indeed have the Contractors themselves properly advanced any Money; for on delivering their Bills drawn at Sight on Jamaica to the Paymaster here, he furnished the Money for them, as is the constant Practice of the Pay-Office, whenever Bills of Exchange are furnish'd payable in foreign Parts by the Drawers of such Bills, or by Draughts from Jamaica on the Pay-Office, to make good such Sums, as are raised for the Service in the Island.

And being further examined this Twenty-second Day of June 1742, said, that the Contractors allowed to Mr Colebrooke, who carried out the Money sent with Lord Catbcart, one per Cent. Commission; but the further Sums, which have

66 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II 1742. been since sent out, and all other Transactions relating to this Affair, have been managed by their Agents at *Jamaica*, to whom they are to pay two *per Cent*.

And further said, that an Action has been brought against their Agent at *Jamaica* by Capt. *Knowles* for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent*. Freight, for the Money which he carried out at the Time of Lord *Catbcart*'s going on the Expedition, for which, as the Examinant is informed, Capt. *Knowles* has obtained a Verdict; which if the Contractors shall be obliged to pay, will be a Precedent for other Captains of Men of War, by whom Money was sent out at the same Time.

JOHN BRISTOW.

Examination of
Mr Hanbury
Williams, relat-
ing to the said
Contract.

C Charles Hanbury Williams, Esq; being examined in the most solemn Manner, this 30th Day of *April*, 1742; said, That on the 9th Day of *July* last, as he thinks, being in his Chariot, he met Messieurs *Burrell* and *Bristow*, who told him, that they had made an Agreement with the Treasury for remitting Money to pay the Troops, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money for 100 *l. Sterling*. That after meeting Messieurs *Burrell* and *Bristow*, he went to the Treasury, and he thinks he saw Lord *Catbcart* in one of the Rooms of the Treasury, and thinks he talked of what Messieurs *Burrell* and *Bristow* had told him to Lord *Catbcart*, but he is not positive. That the same Day there was a Meeting at his Office in *Scotland-Yard*, at which were present Lord *Catbcart*, Capt. *Alexander Wilson*, Mr *Burrell*, Mr *Bristow*, and this Examinant, but he cannot say any one else in particular: He cannot say Mr *Monson* was present. That this Meeting was desired that Morning either by Lord *Catbcart*, or by Capt. *Wilson*, at his Instance, but he cannot tell which. He thinks they all met at the Treasury, and went from thence to the Office. That the Conversation, which lasted two Hours, turned on the proper Means of carrying Messieurs *Burrell* and *Bristow*'s Contract into Execution, and preventing the Troops from being disappointed for want of Money. That he inclines to imagine, that Lord *Catbcart* knew that the Agreement was made. This Examinant asked Messieurs *Burrell* and *Bristow* what Money they had sent over, and what Credit they had established for this Purpose; but that this was a Question arising from his own Care and Curiosity only. That he believes Lord *Catbcart* said, he had heard, that the Exchange in the City was 130 or 135; that if the Troops were paid at 120, the Difference might occasion an Uneasiness amongst them. That what Lord *Catbcart* said, was rather repining and disliking the low Rate of Exchange they had agreed for, than disputing about it. That in consequence of this Dislike of Lord *Catbcart*'s, Messieurs

Burrell

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 67

Burrell and *Brissow* entered into a Detail about Exchanges, An. 16. Geo. II. endeavouring from thence to shew, that they could not afford to remit cheaper; but this Examinant did not understand all they said upon this Head. That Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brissow* talked of their Agreement as made, but whether at the Beginning or End of the Meeting he cannot say. That he cannot say or remember, that Mr *Burrell*, at the End of the Conversation told them, he had agreed with the Treasury; nor can he say, that he heard Lord *Catcart* mention the *American Troops*, as then paid at a higher Rate of Exchange.

1742.

N. B. *Charles Hanbury Williams*, Esq; being now at *Bath*, could not sign his Examination, but it was read over to the Committee twice, and was found to be agreeable to the Minutes then taken.

NUMB. IV.

James Knight, Esq; being examined in the most solemn Examination of Manner this Third Day of *May*, 1742, said, That he Mr Knight relating to the lived many Years in *Jamaica*, from whence he came to Rate of Exchange between *Jamaica* and *London*. *England* about five Years, and that he has many Effects, Rents, and a Plantation in that Island. That when he lived there, he acted as a Factor to the *Guinea Merchants*, and has sold several Cargoes of *Negroes* to the *South-Sea Company*, which were paid for in Bills of Exchange at *London*, and had, by his Employments, the Means of being acquainted with the Remittance from that Island, both in Specie and in Bills. That the Exchange between *Jamaica* and *London* has, for seven Years past, varied very little, being from 140 to 135, but generally 140, very few Bills being drawn under that Rate, excepting particular Contracts in the Sales of *Negroes*, Estates, or other Effects, when the Exchange has sometimes been agreed on at 35, and sometimes at 37 $\frac{1}{2}$, the Difference in Exchange being considered in the Purchase. The *South-Sea Company* in particular settled their Exchange at 35 per Cent. at which Rate they drew for considerable Sums; and in Consideration of the Exchange, and the Number of *Negroes* they bought, they had them at a Price accordingly, the Planters paying 35 and 36 per Head, in Bills at 40 per Cent. and 38 and 40 *l.* in Sugars, or other Produce of the Island; when the Company, by Means of their Bills being at a lower Exchange, furnished the Merchants at 31 and 32 *l.* per Head, *Jamaica* Currency. That he has now a Bill of 600 *l.* drawn on the Ordinance at 140, and he has had two others of 500 *l.* each drawn on the same Office, and other publick Bills as well as private, at the same Rate,

1742.

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68 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Rate, within the last twelve Months. That the Independent Companies constantly draw at 140, as he has heard and believes, except one or two Officers, who have had Credit. That he believes, before the War, the Bills remitted from *Jamaica* to *England*, including those drawn by the *South-Sea* Company, may have amounted to 100,000 *l. per Annum*. That there are besides great Sums sent from thence to *England* in Specie. That before the War, it was common for single Men of War to bring 40 or 50,000 *l.* from thence; and he believes, including the Money sent over by the *South-Sea* Company, upwards of 500,000 *l. per Annum* in Specie, was usually remitted from *Jamaica* at a Medium before the Commencement of the War. That the Specie in *Jamaica* consists chiefly in *Spanish* Coin: There are some *Spanish* Pistoles and Doubloons. That there is a Law in *Jamaica*, made about the Year 1681, which ascertains the Currency of *Spanish* Money, and makes it Felony to diminish or falsify it; tho' he has known Persons tried upon the Law, yet it is not, in general, much observed, the Coin being commonly clipt and diminished of its true Weight, and the *Portugal* Money is not included in it, because there was then none upon the Island. That when this Examinant heard that the Troops were going to *Jamaica*, he enquired how they were to be paid; and on being told, that the Treasury would contract with private Persons for that Purpose, he did himself intend to make an Offer for the furnishing of the Money necessary; but in very few Days he heard, that the Treasury had agreed with Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*, at the Rate of 120 *l. Jamaica* Money, for 100 *l. Sterl.* That this Examinant does not believe, that the Treasury ever gave Notice, that they intended any such Contract. That indeed he does not know, that a formal, publick Notice has ever been given by the Treasury on such Occasions; but he has heard, that in *Queen Anne's* War, the Treasury, when they had such Contracts in View, have communicated their Intentions to Merchants, which was, in Effect, the same Thing, and was what this Examinant expected in the present Case; and had this been done, this Examinant believes, that several others besides himself, would have proposed to have furnished the Government with Money at *Jamaica*. That this Examinant would have furnished the Money at 130 *per Cent.* provided he could have obtained the same Advancement, which he has heard was made to Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*; for in Proportion to his Advancement, he proposed to have made his Offer of furnishing the Troops with Money, otherwise he could not have afforded such an Exchange, and should have thought it a good Bargain. That he should have thought himself secured against any Disappointment for the

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 69

the Want of Currency at *Jamaica*, by sending over in An. 16. Geo. II. Specie one third Part of what he might be supposed to want in Six Months Time ; for that he apprehends the only Difficulty would have been at first, when the People there, on the Arrival of so great a Number of Troops, might endeavour to lower the Exchange ; that afterwards he does not doubt, but he could have contracted with People on the Island, to have furnished the Money at the Rate of 137 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. or by other Means provided the Money to answer the Occasion. That if the whole Money was advanced to him here beforehand, and he was only to send it over, and so furnish the Money at *Jamaica* at the Rate of 130 per Cent. he should think that he might make 12 or 15 per Cent. per Annum, of the Money which he thus supplied, because he could return the same Money twice in the Compass of one Year. He added, that he believes the Insurance of Money on Men of War from *London* to *Jamaica* might be done at 2 per Cent. to pay 84. That the Commission which he pays to his Agents at *Jamaica* for transacting his Affairs, is 5 per Cent. but if he was to negotiate 30 or 40,000 *l.* for the Government, he would have done it, when at *Jamaica*, for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. with all his Heart ; and doubts not but other Persons of Credit and Reputation in *Jamaica*, would have undertaken the same for the like Commission, or less.

JAMES KNIGHT.

NUMB. V.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury,

May it please your Lordships,

MR Burrell, one of the Contractors for the Remit-Representation tances for the Marines to *Jamaica*, hath delivered from the Deputy the Letter hereunto annexed, into the Office of the Pay-Paymaster of the master of the Marines ; wherein he proposes that a farther Marines to the Sum of 9,500 *l.* may be issued for Subsistence to the Ma-Treasury, for rines going on the intended Expedition. I humbly pray 9,500 *l.* your Lordships will be pleased to order the said Sum to be issued to the Pay-master of the Marines, for the Uses hereafter to be appointed, viz.

	<i>l</i>	<i>s.</i>		<i>l.</i>
On the Order for	118,214	1	—	7125
On the Order for	33,429	0	—	2375
Pay Office, 23 Sept.				—
1740.				L. 9500

All which is humbly submitted.

EDMUND JONES, Deputy.

S I R,

70 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.

S I R,

1743.

Mr Burrell's
Letter on the
same Occasion.

THE Troops under the Command of Lord Catbcart being detained so long at *Portsmouth*, that the Money sent by them will become due before they can arrive at *Jamaica*; we therefore beg Leave to represent to you, that we apprehend it will be for his Majesty's Service, that an additional two Months Pay may be sent by them, that at all Events they may be secured from any possible Disappointment.

We therefore beg Leave to request, that a further Sum of 9,500 *l.* may be advanced to us, for the better enabling us to forward such Supply.

We are, for Mr John Bristow and Self,

Your most Humble Servants,

PETER BURRELL.

To the Hon. Charles Hanbury
Williams, Paymaster of
the Marines.

London, Sept. 23, 1740.

WHITE-HALL, Treasury-Chambers, Sept. 24, 1740.

P R E S E N T,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Sundon *,
Mr Earle †.

Order for the
Payment there-
of.

ISSUE also out of the said Funds to the Paymaster of the Marines the Sum of 9,500 *l.* upon Account for the Subsistence of the said Regiments, to answer the Value of Bills of Exchange to be given by Messieurs Burrell and Bristow, according to their Agreement in that Behalf, for their furnishing Money at *Jamaica* for the Expedition under Lord Catbcart.

To the Right Honourable the LORDS COMMISSIONERS of
His MAJESTY'S Treasury,

The PROPOSAL of Peter Burrell and John Bristow.

Proposal of Mess.
Burrell and Bri-
stow to the Lords
of the Treasury.

THAT the Forces under the Command of the Lord Catbcart intended for an Expedition to the *West Indies*, having been detained so long at *Portsmouth* by contrary Winds, it is apprehended, that upon their Arrival at *Jamaica*,

* Then Member for Westminster.

† Then Member for Malmesbury.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 71

Jamaica, a farther Sum will be wanting, than what is already remitted for that Service to the 24th of December 1740. An. 16. Geo. II. 1741.

That they are ready to furnish their Bills for 12,000 *l.* Sterling, for the Subsistence of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of the Lord *Cathcart*, from the 25th of December 1740, to the 23d of February following, at the Rate of 100 *l.* Sterling for every 120 *l.* paid at *Jamaica* in the Currency of that Island.

Which is humbly submitted to your Lordships,

For John Bristow and Self,

London, Sept. 25,
1740.

PETER BURRELL.

WHITE-HALL, Treasury-Chambers, Sept. 26. 1740.

P R E S E N T,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord *Sundon*, Mr *Earle*.

MY Lords, upon reading a Memorial from the Paymaster of the Forces, dated the 25th Instant, for carrying on the Subsistence of the Forces under the Lord *Cathcart*, from the 25th of December 1740, order 11,024 *l.* 15 *s.* 5 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ to be issued to the said Paymaster on the Order in his Name, for Part of the 200,000 *l.* appropriated to the Extraordinaries of the War, to be appointed towards the Service of the Expedition to the *West-Indies*.

WHITE-HALL, Treasury-Chambers, Dec. 19, 1740.

P R E S E N T,

Mr Chancellor of the Exchequer,
Lord *Sundon*,

Mr *Winnington* *,
Mr *Treby* †.

MY Lords agree to a Proposal now read, of *Peter Burrell* and *John Bristow*, dated the Instant, for more supplying a further Sum of 21,000 *l.* at *Jamaica*, for the Pay of his Majesty's Forces gone upon the Expedition with Lord *Cathcart*, finding that the Rate of their Bills is the same as was agreed to upon their Proposal of the 9th of July last, viz. in Bills payable in *Jamaica* at Sight, at the Rate of 120 *l.* *Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling. And their Lordships order a Copy of this Minute to be transmitted to the Paymaster of his Majesty's Forces and Marines, so as the said Sum of 21,000 *l.* may be issued for the said Bills accordingly.

N U M B.

* Then Member of Parliament for Droitwich.

† Then Member of Parliament for Plympton.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

72. APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

NUMB. VI.

Extracts and Copies of Letters from Brigadier General Wentworth and Mr Colebrooke.

(A)

Extract of a Letter from Brigadier General Wentworth, to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle.

Jamaica, Jan. 20, 1740-1

I Must beg Leave to represent to your Grace †, that the fixing of the Payment of the Troops at 120 *Jamaica* Currency, will, I apprehend, be attended with Inconveniencies. Upon the Money's being tendered to the Paymasters, great Discontent was expressed by the Officers, and some actually refused to receive it; of which being immediately apprized, I have taken Measures to put a Stop to any further Complaints. But as we shall have a Detachment from the Independent Companies who are paid at 125 *per Cent.* I believe it will be difficult to prevent the Discontent from getting amongst the private Men. As the Exchange is always fluctuating, the Payment of the Troops according to the exact Currency, when their Pay should become due, would be attended with great Inconveniencies. But was there a proper Medium fixt, (even so low as 125 *per Cent.*) I believe all would be made easy.

(B)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM*.

S I R,

Kingston, Jamaica, Feb. 20, 1740-1

YOU will certainly have learnt from Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*, before this Time, that their Correspondents, *Merewether* and *Manning*, had declined executing their Orders to pay to the Deputy Paymaster such Sums of Money, as those Gentlemen had by their Contract with the Lords of the Treasury agreed to furnish here for the Service of the Expedition; but it is probable those Gentlemen were not informed, that the Motive of that Refusal was, that these Factors had a View of appropriating the Profits to

† One of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State.

* Pay-master General of his Majesty's Forces.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 73

arise by such Supply, to themselves. What Reasons they may have given to their Principals, I cannot say; but at this Place, to justify, or at least excuse, so uncommon a Procedure, they say Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow* did not propose to allow them a sufficient Commission or Provision; that it was not worth their while to undertake it for a Consideration of One *per Cent.* to each of them. The Truth is, they were dazzled with the Prospect of getting 15 or 20 instead of 2 *per Cent.* and reckoning that a much greater Sum than those Gentlemen receiv'd from the Treasury, in *July*, would be due to the Forces before they arriv'd here, finding *November* almost out, they made their Calculation, that they should be able to set their own Price upon what they imagined the Deputy Paymasters would be under a Necessity of taking from them. But the further Supply you issued to Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow* in *September*, and for which they gave their Bill upon me, has put me in a Condition to answer all Occasions hitherto, and disconcerted all their Measures.

I perceived the General inclined to think favourable of the Intentions of these Persons, and yet it was not till the 25th of *January*, that he appeared convinced that they never intended to furnish Money upon the Account of the Gentlemen in *England*; at which Time Mr *Manning* declared in express Terms, in the Presence of General *Wentworth*, Mr *Stewart*, Lieutenant-Governor of this Island, and other Gentlemen, that they would not answer Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*'s Credit. This was the 16th Day after I delivered Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*'s Letters of Credit to them, and made my Demand on them. What pass'd between me and them, and with General *Wentworth*, in that Interim, you will please to see by the Copies of the Letters I send herewith.

Upon the Refusal of *Merewether* and *Manning* to furnish Money, General *Wentworth* desired me to stay in this Place, and endeavour to raise Money for the Use of the Troops, which I have undertaken, pursuant to the Instructions you have honoured me with; and I hope my Zeal for His Majesty's and your Service, will receive your Approbation.

I have Reason to think, that as *Merewether* and *Manning* expected to supply what Money the Troops might have Occasion for, at an immoderate Profit to themselves, that I shall meet with all possible Opposition from them and their Adherents, otherwise I could not have failed of finding all the Money I can possibly want for Bills. What the Event will be I cannot say with sufficient Certainty, more than that my Endeavours will be faithful, and, I hope, effectual.

Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning* acquainted me the 9th of *January*, that they had so long ago as the End of *November*,

74 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

vember, wrote to Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*, to tell them, that whatever Sums were wanted here for the Forces, must be sent in Specie from *England*. They knew that an Answer to those Advices could not well come back to this Island till *April* or *May*, and expected in the mean Time to have supplied Money to the Troops upon their own unjust Terms. This faithless Treatment of their Principals, must have astonished and deceived Messieurs *Burrell* and *Brislow*, till the Truth comes to be developed by subsequent Letters; and upon what you will have heard from them, you have certainly been induced to send over more Specie, a Thing that would have in no Case been necessary, if these Persons had not enter'd into the most ungrateful and unnatural Combination, to discredit their Benefactors, and distress the publick Service; and insinuating to Brigadier *Blakeney*, that themselves only were in a Condition to supply the Troops, which, for the Sake of the Service, as an Act of great Merit, they would find Means to do at the Rate of 110, this Currency, for 100 *l. Sterl.*

(C)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

Kingston, Feb. 24, 1740.

S I R,

I Gave Notice that I had Occasion for a Supply of Money for the Service, and offered my Bills at 130 *Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterl.* and notwithstanding several Things combine to make Money scarce, I have made a Beginning, and passed Bills upon you for 1250 *l. Sterl.* as is noted at the Foot.

- L. 500 to John Hamilton, Esq; Value of the same.*
- 200 to Robert Wilson, Value of John Hamilton.*
- 300 to John East, Value of Samuel Spofforth.*
- 100 to Samuel Spofforth, Value of the same.*
- 150 to Jacob Mendes da Costa, Value of David Bravo.*

L. 1250 all under this Day's Date, payable at three Days Sight. Which Sum of 1250 l. Sterl. at the Rate of 130, making 1625 l. Jamaica Currency, I pass to the Credit of the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq;

Mr

(D)

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

S I R, Kingston, Jamaica, March 23, 1740.

I Have now the Pleasure to acquaint you, that the Combination that had been formed here to reduce the Price of Bills for the Publick Service to 110, is entirely dissipated. The Confederates lately made a new Effort to put a Stop to the Supplies of Money, which they found coming into my Hands, by endeavouring to borrow all the Money they could hear of; but I have now happily overcome all Opposition, and can assure you on good Grounds, that whatever Money may be necessary to be raised for the Service, will be found here for Bills on you at 130 and upwards. I say this with Confidence from the State and Course of the Trade here; and I dare venture to advise you not to send any more Money from *England* in Specie, upon Account of any Doubt of my finding all that can possibly be wanted for the Use of his Majesty's Forces; and I think I am not mistaken in my Conclusion, if a War should break out with *France*, I shall find Money at 140 this Currency, for every 100 *l. Sterl.* because the Risque of sending Money Home will be greater, the Premium of Insurance must rise in Proportion, and People will give a greater Price for such Bills of Exchange, as they find by Experience are regularly discharged.

Here-under is an Account of all the Bills I have passed upon you; the 24th of *February*, for 1250 *l.* at 130, is 1625 *l.* the 9th of *March* for 2420 *l.* at 130, is 3146; and the 18th of *March*, for 1285 *l. Sterl.* at 130, is 1670 *l. 10 s.* for all which Sums I make myself Debtor according to the respective Dates.

Bills drawn by John Colebrooke, for the Use of his Majesty's Forces in America, upon the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Esq; Pay-Master General of his Majesty's Forces.

- Feb. 24. N^o. 1. 500 *l. Sterl.* Order *John Hamilton, Esq;*
Value of the same.
2. 200 *l.* Order *Robert Wilson, Value of*
John Hamilton, Esq;
3. 300 *l.* Order *John East, Value of*
Samuel Spofforth.
4. 100 *l.* Order *Samuel Spofforth, Value of*
the same.
5. 150 *l.* Order *David Mendes da Costa,*
— Value of *David Bravo.*
- 1250 *l. Sterl.* at 130, makes *Jamaica*
Currency — 1625 *l.*
k 2 March

76 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II. March 9. N^o. 6. 500 l. Sterl. Order Edward Trelawny Esq; Value of the same.

1742.

7. 120 l. Order John Hamilton, Value of the same.

8. 250 l. Order Pat. Taylor, Value of the same.

9. 200 l. Order John Douce, Value of John Peete.

10. 500 l. Order Juda Supino and Son, Value of Jac. Pereira Mendes.

11. 500 l. Order James Douglas of London, Value of Murray Crimble.

12. 300 l. Order James Murray, Value of the same.

13. 50 l. Order Jos. Nott, Value of the same.

2420 l. Sterl. at 130, makes Currency at Jamaica, — 3146 l.

Mar. 18. No. 14. 200 l. Sterl. Order Strachan and Wilson, Value of the same.

15. 200 l. Order Papillon and Benjamin Ball, Value of Murray Crimble.

16. 200 l. Order John and James Porter, Value of the same.

17. 100 l. Order Robert de Lap and Comp. Value of the same.

18. 80 l. Order James Taylor, Value of the same.

19. 130 l. Order Alexander Barclay, Value of David Barclay.

20. 325 l. Order Robert and John Hamilton, Value of the same.

21. 50 l. Order Matthew Cleveland, Value of Robert and John Hamilton.

1285 l. Sterl. at 130, makes Jamaica Currency — 1670 l. 10 s.

Total 6441 : 10

(E)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

S I R,

Kingston, Jamaica, May 1, 1741.

I Advised you of the 23d of March, of having drawn upon you 21 Bills of Exchange, under several Dates, amounting to 4955 l. Sterl.

APPENDIX to the Far ther Report, &c. 77

I have since drawn 7757 l. 11 s. 2 d. in other 24 Bills, An. 16. Geo. II. here-under, and make myself Debtor for the respective Sums under each Date. 1742.

I am now quite sure of raising Money at 130 l. and upwards, to any Amount that shall be required, provided a proper Notice is given.

Account of BILLS drawn by John Colebroke, upon the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, Esq; Pay-master General, for the Use of the present Expedition.

1741.	No.	L.	
March 24.	22	300	Sterl. to Alexander Campbell, Value of the same.
1500 l.	23	100	to Ditto ——— Ditto
	24	100	to Abr' Van Hoorn, John Hamilton.
	25	1000	to David Tavares himself.
April 6.	26	500	to Pandofo and Paniero themselves.
	27	200	to John Ferguson, Tho. Stratton.
	28	50	to John Hamilton himself.
	29	100	Ditto ——— Ditto.
	30	150	Ditto ——— Ditto.
	31	400	Daniel Dias Fernandes, A. and S. Dias Fernandes.
	32	300	Aaron Loufada, J. and B. Loufada.
l. s. d. 5407 11 2	33	450	Samuel Stork, John Curtin.
	34	1000	Isaac Fuertado himself.
	35	200	Ab. de Fonseca, M. and A. La Mera.
	36	150	Pereira & Lima, A. La Mera.
	37	207 11 2	Jacob Brandon himself.
	38	800	Daniel Mendes da Costa himself
	59	500	Juda Supino and Son, Isaac P. Mendes.
	40	200	Pat. Taylor himself.
	41	200	Ditto ——— Ditto.
April 24.	42	100	William Groves himself.
850 l.	43	209	Jac. Mendes da Costa, David Bravo.
	44	350	Jos. Polander himself.
	45	200	Taylor and Jackson themselves.

Which Sums of 1500 l. Sterling, drawn the 24th of March, and 5407 l. 11 s. 2 d. the 6th of April, and 850 l. the

78 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II. the 24th of April, I pass to the Credit of the Right Honourable Henry Pelham, Esq; at the Rate of 130 Jamaica Currency for 100 l. Sterling, in his Account of Exchange under the respective Dates.

JOHN COLEBROOKE.

(F)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

S I R,

Dated Sept. 1, 1741.

IN pursuance of your Command, in the second Paragraph of your Letter of the Twenty-fifth of May, about the Discontent of the Troops, on Occasion of their being paid at the Rate of 120 l. Jamaica Currency, for 100 l. Sterling, it is my Duty to acquaint you, that the Par of Money between England and Jamaica is,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Pistoles at	—	0	16	8	Sterl.	1	3	9
Guineas at	—	1	1	—	—	1	8	9
Moedas	—	1	7	—	—	1	18	9
Portugal Pieces	1	16	—	—	—	2	10	—
								Jamaica
								142
								138
								143
								138

To which adding 6 per Cent. for Freight and Insurance from Jamaica to London; the Medium upon Gold is 149

Pieces of 8, 7 s. 3 d. per Ounce Jamaica

5 s. 6 d. London Par. ——— 139 1/2

Small Pieces 7 s. 2 d. ——— 5 s. 6 d. 134 1/2

Medium 135; to which adding 6 per Cent. for Freight and Insurance as before upon Silver, is ——— 143

I mentioned in my last of September 12, that the Officers of the Independent Companies here draw for their Pay according to the Course of Exchange, now 140, and pay the private Men at 125.

I have learnt, that when the Regiments of Cope and Hay arrived in this Island, the Assembly, in Consideration of the Dearness of all Necessaries, then passed an Act to make them an Allowance of Provisions at the Country's Expence; and I am well informed, that Provisions are at this Time fifty per Cent. dearer than they were then.

I confirm, that the Officers of the Independent Companies, have an Allowance of twenty Shillings, and each private Man five Shillings per Week, for which 10,000 l. is raised annually by the Assembly.

My Duty requires me to second your Zeal in his Majesty's Service to the utmost of my Ability, in the Department

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 79

An. 16 Geo. H.
1742.

I am very much oblig'd to you for the great Joy that I can inform you, that by Occasion of the great Sum of Money issued by you, and brought to this Place in Specie, the Combination entered into to distress me in raising Money for the Use of the Troops by lowering the Exchange, has been entirely broken; and from thence, and the State of the Trade to the *Spanish* Coast, there is Reason to be assured that the Exchange will keep up to 140, not without a Probability of its being raised higher by proper Management; and as this favourable Circumstance may be the Means of producing very considerable Relief to the Troops, by paying them at a higher Rate hereafter; I hope you will look upon it as an Instance of my Ambition to make my Services agreeable to you, that I offer myself to undertake to draw Bills upon you at the best Course of the Exchange.

The Interest of the Merchants sending Goods to *Jamaica* is against the Rise of the Exchange, but I persuade myself I shall be as successful in this Attempt, as I have been hitherto in your Service; and I am so well assured of what I advance, that should you prefer the having a certain Price fixt, I am ready to furnish any Sum of Money wanted for his Majesty's Forces at 135 certain Price, without any Charge, and that my Bills bear no less Term than four Months after Date, or sixty Days after Sight; and that I will not trouble the Office with small Bills, but pass one in two Months, or one Month the ofteneft.

I sent farther to Mr Pitt, for the Use of the Forces on *Cuba* 6285 *l.* 15 *s.* by the *Defiance*, Capt. *Trevor*, which sailed Yesterday.

I am, Sir,

Your most Obedient, and

most humble Servant,

JOHN COLEBROOKE.

Kingston, *Jamaica*,

Sept. 1, 1741.

(G)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

S I R,

Dated *Jamaica*, Sept. 7, 1741.

THE Dissatisfaction of the Officers receiving their Pay at 120 this Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling, increases every Day, and now I have found Means to bring the Exchange to 140, they complain of it as a very great Hardship. I had formerly represented to the General upon this Occasion, that the Price of 120 was fixed by Contract of the Treasury with Messrs. *Burrell* and *Bristow*. That

your

80 *APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.*

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

your Instructions to me to pay the Troops at that Rate in Conformity to that Contract, under the Supposition that it was the most that could be obtained.

That it was not to be imagined, that you could order the Troops to be paid at a higher Exchange than the Price fixt with the Contractors; but that as the Contract was not answered by the Agents of *Burrell* and *Brislow*, thought it probable I might receive your Orders to pay the Troops at a higher Rate, when you were informed of my Success in raising the Exchange.

This I have happily executed, contrary to the Inclination and Interest of some Persons, and to the Opinion and Apprehensions of others; not only unassisted by the Persons, whose particular Stations required their supporting my laudable Attempt, but opposed and obstructed in my Measures.

(H)

Mr *COLEBROOKE* to Mr *PELHAM*.

S I R,

Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 12, 1741

I Have the Mortification to acquaint you, this Discontent of the Troops increases every Day, the more, as they come to understand that the Exchange is brought to 140 and that the private Men of the Independent Companies here are paid one Royal, or $7\frac{1}{2}$ Pence this Currency for 6d. Sterling, which answers to 125 Currency for 100 Sterling, and the Officer draws his Bills according to the Exchange, which is now at 140. Besides which, the Assembly in Consideration of the Dearness of all Necessaries allows every Capt. and Lieut. 20 Shillings Currency, and every private Man 5 s. a Week additional Pay, called here Country Subsistence.

This puts the Condition of these Independent Companies on so much better Footing than the Forces on the Expedition, that these latter are continually expressing their Uneasiness on the Comparison.

I can now assure you, that you may depend upon my keeping up the Exchange to 140, and raising whatever Sum may be wanted for his Majesty's Forces, and that Bills upon you will have the Preference of all private Bills.

(J)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

Kingston, Jamaica, Oct. 8, 1741.

SIR,

There is nothing talked of so much among the Officers of the Army, as the Hardship of being paid at 120, when the Exchange is at 140. Every one of them is become a Calculator, and complains, that he loses 16 *l.* 6 *s.* on every 100 *l.* For 120 *Jamaica* Currency is paid with 62 Moidores at 38 *s.* 9 *d.* each; which 62 Moidores is no more than 83 *l.* 14 *s.* Sterling, and I have been told, that most of them have wrote to their Friends at home to apply for Redress, finding themselves very much straitened in a Place, where every Necessary is excessive dear.

As the General seems not inclined to order the Payment of the Troops, otherwise than Sums of Money upon Account, notwithstanding his strict Injunctions to me to be always ready, it is probable I may not be obliged to take up Monies soon; which I shall be very glad of, that I may be instructed by you, whether I am to receive Money from Messieurs Gray and Woolley, as they now offer, at 125, or pass my Bills to the Publick at 140; on which Price, and my finding all the Money that may be wanted for the Service, you may hence-forward depend.

(K)

Mr COLEBROOKE to Mr PELHAM.

Kingston, Jamaica, 12 Feb. 1741-2.

I Have received the Honour of two of your Letters of the 18th of July, and the 1st of Oct. with a Copy of the Lords of the Treasury's Agreement with Messieurs Burrell and Briflow. Your Order that it be complied with, has been already executed, and the Additional 5 per Cent. upon all Payments for Subsistence from the 24th of April, has been paid to the respective Paymasters, and the Payments since the 25th of Dec. made at 125 *l.*

I have this Day passed my Bill on you for 4800 *l.* No. 93, at 30 Days Sight, payable to Peter Burrell and John Briflow, Esqrs. for Value of Mess. Gray and Woolley, at 125, is 6000 *Jamaica* Currency.

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

(L)

Extract of a Letter to the Pay-master of the Marines, from his Deputy in Jamaica, Aug. 22, 1741.

General Guise has wrote to Mr Colebrooke, that it is his Opinion, he ought not to take the Money from Mr Gray at 120 for 100 *l.* Sterling, when he can draw at 130 and 135. That as the Agents of Burrell and Bristow would not supply Money according to the Contract with the Treasury, that it is void ; and that he ought to keep drawing till he hears from Mr Pelham. There is great Murmuring amongst the Troops being paid at 120. I think if it had been settled at 125 *l.* it would have done better, which would have answered to the Currency of Silver here, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ for 6 *d.* Sterling.

I don't doubt, but if I was to take all Opportunities for drawing, but I could be always sure of supplying at 130 *l.* &c.

NUMB. VII.

May it please your Lordships,

Mr Pelham's Memorial to the Treasury, relating to the Contract with Mr Burrell, &c.

I Humbly beg Leave to lay before your Lordships, Copies of three Letters lately received from Mr John Colebrook, at Jamaica, the Person deputed by me to pay the Troops employ'd upon the Expedition to America, relating to the Exchange of Monies between London and Jamaica ; which I thought proper to communicate to your Lordships, with a Representation of this Affair, as the same appears to me.

That your Lordships were pleased, by Minute of the 9th of July 1740, to contract and agree with Messieurs Burrell and Bristow, to furnish Money for the Payment of the said Troops, at the Rate of 120 *l.* Jamaica Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling ; in Pursuance whereof, my Deputy was instructed to take up Money from the Agents of the said Contractors or Remitters at Jamaica, and draw his Bills upon me payable to them for the same.

That upon a Representation from Major General Wentworth, Commander in Chief of the Forces upon the said Expedition, setting forth the Discontent among the Troops, occasioned by their receiving no more than 120 *l.* Jamaica Currency, for every 100 *l.* Sterling ; your Lordships were pleased, by Minute of the 5th of June, 1741, to make a new Agreement with the said Messieurs Burrell and Bristow, that the Money should be furnished by them, at the Rate of

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 83

125 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l. Sterling*, and that An. 16. Geo. II. the Troops should be paid at the same Rate.

1742.

That my Deputy, upon his Arrival at *Jamaica*, did apply to Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, Agents for the Contractors, who refused to supply the Money that might be wanted for the Service of the Expedition, at 120 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterling*; and that the said Contractors did upon notice thereof, in the Room of Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, appoint Mr *John Gray*, their Agent, who made an immediate Offer of all Sums as were or should be wanting for His Majesty's Service; but, previous thereto, my Deputy, apprehending a Combination was enter'd into, among some monied Men of the Island, to prevent his getting any more than 110 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterling*, found himself under a Necessity of making use of the Credit and Power given him by his Instructions, to draw Bills upon me, as Pay-master-General, at the best Rate of Exchange that he could obtain; and hath actually drawn Bills upon me to the Amount of 29,216 *l. 5 s. 3 d.* at 130, 135, and some at 140 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for 100 *l. Sterling*, and makes no doubt but he shall be able to draw for all Monies that shall be wanted for the Service of the Troops, for the future, at 140 *l. Jamaica* Currency, for every 100 *l. Sterling*; which is confirmed by Brigadier-General *Guise*, as his Opinion also, in a Letter of the 4th of *September*, a Copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

That he hath kept a distinct Account of the Profit of Difference between the Rate, at which the Troops have been paid, and the Rate at which his several Bills have been drawn according to his Instructions; but that the said Remitters have been furnished with Money from my Office, to take up, and discharge the Bills so drawn by my Deputy upon me; they concluding, that by Virtue of their Contract with your Lordships, they have a Right to the said Profits or Difference, and expect that the same should be carried to their Account, and paid over into the Hands of their Agents at *Jamaica*.

I therefore humbly pray your Lordships Orders and Directions, whether the said Profit, or Differences, arising by Exchanges, shall be accounted for and paid to the Agents of the said Contractors, or reserved in the Hands of my Deputy, for the Use and Benefit of the Publick.

Which is humbly submitted to your Lordships.

Pay Office, Horse-Guards,
15th Dec. 1741.

H. PELHAM.

Brigadier

84 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Brigadier GUISE to Mr PELHAM.

Kingslon, Jamaica, Sept. 4th 1741.

S I R,

AFTER the Expedition of *Cartbagen*, I arrived in this Place, and had a violent Fit of Sickneſs, that I was not in a Condition to ſerve in the Expedition in the Iſland of *Cuba*. I find that Mr *Colebrooke* can have Money enough at 140 Currency, at 60 Days Sight.

We have had great Number of Officers ſick here, and 'tis incredible the Expence they have been at; and they flatter themſelves, that ſince Money can be had at ſo eaſy a Rate, they may reap the Benefit of it. I am, with great Reſpect,

S I R,

Your moſt humble Servant,

J. GUISE.

NUMB. VIII.

May it pleaſe your Lordſhips,

Meſſieurs Burrell
and Briſtow's
Representation
to the Treasury
relating to their
Contract.

WE having received, by Order of your Lordſhips, a Copy of a Memorial from the Paymaſter-General of his Majeſty's Forces, dated the 15th of *December* laſt, containing a State of the Tranſactions at *Jamaica*, relating to the Exchange, and Pay of the Troops there, and referring to ſeveral Letters from his Deputy in that Iſland, dated the 1ſt, 7th, and 12th of *September* laſt; alſo a Letter from Brigadier General *Guiſe*, dated the 4th of *September*, to all which your Lordſhips are pleaſed to require our Answer; in Obedience thereto, we beg Leave to lay before you, in the firſt Inſtance, the Reaſons upon which our Contract was founded in its original Price of 120, and Augmentation afterwards to 125. The Rule for fixing any Price of Exchange could only be found by the Probability of the Rate at which Money might be raiſed in *Jamaica*; and in order to attain that Knowledge, we endeavoured to procure Bills here on *Jamaica*, but could not ſucceed even at 120 *l*. It is well known the Iſland of *Jamaica* has no Species of its own, but is ſupplied chiefly, if not entirely, by what it draws from the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies* for Balance of Trade, and of this a very ſmall Quantity does or can remain in the Iſland; for this Reaſon, becauſe Silver, in which that Balance is paid, bears a higher Price in *England*, in Proportion to the Exchange, than it does at *Jamaica*; and the Currency of the Iſland

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 85

Island is so inconsiderable, that it is extremely difficult to recover Debts of any Kind, but in Sugar, or some other Produce of the Plantation.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

The Par of Exchange between *England* and *Jamaica* is deemed to be 125 *l.* for every 100 *l. Sterl.* but as the Exchange between any two Places depends upon many Contingencies and Incidents, no fixt Price or Course can be ascertained, but as more or less Money is to be paid at one Place or the other, it must eternally vary. The Exchange might be at 125 or higher, whilst the Island of *Jamaica* remained on the same Footing with regard to *England*, which it had been for many Years; but the Moment *England* was obliged to pay so large a Sum in *Jamaica*, for Subsistence of the Troops, the Case must alter, as it did with regard to Colonel *Blakeney*, who, before the Arrival of the Forces under General *Wentworth*, could, with Difficulty, raise a small Sum for Subsistence of the *American* Regiment at 120; and had not this inevitable Consequence been foreseen by us, and the Money for the Whole to have been raised upon the Island, no Man can say at what Rate the Persons in Possession of the Currency would have given it, or what Price the Exchange would have fallen to; but if a Judgment may be formed from the above Instance, it must have been greatly under 120. The Pay of an Independent Company cannot bear a Parallel with the present Case, as there is no Proportion in the Sums to be raised. Upon these Considerations it became incumbent on us, for the publick Service, as well as for our own Safety, to remove the Difficulties, which attended the raising the Money there. And the only Expedient left to avoid the Imposition of the Persons, who were in Possession of the Currency, was to provide a new one, in some Measure, independent of them. This we did, by sending out, at our own Risque and Charge, the proper Funds for that Purpose. And your Lordships were pleased to direct the Payment of a Sum of Money to us, upon our furnishing the Paymaster-General our Bills at *Jamaica* for the Amount; which was accordingly done, and the Bills punctually discharged. The Receipt of this Money at *Jamaica* had the desired Effect, as it broke a Combination, which was actually entered into, to lower the Exchange and distress the Service, and by which Monies were soon raised by Draughts from thence at 130, which enabled us to alter the Price from 120 to 125.

And as this Money was the sole Cause of supporting the Exchange in the Beginning, so to that, together with what has been since sent out, and the great Reduction of the Pay from the fatal Mortality among the Troops, must be attributed the further Rise of the Exchange to 135, and 140. And

An. 16. Geo. II.

1742.

And we beg Leave to remark, that had the Money sent out by us miscarried, the Exchange must have been governed by the arbitrary Will of the Persons possessed of the Currency of the Island.

Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning*, whom we appointed our Agents at *Jamaica*, did refuse to comply with a Demand made on them by Mr *Colebrooke*, for the immediate Payment of a Sum of Money, and also what might be further wanted for the Service of the Expedition, at 120; and the Reason alledged for this Refusal was, Mr *Colebrooke's* absolute Denial of their Request to be informed what Part of the Money brought out by the Deputies, had been issued; what Sums were then wanted, and what Sums would be necessary from Time to Time to be raised for carrying on the Service. This Denial of Mr *Colebrooke*, and his peremptory Demand without Limitation, we conceive must have been calculated to deter our Agents from the Execution of our Orders, and he thereby get the Transaction of the whole Affair into his own Hands.

As soon as we received Notice of what had happened between the Deputies and Messieurs *Merewether* and *Manning* we made an Alteration in our Agency, acquainting your Lordships therewith, and in the Room of the former appointed Mr *John Gray* our Agent, who made an immediate Offer of all such Sums as were or should be wanting for his Majesty's Service, at 125, agreeable to a new Engagement we had entered into with your Lordships.

As Mr *Colebrooke* could no longer pretend Refusal on the Part of our Agents, of the Payment of any Sum of Money which he should require, he pleads the want of Orders, and that our Contract was at an End, notwithstanding Notice was given him of the new one made with your Lordships at 125, and under these Pretences he refused to accept of the Offer made him by our Agent, and continues to draw himself on the Paymaster-General.

The Assurance that Mr *Colebrooke* gives to the Paymaster-General, that the Exchange must be kept up at 140, appears to us most extraordinary, as we think nothing in Nature can be more precarious or uncertain than the Course of that Exchange.

The Computations made by Mr *Colebrooke* in his Letter of the 1st of *September* are erroneous in Part, and extremely fallacious in the whole. Pistoles, instead of the Price which he mentions of 16 s. 8 d. are not to be bought under 17 s. 2 d. and Moidores of 27 s. not to be found for any large Sum, the Non-Coinage of this Particular Specie for many Years having render'd it very scarce. The Addition of

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 87

per Cent. to this Computation for Freight and Insurance An. 16. Geo. II. 1742.
from *Jamaica* to *London*, is placed directly contrary to what it ought to be. It is a necessary Charge upon the Remitter, who sends it from hence, and at whose Expence it got thither, and by which Means alone the Exchange bears any Price at all. His Computation on Silver is equally erroneous; the Price which he mentions to be 5 s. 6 d. in *England*, has been, since the Commencement of the War with *Spain*, and will probably remain so during the Continuance of it, from 5 s. 7 d. to 5 s. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for Pieces of Eight, and so in Proportion for small Pieces, which upon a Medium of 7 s. 3 d. and 7 s. 2 d. *Jamaica* Currency, forms an Exchange of about 128 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent.

Mr *Colebrooke*, to complete the whole, ventures, in his Letter September 7, to write to the Pay-master General, that by his Success, his Majesty's Troops had been supplied 20 to 30 per Cent. better or cheaper than they would have been by our Agents. In order to give your Lordships all the Light in our Power, we beg leave to lay before you the real State of the following Species mentioned in Mr *Colebrooke's* Letter, in respect to their Price here, their Value in *Jamaica*, and what the Produce is to the Remitter, after Deduction of the Charges they paid for the same, viz.

Pistoles at 17 s. 2 d. each Sterl. pass in <i>Jamaica</i> at 1 l. 3 s. 9 d. is for 100 l. Sterl.	_____	_____	108 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Jamaica</i> Currency.			
Guineas at 1 l. 1 s.	Ditto.	1 l. 8 s. 9 d.	136 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{9}{16}$
Moedas at 1 7	Ditto.	1 18 9	143 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ports 1 16	Ditto.	2 10	138 $\frac{1}{2}$

The Medium of the above Species produce for every 100 l. Sterling *Jamaica* Currency about 139 $\frac{1}{2}$
Deduct there-out the following Charges paid by us on Remittances to *Jamaica*:

L. 1 per Cent. Shipping and other Charges in <i>England</i> .	
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Insurance.	
1 per Cent. Freight to <i>Jamaica</i> .	
3 per Cent. Commission we pay in <i>Jamaica</i> .	
L. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. Computed on 139 $\frac{1}{2}$ the above Medium is about	_____
	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
	129

The Price contracted for now being 100 l. Sterling for 125 *Jamaica*, deduct the said 125
Then their remains a Profit, *Jamaica* Currency the Sum of 4 l. on 139 $\frac{1}{2}$ not quite 3 per Cent. which we presume will not be thought by your Lordships unreasonable, considering

88 APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 16. Geo. II.
1742.

Considering the Trust we are obliged to put in Agents, at that Distance, and the great Hazard that attends all Transactions in those Parts; to which we must again repeat, that as the Rise of the Exchange was entirely owing to the Money sent only by us, had that Money miscarried, we must have felt the Inconveniency of a want of Currency for the Subsistence of the Troops, and been exposed to the Mercy of those Persons, who were engaged in a Combination to make their Advantage of it, and the Profit now made, no way equal to what we must in that Case have suffered. And this leads us to take Notice of what the Paymaster General desires in his Memorial, that your Lordships will give Orders, and Directions, for disposing of the Profit for Difference by Exchange, on the Bills drawn upon him by his Deputy. As we humbly conceive by our Contract with your Lordships, we engaged and obliged ourselves to furnish the Pay of the Troops, at a certain Rate, and had the before-mentioned Combination taken Effect, and the Exchange thereby fallen under that Rate, or the Fund sent out been attended with Loss, such Difference or Loss must necessarily have been borne by us. Therefore we humbly submit it to your Lordships, that we are in Equity entituled to the Profit, that shall arise from such Draughts, and that the same be carried to our Account and paid over to our Agents at *Jamaica*.

*Peter Burrell.
John Bristow.*

NUMB. IX.

S I R,

Mr Daniel's Letter relating to the Corporation of Colchester.

Enclosed is the Affidavit as desired. I should be glad to know how the Petition succeeds for Costs out of the Justices Fines.

I am exceeding sorry for the Death of Mr *Lawton*. Where to have such another for publick Affairs, I am at Loss. Sure I am, had he been living and well, our Commission of Justices would have been determined one way or other, e'er this Time. If you have any Interest, I believe you would press it strongly. With it, the Corporation of our's; without it, it is hazardous, and will be attained (if ever) with great Difficulty.

I beg you'd proceed no farther in any of the Motion you and I are and have been concerned in, than Mr *Breakbank* answers Payment for both to you, and me, who am

S I R, Your humble Servant,

WILLIAM DANIEL

My Clerk was in *London*, when I first received your Letter for the Affidavit.

*Colchester,
Jan. 17, 1742*

NUMB. X.

An ACCOUNT of all Sums issued for Secret Service, or for his Majesty's Immediate or Special Service, the Money issued to his Majesty's Privy Purse excepted, or to reimburse Expences for his Majesty's Service, distinguishing the Cause assigned for issuing the same, the Time when, and Persons to whom the same has been issued, from the 10th Day of February 1731, to the 10th Day of February, 1741, viz.

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Expences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
10000 0 0			5 July 1739	Richard Allen
2000 0 0			29 Aug. 1741	Robert Adams, Gt.
		600 0 0	27 Mar. 1732	Thomas Bowen
		600 0 0	20 Apr. 1733	ditto
		739 12 0	5 Aug. 1732	Samuel Buckley
		75 11 0	15 Jan. 1732	ditto
		1228 19 8	27 June 1733	ditto
		497 10 0	13 July 1734	ditto
		285 4 6	30 Sep. 1738	ditto
		112 6 0	15 Dec. 1736	John Barnaby
		224 12 0	30 Sep. 1738	ditto
	199 11 6		23 Dec. 1736	William Blair
	3961 6 8		23 Aug. 1737	Edward Bryant
	2700 0 0		6 Sep. 1737	ditto
	2000 0 0		14 Oct. 1741	Tho. Burton, Esq;
	10500 0 0		6 Apr. 1734	William Catton
	427 17 0		7 Feb. 1739	Abraham Castres
	2231 4 6		5 Feb. 1740	Geo. Campbell, Gt.
	3000 0 0		21 July 1741	Henry Carleton
	2000 0 0		4 Jan. 1741	George Denton
	5000 0 0		26 Oct. 1737	John Egerton
	2000 0 0		4 Jan. 1741	Francis Edwards
	615 18 4		27 Apr. 1734	Thomas Ford
	1200 0 0		17 Jan. 1736	Abraham Farley
	2110 11 6		29 Apr. 1738	Will. Frazier, Gent.
	11000 0 0		22 Jan. 1738	Andrew Forster
	3000 0 0		22 Apr. 1734	William Farmer
	2000 0 0		14 Oct. 1741	Will. Frammingham, Esq;
		2016 6 0	9 July 1739	Thomas Gibson
	5358 18 6		14 May 1737	John Hall, Esq;

1742 m

Sums

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or spe- cial Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex- pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
12000 0 0			30 Mar. 1738	Joseph Hardisty
743 19 0			15 Dec. 1738	Will. L. Harrington
2000 0 0			4 Jan. 1741	Rich. Harrison, Esq.
5000 0 0			26 Oct. 1737	Robert Jackson
3800 0 0			12 Jan. 1739	William Johnson
4000 0 0			13 May 1740	Will. Jefferson, Esq.
1981 4 6			26 June 1740	Will. Jackson, Esq.
428 12 0			6 Sept. 1737	Peter Leheup, Esq.
2110 13 0			11 April 1739	ditto
		500 0 0	11 Mar. 1731	Thomas Lowther
		1000 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	29 dit. 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 April	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 May	ditto
		500 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	8 June	ditto
		500 0 0	1 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	9 August	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	6 November	ditto
		500 0 0	11 December	ditto
		1000 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	12 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	8 February	ditto
		1000 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	17 Apr. 1733	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 June	ditto
		500 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		2500 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	2 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	14 August	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	11 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	16 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	15 December	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 January	ditto

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

91

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service. Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.		
		2000 0 0	17 January	Thomas Lowther
		1000 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 February	ditto
		2000 0 0	26 Mar. 1734	ditto
		2500 0 0	11 April	ditto
		2000 0 0	3 May	ditto
		2000 0 0	13 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	10 July	ditto
		2500 0 0	18 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	7 August	ditto
		1000 0 0	24 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	8 October	ditto
		1000 0 0	25 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	12 Decemb.	ditto
		1500 0 0	4 January	ditto
		1500 0 0	17 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 April	ditto
		3000 0 0	16 May	ditto
		1500 0 0	14 June	ditto
		2000 0 0	10 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	20 August	ditto
		2500 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	5 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 October	ditto
		1000 0 0	7 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	29 December	ditto
		2000 0 0	3 February	ditto
		1000 0 0	5 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	4 Mar. 1735	ditto
		1500 0 0	16 April 1736	ditto
		1500 0 0	5 June	ditto
		1500 0 0	9 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 August	ditto
		1500 0 0	6 October	ditto
		2000 0 0	10 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	18 December	ditto
		1200 0 0	18 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	29 Mar. 1737	ditto

1742 m 2

Sums

APPENDIX to the Father's Report, &c.

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or spe- cial Service.	Sums issued to reimburse ex- pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
		1500 0 0	14 May	Thomas Lowther.
		2000 0 0	9 July	ditto
		2300 0 0	22 Sept.	ditto
		2000 0 0	5 Oct.	ditto
		1500 0 0	7 Nov.	ditto
		1500 0 0	31 Dec.	ditto
		2000 0 0	1 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 Mar.	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Ap. 1738	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	10 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	22 June	ditto
		2000 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	16 Aug.	ditto
		2600 0 0	25 Oct.	ditto
		1000 0 0	7 Dec.	ditto
		1200 0 0	17 Jan.	ditto
		1000 0 0	24 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	7 Apr. 1739	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 May	ditto
		1500 0 0	20 June	ditto
		3500 0 0	11 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	22 Aug.	ditto
		1000 0 0	5 Sept.	ditto
		3500 0 0	3 Nov.	ditto
		2000 0 0	23 Jan.	ditto
		1500 0 0	15 Feb.	ditto
		2000 0 0	8 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 April 1740	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	22 May	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 July	ditto
		1300 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
		3110 11 6	29 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	23 August	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Sept.	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 Novemb.	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 Dec.	ditto
		1000 0 0	9 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	28 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	13 March	ditto

Sums

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

93

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service. Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
		1500 0 0	15 Apr. 1741	Thomas Lowther.
		1500 0 0	21 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 July	ditto
		500 0 0	4 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	16 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 August	ditto
		1500 0 0	1 September	ditto
		2000 0 0	30 Dec.	ditto
		2000 0 0	21 January	ditto
	2400 0 0		2 July 1733	George Middleton.
	5000 0 0		30 Apr. 1734	ditto
	1675 0 0		22 Apr. 1735	ditto
	1966 12 0		20 Oct. 1735	ditto
		2090 19 0	3 July 1736	ditto
	2090 19 0		23 Dec. 1736	ditto
	2090 19 0		11 May 1737	ditto
	2090 19 0		28 Jan. 1737	ditto
	2090 19 0		27 July 1738	ditto
	2090 19 0		3 Feb. 1738	ditto
	2090 19 0		19 May 1739	ditto
	2090 19 0		25 Oct. 1739	ditto
		500 0 0	11 Aug. 1735	William Marshal.
	3030 0 0		4 Mar. 1736	Thomas May.
		243 0 0	7 June 1740	Horatio Mann, Esq;
		532 18 0	30 Sept. 1735	James Payzant.
	638 16 6		23 Oct. 1736	Daniel Prevcreau.
	96 0 6		19 Jan. 1736	ditto
		256 15 0	4 Oct. 1738	J. Burnaby Parker,
		469 0 0	5 Sept. 1741	ditto [Esq;
		1000 0 0	4 Mar. 1731	Nicholas Paxton.
		1500 0 0	24 Apr. 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 June 1732	ditto
		1000 0 0	19 August	ditto
		1200 0 0	4 October	ditto
		2000 0 0	22 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	2 June 1733	ditto
		1000 0 0	25 ditto	ditto
		1200 0 0	30 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	25 October	ditto
		1000 0 0	20 November	ditto
		1200 0 0	4 January	ditto
		1000 0 0	7 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	9 May 1734	ditto

Sums

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service. Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Ex- pences. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
		1000 0 0	26 July	Nicholas Paxton
		500 0 0	2 October	ditto
		1200 0 0	6 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	22 Apr. 1735	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 May	ditto
		1000 0 0	10 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	8 Nov.	ditto
		1000 0 0	29 December	ditto
		1500 0 0	18 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 March	ditto
		1000 0 0	12 June 1736	ditto
		1000 0 0	17 July	ditto
		1000 0 0	31 August	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	3 November	ditto
		1000 0 0	3 February	ditto
		2000 0 0	15 March	ditto
		2500 0 0	30 Apr. 1737	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	24 September	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 December	ditto
		1500 0 0	1 February	ditto
		1500 0 0	23 June 1738	ditto
		1500 0 0	12 July	ditto
		1500 0 0	4 October	ditto
		2000 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		1500 0 0	19 February	ditto
		1000 0 0	4 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	26 May 1739	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 August	ditto
		1000 0 0	26 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	11 March	ditto
		1500 0 0	30 May 1740	ditto
		1500 0 0	7 October	ditto
		1500 0 0	13 December	ditto
		2000 0 0	4 July 1741	ditto
		1000 0 0	18 August	ditto
		2000 0 0	19 Jan. 1741	ditto
	800 0 0		8 Mar. 1731	William Richards
	5000 0 0		15 April 1732	ditto
	2700 0 0		5 August	ditto
	2100 0 0		31 October	ditto

Same

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

95

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
	2065 0 0		22 Feb. 1732	William Richards
	3000 0 0		5 May 1733	ditto
	2700 0 0		16 Aug.	ditto
	15000 0 0		28 ditto	ditto
	2000 0 0		17 September	ditto
	1000 0 0		21 November	ditto
	3800 0 0		9 Mar. 1733	ditto
	3722 0 0		12 July 1734	ditto
		300 0 0	30 July	ditto
		1276 10 6	8 January	ditto
428 12 0			13 February	ditto
		1812 0 0	27 ditto	ditto
		3004 0 0	22 April 1735	ditto
		6000 0 0	19 May	ditto
		1476 0 0	5 July	ditto
862 16 0			7 November	ditto
5452 0 0			25 Feb. 1731	John Scrope, Esq;
5810 0 0			22 March	ditto
4800 0 0			19 Apr. 1732	ditto
5990 0 0			2 May	ditto
6700 0 0			13 ditto	ditto
6800 0 0			2 July	ditto
6678 0 0			28 ditto	ditto
5000 0 0			16 August	ditto
5905 0 0			17 ditto	ditto
2000 0 0			16 September	ditto
7255 0 0			19 October	ditto
10000 0 0			31 ditto	ditto
7600 0 0			23 December	ditto
1200 0 0			19 January	ditto
6222 0 0			5 February	ditto
5160 0 0			2 March	ditto
5450 0 0			7 Apr. 1733	ditto
4800 0 0			5 May	ditto
7100 0 0			23 ditto	ditto
7700 0 0			8 June	ditto
5400 0 0			21 ditto	ditto
11500 0 0			28 ditto	ditto
7610 0 0			2 August	ditto
10000 0 0			14 ditto	ditto
10000 0 0			22 ditto	ditto
5493 0 0			19 September	ditto
6399 0 0			10 October	ditto

Sums

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Re- pences.	The Time when Paid to whom
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	
6876 0 0			10 Nov. 1733 John Scrope, Esq;
6067 0 0			22 Decemb. ditto
6000 0 0			12 January ditto
6850 0 0			19 ditto ditto
7328 19 0			11 February ditto
7822 0 0			9 March ditto
10300 0 0			13 Apr. 1734 ditto
7650 0 0			22 ditto ditto
2000 0 0			2 May ditto
5250 0 0			6 June ditto
6800 0 0			12 July ditto
6732 0 0			26 August ditto
6000 0 0			13 Sept. ditto
4518 0 0			3 October ditto
6621 0 0			6 Nov. ditto
6059 1 10			10 December ditto
3750 0 0			5 Feb. ditto
5600 0 0			27 ditto ditto
1500 0 0			26 Mar. 1735 ditto
5300 0 0			22 April ditto
8150 0 0			12 May ditto
3600 0 0			19 ditto ditto
7000 0 0			28 June ditto
6000 0 0			6 August ditto
7200 0 0			16 ditto ditto
6500 0 0			30 ditto ditto
7500 0 0			30 Septemb. ditto
5165 0 0			20 October ditto
5000 0 0			8 Novemb. ditto
6471 17 0			16 Dec. ditto
7000 0 0			3 January ditto
6400 0 0			25 Feb. ditto
6600 0 0			29 Mar. 1736 ditto
8000 0 0			17 April ditto
8725 13 4			13 May ditto
7750 0 0			27 ditto ditto
5300 0 0			3 July ditto
6450 0 0			6 August ditto
3000 0 0			15 Septem. ditto
5000 0 0			15 October ditto
4857 10 0			6 Nov. ditto
5792 0 0			4 Dec. ditto
3850 0 0			17 January ditto

Sum

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

97

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service. Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Ex- pences. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		
1000	0	0							1 Feb. 1736	John Scrope, Esq;
4390	0	0							4 March	ditto
6320	0	0							9 April 1737	ditto
8250	0	0							27 May	ditto
7790	0	0							20 June	ditto
6200	0	0							7 July	ditto
8050	0	0							17 Aug.	ditto
5000	0	0							5 September	ditto
2523	0	0							30 December	ditto
3557	10	0							26 October	ditto
4690	17	0							3 Dec.	ditto
2861	0	0							22 ditto	ditto
12000	0	0							7 January	ditto
4560	0	0							11 February	ditto
3941	0	0							8 March	ditto
5244	12	0							12 Apr. 1738	ditto
6950	0	0							10 May	ditto
7250	0	0							31 ditto	ditto
4300	0	0							7 July	ditto
8000	0	0							10 August	ditto
5800	0	0							30 September	ditto
11000	0	0							13 October	ditto
6890	0	0							6 November	ditto
3200	0	0							23 December	ditto
6000	0	0							27 February	ditto
8159	16	0							31 Mar. 1739	ditto
12000	0	0							2 May	ditto
8900	0	0							30 ditto	ditto
6620	0	0							23 June	ditto
3220	0	0							5 July	ditto
7800	0	0							9 August	ditto
7200	0	0							15 September	ditto
6414	15	5							23 October	ditto
7795	0	0							24 November	ditto
4250	0	0							29 December	ditto
8700	0	0							12 January	ditto
6600	0	0							4 March	ditto
7850	0	0							28 Apr. 1740	ditto
8000	0	0							13 May	ditto
5666	13	0							5 June	ditto
6000	0	0							28 ditto	ditto
6000	0	0							16 Aug.	ditto
6000	0	0							10 September	ditto

1742 n

Sum

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or Special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex- pences.	The Time when issued	Persons to whom issued
<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>		
6000 0 0			13 October	John Scrope, Esq;
6000 0 0			7 Novemb.	ditto
8000 0 0			25 ditto	ditto
7250 0 0			31 December	ditto
8474 0 0			24 January	ditto
7233 16 4			3 March	ditto
7718 18 10			20 Apr. 1741	ditto
7300 0 0			9 May	ditto
5000 0 0			6 June	ditto
5000 0 0			8 July	ditto
5000 0 0			8 August	ditto
5000 0 0			25 ditto	ditto
5000 0 0			15 October	ditto
5000 0 0			1 Dec.	ditto
7994 5 5			11 Jan.	ditto
8544 0 0			23 ditto	ditto
2000 0 0			4 Feb.	ditto
	5000 0 0		4 May 1732	James Sarkey
		4160 0 0	21 June 1733	Francis Smith
		2900 0 0	9 Jan. 1734	John Shepherd
		1500 0 0	10 Jan. 1735	ditto
		2000 0 0	21 ditto	ditto
	2900 0 0		4 Feb.	ditto
	3269 15 7		25 ditto	ditto
	4000 0 0		7 Apr. 1736	ditto
		2820 0 0	26 June	ditto
	2000 0 0		11 August	ditto
	2979 18 0		3 Septem.	ditto
	2900 0 0		15 October	ditto
		1400 0 0	17 Decemb.	ditto
	640 0 0		13 Jan.	ditto
	2900 0 0		30 Sept. 1737	ditto
	3054 0 0		29 Aug. 1738	ditto
	5286 7 3		16 Dec.	ditto
	2000 0 0		17 March	ditto
	2583 16 0		7 June 1739	ditto
	2983 6 0		23 ditto	ditto
	1321 2 0		3 Oct.	ditto
	2900 0 0		7 Nov.	ditto
	1900 0 0		29 Dec.	ditto
	1321 3 6		8 Jan.	ditto
	3600 0 0		17 Mar.	ditto
	1322 3 6		3 Apr. 1740	ditto

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

99

Sums issued for his Majesty's Secret Service.	Sums issued for his Majesty's Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
1322 3 6	739 6 6	2715 8 10	6 May 1740	John Shepherd
1059 7 0	1584 19 0	3600 0 0	22 ditto	ditto
2350 0 0	2900 0 0	795 11 0	8 August	ditto
2900 0 0		1500 0 0	23 February	ditto
			21 March	ditto
			4 Apr. 1741	ditto
			21 May	ditto
			30 ditto	John Scrope, Esq;
			21 July	ditto
			4 Jan	ditto
			7 ditto	ditto
			18 ditto	John Shepherd
			17 Feb. 1738	William Sperrin
			19 May 1739	John Smith
			10 Mar. 1741	Arthur Stert, Esq;
			1 Feb. 1741	Geo. Stephens, Esq;
			2 June 1732	Henry Wilson
			7 July 1733	John Wasse
			23 Mar. 1733	ditto
			3 Jan. 1734	ditto
			12 June 1736	ditto
			28 Apr. 1737	ditto
			21 Jan. 1737	ditto
			5 Feb. 1739	ditto
			4 Apr. 1734	John Williams
			7 July 1737	ditto
			15 Feb. 1734	Jofias Wordsworth
			26 Aug. 1734	Edw. Williamson
			16 Aug. 1735	Henry Walters
			20 Oct. 1735	Andr. Wilson, Esq;
			3 Nov. 1735	Geo. Wilkins, Esq;
			4 July 1738	Daniel White
			3 Sep. 1741	Tho. Wilkins, Gent.
			4 Jan. 1741	Cha. Watson, Gent.

Memorand

There is issued to the two Principal Secretaries of State, by Privy Seal, the Sum of 3000 *l.* per Annum each, payable Quarterly, for his Majesty's Secret Service.

Exchequer,
April 19, 1742.

J. DAWSON.

NUMB.

NUMB. XI.

An ACCOUNT of all Sums issued for Secret Service, or for the Immediate or Special Service of the Crown, the Money issued for the Privy Purse excepted, or to reimburse Expences for the Service of the Crown, distinguishing the Cause assigned for issuing the same, the Time when, and the Persons to whom the same has been issued, from the 1st of August 1707, to the 1st of August 1720, viz.

Sums issued for Secret Service.			Sums issued for Service, or special Service.			Sums issued to reimburse Expences.		The Time when issued.		Persons to whom issued.
l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.	l.	s.	d.		
			1339	15	0				11 Nov. 1713	Daniel Arthur, Esq;
			1032	2	6				16 Jan.	ditto
			1135	15	0				3 Apr. 1714	ditto
			1237	5	0				13 May	ditto
			193	13	0				16 June 1716	Mof. Berenger, Esq;
			300	0	0				7 Aug.	ditto
			1500	0	0				6 July 1717	ditto
			546	6	6				16 Nov.	ditto
			217	8	2				29 Jan.	ditto
			500	0	0				13 March	ditto
			861	0	0				13 Dec. 1716	Samuel Buckley
			6000	0	0				11 Jan. 1717	Henry Bendysh
			127	10	10				22 Jan. 1716	Gerge Bubb, Esq;
			300	0	10				19 July 1708	Henry Baker
			150	0	10				23 July 1719	Jac. de la Motte [Blagny
						500	0	0	23 Sept. 1707	William Borret
						500	0	0	6 Dec.	ditto
						400	0	0	4 Feb.	ditto
						1000	0	0	19 May 1708	ditto
						500	0	0	25 Nov.	ditto
						500	0	0	7 Jan.	ditto
						500	0	0	4 May 1709	ditto
						500	0	0	7 July	ditto
						500	0	0	27 Aug.	ditto
						500	0	0	21 Nov.	ditto
						200	0	0	5 Apr. 1710	ditto
						300	0	0	10 May	ditto
						150	0	0	14 June	ditto
						350	0	0	12 July	ditto
						500	0	0	26 Oct.	ditto
						500	0	0	14 Mar.	ditto

Sums

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

308

Sums issued for Secret Service. Sums issued for Service, or Special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Expenses. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
		500 0 0	28 July 1711	William Borret
		500 0 0	18 Aug.	ditto
		500 0 0	23 Nov.	ditto
		250 0 0	7 Mar.	ditto
		250 0 0	27 Mar. 1712	ditto
		300 0 0	19 April	ditto
		200 0 0	9 May	ditto
		500 0 0	2 July	ditto
		500 0 0	31 Oct.	ditto
		500 0 0	29 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	31 Jan.	ditto
		500 0 0	6 May 1713	ditto
		700 0 0	14 Aug.	ditto
		1000 0 0	11 Nov.	ditto
		500 0 0	1 Feb.	ditto
		500 0 0	26 ditto	ditto
		500 0 0	29 Apr. 1714	ditto
		500 0 0	22 June	ditto
		500 0 0	1 Sept.	ditto
		500 0 0	13 ditto	ditto
		100 0 0	17 ditto	ditto
		300 0 0	2 Oct.	ditto
		600 0 0	11 ditto	ditto
		2000 0 0	12 Nov.	ditto
		177 7 6	16 ditto	ditto
		1000 0 0	6 Dec.	ditto
		6000 0 0	17 Feb.	ditto
		1000 0 0	5 May 1715	ditto
1500 0 0	83 5 0		16 July 1719	Col. Ralph Congreve
	1706 10 0		27 Aug. 1715	Will. Cadogan, Esq;
	466 10 0		4 May 1717	Will. Lord Cadogan
550 4 10			2 April 1718	ditto
	16300 0 0		25 May 1717	James Craggs,
	27000 0 0		25 June 1719	Geor. Clifford, Esq;
	441 8 6		2 July 1720	ditto
	500 0 0		10 Aug. 1709	Charles Callmell.
	1738 15 4		16 June 1715	Anth. Cratchrode,
	500 0 0		22 July	ditto [Esq;
	500 0 0		22 ditto	ditto
	500 0 0		22 Oct.	ditto
	500 0 0		10 Nov.	ditto
	500 0 0		1 Dec.	ditto
	1500 0 0		24 ditto	ditto

Sums

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

Sums issued for Secret Service.	Sums issued for Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
	1000 0 0		18 Feb. 1715	Anth. Cratchrode,
	2000 0 0		9 Mar.	ditto [Esq;
	1000 0 0		11 May 1716	ditto
	2000 0 0		7 June	ditto
	2000 0 0		6 July	ditto
	1000 0 0		25 Aug.	ditto
	2000 0 0		24 Sept.	ditto
	3000 0 0		19 Nov.	ditto
	2000 0 0		7 Jan.	ditto
	4000 0 0		11 Feb.	ditto
	2500 0 0		4 May 1717	ditto
	1000 0 0		15 June	ditto
	1000 0 0		13 July	ditto
	2000 0 0		8 Aug.	ditto
	1500 0 0		17 Dec.	ditto
	1500 0 0		31 Mar. 1718	ditto
	1000 0 0		17 May	ditto
	500 0 0		10 July	ditto
	1000 0 0		9 Aug.	ditto
	1000 0 0		21 ditto	ditto
	1000 0 0		24 Sept.	ditto
	1000 0 0		11 Dec.	ditto
	1000 0 0		5 Jan.	ditto
	2000 0 0		9 March	ditto
	1000 0 0		25 June 1719	ditto
	2000 0 0		10 Oct.	ditto
	800 0 0		29 Feb.	ditto
	500 0 0		21 May 1720	ditto
	500 0 0		31 ditto	ditto
	1000 0 0		4 June	ditto
	1300 0 0		11 Dec. 1711	John Drummond,
		1237 10 0	24 Apr. 1712	ditto [Esq;
	1038 0 0		14 May	Matt. Decker, Esq;
	1038 0 0		20 August	ditto
	389 18 3		30 Oct.	ditto
	1038 0 0		4 Feb. 1713	ditto
	2064 5 0		13 May 1714	ditto
	34 0 0		28 Mar. 1716	Geor. Dumersique
		100 0 0	21 Mar. 1709	Char. Harrison, Gt.
		100 0 0	10 May 1710	ditto
		200 0 0	19 July	ditto
		100 0 0	10 Sept.	ditto

Sums

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

303

Sums issued for Secret Service.	Sums issued for Service, or special Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex-pences.	The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>		
		100 0 0	3 Jan. 1710	Char. Harrison, Gt.
		50 0 0	4 Sep. 1711	ditto
		100 0 0	19 March	ditto
		100 0 0	31 Jan. 1712	ditto
		100 0 0	7 Oct. 1713	ditto
		200 0 0	11 Nov. 1714	ditto
	3600 0 0		7 Jan. 1715	Sir Jos. Hodges, Bt.
	1320 0 0		15 Dec. 1710	Charles Johnson
	500 0 0		19 July 1716	Will. Leathes, Esq;
	352 17 0		11 Apr. 1717	ditto
	263 14 6		11 June 1718	ditto
500 0 0			2 Aug. 1707	Will. Lowndes, Esq;
1000 0 0			3 Septemb.	ditto
1500 0 0			26 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			21 October	ditto
2000 0 0			19 Novemb.	ditto
1657 16 1½			25 ditto	ditto
2161 12 10½			27 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			27 Mar. 1708	ditto
500 0 0			15 April	ditto
1000 0 0			4 May	ditto
1000 0 0			12 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			19 June	ditto
1000 0 0			6 July	ditto
1000 0 0			21 August	ditto
500 0 0			3 Sept.	ditto
500 0 0			9 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			16 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			7 October	ditto
500 0 0			14 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			27 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			30 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			11 Decem.	ditto
1000 0 0			27 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			10 February	ditto
1000 0 0			22 ditto	ditto
2000 0 0			1 Apr. 1709	ditto
838 7 1½			30 ditto	ditto
161 12 10½			10 May	ditto
750 0 0			19 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			30 June	ditto
1000 0 0			13 July	ditto
500 0 0			3 August	ditto

Sums

Sums issued for Secret Service.	Sums issued for Service, or spe- cial Service.	Sums issued to reimburse Ex- penses.	The Time when Per- sons to whom they issued.
<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	<i>l. s. d.</i>	
1500 0 0			12 Aug 1709 Will. Lowndes, Esq.
1500 0 0			3 Sept. ditto
2000 0 0			1 October ditto
1000 0 0			16 ditto ditto
500 0 0			12 Nov. ditto
500 0 0			3 Decemb. ditto
1000 0 0			29 ditto ditto
700 0 0			22 March ditto
2000 0 0			5 Ap. 1710 ditto
2000 0 0			3 May ditto
1000 0 0			10 ditto ditto
2000 0 0			14 June ditto
888 7 1½			21 ditto ditto
1611 12 10½			28 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			19 July ditto
500 0 0			9 August ditto
1000 0 0			9 Sept. ditto
2000 0 0			27 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			19 Oct. ditto
1000 0 0			24 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			3 Novemb. ditto
4000 0 0			13 Decemb. ditto
1000 0 0			10 Jan. ditto
650 0 0			17 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			3 Feb. ditto
1350 0 0			15 ditto ditto
1200 0 0			7 March ditto
1000 0 0			24 ditto ditto
688 7 1½			26 Ap. 1711 ditto
1000 0 0			ditto ditto
2000 0 0			28 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			12 June ditto
1000 0 0			30 ditto ditto
3000 0 0			4 July ditto
2000 0 0			26 ditto ditto
500 0 0			18 August ditto
1200 0 0			6 Sept. ditto
1000 0 0			13 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			20 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			26 ditto ditto
1000 0 0			11 October ditto
1000 0 0			21 Novemb. ditto
2500 0 0			24 ditto ditto

Sum

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

105

Sums issued for Secret Service. Sums issued for Service, or special Service. Sums issued for reimbursement of Expenses. The Time when issued, and to whom issued.

Sums issued for Secret Service.	Sums issued for Service, or special Service.	Sums issued for reimbursement of Expenses.	The Time when issued, and to whom issued.
800	0 0	0 0	4 Dec. 1711 Will. Lowndes, Esq.
1200	0 0	0 0	11 ditto ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	15 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	24 ditto ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	17 Jan. ditto
1250	0 0	0 0	8 May 1712 ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	14 ditto ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	20 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	4 June ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	18 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	25 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	9 July ditto
1250	0 0	0 0	18 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	12 August ditto
500	0 0	0 0	20 ditto ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	6 September ditto
4000	0 0	0 0	25 ditto ditto
1800	0 0	0 0	22 October ditto
1200	0 0	0 0	30 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	12 November ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	24 December ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	22 January ditto
1650	0 0	0 0	12 February ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	19 ditto ditto
500	0 0	0 0	25 ditto ditto
1600	0 0	0 0	30 May 1713 ditto
2000	0 0	0 0	10 June ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	2 July ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	8 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	16 ditto ditto
1700	0 0	0 0	28 July ditto
1200	0 0	0 0	14 August ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	19 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	29 ditto ditto
650	0 0	0 0	10 September ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	16 October ditto
2500	0 0	0 0	12 November ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	17 December ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	19 ditto ditto
1000	0 0	0 0	29 ditto ditto
2500	0 0	0 0	13 January ditto
1200	0 0	0 0	29 ditto ditto
3500	0 0	0 0	11 March ditto
1500	0 0	0 0	23 ditto ditto

1742 0

Suma.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

Sums issued for Secret Service. Sums issued for Service, or Special Service. Sums issued to reimburse Expenses. The Time when issued. Persons to whom issued.

l. s. d.	l. s. d.	l. s. d.		
3000 0 0			8 May 1714	Will. Lowndes, Esq;
500 0 0			13 July	ditto
1000 0 0			17 ditto	ditto
4287 0 0			24 ditto	ditto
10000 0 0			20 August	ditto
1000 0 0			17 Dec. 1715	ditto
5000 0 0			10 March	ditto
10000 0 0			6 June 1716	ditto
5000 0 0			19 Nov.	ditto
2500 0 0			7 Dec.	ditto
3500 0 0			11 Jan.	ditto
2500 0 0			8 Feb.	ditto
5000 0 0			6 Apr. 1717	ditto
2000 0 0			11 May	ditto
800 0 0			24 ditto	ditto
1000 0 0			1 June	ditto
1000 0 0			13 July	ditto
3000 0 0			22 ditto	ditto
2000 0 0			6 Aug.	ditto
1000 0 0			5 October	ditto
2200 0 0			23 Nov.	ditto
1000 0 0			9 Jan.	ditto
3000 0 0			18 ditto	ditto
2500 0 0			8 Feb.	ditto
2000 0 0			10 Mar.	ditto
7150 0 0			18 ditto	ditto
2067 0 0			27 ditto 1718	ditto
800 0 0			31 ditto	ditto
833 16 4			7 April	ditto
1000 0 0			17 ditto	ditto
1600 0 0			21 June	ditto
1520 0 0			23 July	ditto
1850 0 0			12 Aug.	ditto
2900 0 0			16 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			29 ditto	ditto
2200 0 0			15 Sept.	ditto
10600 0 0			3 Nov.	ditto
3270 0 0			18 ditto	ditto
500 0 0			29 ditto	ditto
4600 0 0			10 Jan.	ditto
3875 0 0			7 Feb.	ditto
7600 0 0			3 Apr. 1719	ditto
2000 0 0			6 Aug.	ditto
2500 0 0			2 ditto	ditto
				Sum

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

107

Sums issued for Secret Service.			Sums issued for Service, or special Service.			Sums issued to reimburse Expenses.			The Time when issued.			Persons to whom issued.		
<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>						
5000	00								12 Dec. 1719			Will. Lowndes, Esq;		
6550	00								22 Feb.			ditto		
4650	00								12 March			ditto		
1525	00								21 April 1720			ditto		
500	00								21 June			ditto		
28250	00								1 July 1720			ditto		
						322	6	0	28 Apr. 1709			Thomas Lowther		
						224	18	0	1 Sept.			ditto		
						338	4	0	3 June 1710			ditto		
						154	3	0	24 Jan.			ditto		
						569	14	6	28 Sept. 1711			ditto		
						412	5	0	3 Jan.			ditto		
						187	15	6	27 Feb.			ditto		
						744	3	6	18 March			ditto		
						761	4	6	28 ditto 1713			ditto		
						175	17	10	7 November			ditto		
						764	0	0	5 Feb.			ditto		
						416	13	0	29 July 1714			ditto		
						1000	0	0	7 December			ditto		
						1000	0	0	9 April 1715			ditto		
						1607	10	0	23 May			ditto		
						1000	0	0	12 July			ditto		
						500	0	0	17 Sept.			ditto		
						500	0	0	7 Nov.			ditto		
						500	0	0	19 December			ditto		
						500	0	0	18 Jan.			ditto		
						500	0	0	10 March			ditto		
						500	0	0	14 May 1716			ditto		
						500	0	0	28 June			ditto		
						1000	0	0	2 Aug.			ditto		
						156	19	0	8 September			ditto		
						500	0	0	31 Dec.			ditto		
						500	0	0	18 Feb.			ditto		
						1000	0	0	6 April 1717			ditto		
						500	0	0	27 May			ditto		
						500	0	0	13 July			ditto		
						500	0	0	3 Aug.			ditto		
						500	0	0	25 September			ditto		
						500	0	0	23 November			ditto		
						1000	0	0	17 December			ditto		
						1000	0	0	31 January			ditto		
						500	0	0	8 March			ditto		
						1000	0	0	20 ditto			ditto		
						3000	0	0	26 ditto 1718			ditto		

Sums

Sums issued for the Majesty's Secret Service. Sums issued for Service, or for Special Services. Sums issued to The Times when the said sums were paid. Persons to whom issued.

<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		
						1000	0	0	16 May 1718	Thomas Lowther
						500	0	0	15 August	ditto
						500	0	0	20 Nov.	ditto
						500	0	0	13 Dec.	ditto
						500	0	0	5 Jan.	ditto
						500	0	0	30 Apr. 1719	ditto
						500	0	0	14 July	ditto
						1500	0	0	20 August	ditto
						300	0	0	7 Nov.	ditto
						1000	0	0	6 Jan.	ditto
						500	0	0	16 Jan.	ditto
						500	0	0	4 Feb.	ditto
						1000	0	0	29 ditto	ditto
						1000	0	0	23 March	ditto
						2500	0	0	ditto	ditto
						500	0	0	16 Apr. 1720	ditto
						500	0	0	14 June	ditto
						1500	0	0	5 July	ditto
						1000	0	0	26 ditto	ditto
500	0	0							16 Mar. 1714	Ja. D. of Montrose
317	10	0							16 May 1715	ditto
			1781	15	0				2 July 1708	Sir Da. Nairne, Kt.
			522	0	0				12 Oct. 1709	ditto
			2408	0	0				19 Feb. 1714	Matt. Prior, Esq;
			519	16	6				17 Jan. 1716	Will. Robinson, Esq;
			260	0	0				15 Nov. 1710	John Robinson, Esq;
			1038	0	0				1 Oct. 1715	John B. of Stair
			1358	15	0				28 July 1716	ditto
			1465	5	4				3 Dec.	ditto
			979	17	8				25 Feb.	ditto
			5000	0	0				4 May 1717	ditto
			1369	10	3				27 ditto	ditto
			703	0	0				12 October	ditto
			1050	0	0				9 Dec.	ditto
			1910	0	0				21 May 1718	ditto
			1337	0	0				16 August	ditto
			1067	0	0				4 March	ditto
			901	0	0				9 May 1719	ditto
			211	16	6				26 Jan. 1716	Augustus Samson
			200	0	0				4 May 1717	John Scot
			2564	0	0				19 June 1718	Sir Robert Sutton
			100	0	0				13 Dec. 1718	Alex. Stevenfon
			500	0	0				29 Dec. 1719	TempleStanyan, Esq

Sums

APPENDIX to the Further Report, &c.

149

Sums issued for Secret Service.		Sums issued for Service, or special Service.		Sums issued to reimburse Expenses.		The Time when issued.	Persons to whom issued.
l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.	l.	s. d.		
		1000	0 0			12 Nov. 1718	F. Louis de St. Sa-
		785	0 0			23 July 1719	ditto [phorin
		800	0 0			14 Dec. 1719	ditto
		2364	4 0			7 Aug. 1718	Christopher Tilson
		2518	9 0			28 Jan.	ditto
		2441	11 6			1 July 1719	ditto
		2441	11 6			1 July 1720	ditto
		500	0 0			27 Aug. 1715	Leon. Welded, Gt.
		200	0 0			6 April 1716	Horatio Walpole
		300	0 0			31 May	ditto
		65	11 4			25 May 1717	ditto
		11900	0 0			18 Jan. 1717	To Henry Kellfall
							to buy 10000 l. S.
							Sea Stock, to be trans-
							ferr'd to his Majesty.
						10 May 1718	To ditto to reward
							good Services to his
							Majesty perform'd.

Exchequer, May 5, 1742.

JOHN DAWSON.

NUMB. XII.

THE Names of the Persons for which Orders were made out of the Exchequer for large Sums of Money, from the 10th of February 1731, to the 10th of February 1741, which being read over to Christopher Tilson, Henry Fane, Esqrs. and John Shepherd, were to them unknown.

Richard Allen,
Robert Adams,
Thomas Batton,
William Catton
Henry Carleton
George Denton,
John Egerton
Francis Edwards,
William Frazier,
Andrew Forster,
William Farmer

Will. Framingham,
John Hall,
Joseph Hardesty,
Richard Harrison,
Robert Jackson
William Johnson
William Jefferson
William Jackson,
Thomas May
James Startkey,
Francis Smith

William Sperrin,
John Smith
Henry Wilson
John Williams
John Williams,
Edward Williamson
Henry Walters,
Andrew Wilson,
Daniel White,
Charles Watson,

NUMB.

NUMB. XIII.

Money paid by Mr *Lewther* of the Treasury to the following Persons, for Printing, publishing, and writing of News-Papers, &c. by them delivered at the General Post-Office in *London*, between, *Feb.* 10, 1731, and *Feb.* 10, 1741, viz.

William Arnal for Free-Britons, and Writing.	John Walthoe for printing and publishing Daily Courants.	John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Corn-Cutter's Journals.	William Wilkins, for London Journals, and Writing.	John Peele, for Money expended on his Majesty's Service.
1732	1731-2			
13 April 538 6 8	21 Feb. 243 15 0		4 May 276 13 4	
13 July 730 0 0	22 May 243 15 0		5 Nov. 284 3 4	
12 Oct. 584 0 0	22 Aug. 257 10 0			
11 Jan. 750 0 0	21 Nov. 276 5 0			
	20 Feb. 276 5 0			
1733				
12 April 785 0 0	19 May 283 6 8			25 May 300 0 0
12 July 835 0 0	19 June 108 18 0			21 Nov. 733 6 8
11 Oct. 860 0 0	21 Aug. 300 0 0	25 Dec. 163 6 8	9 March 258 6 8	
10 Jan. 955 0 0	22 Nov. 395 16 8		26 May 289 11 8	
	22 Feb. 614 10 8		8 Dec. 360 16 8	
1734				
11 April 955 0 0	21 May 647 10 0	25 March 213 6 8		
11 July 955 0 0	22 Aug. 693 6 8	25 June 222 1 8		
5 Sept. 250 0 0	21 Nov. 710 0 0	24 Sept. 247 1 8		23 July 693 6 8
11 Oct. 850 0 0	22 Feb. 738 6 8	24 Dec. 238 6 8		
11 Feb. 950 0 0				
1735				
17 May 600 0 0	28 June 990 0 0	25 March 238 6 8	30 June 1486 5 0	6 Sept. 1750 0 0

17 May 600 0 0 28 June 999 0 0 25 March 238 6 8 30 June 1486 5 0 6 Sept. 1750 0 0

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

111

<p>1736</p>		30 Dec.	868	6	8
30 March	881	5	0		
29 June	894	2	6		
30 Sept.	916	10	4		
30 Dec.	909	3	4		
1737		30 June	1820	0	0
1738		6 May	1000	0	0
13 July	1000	0	0		
27 Oct.	1600	0	0		
29 Sept.	1008	6	8		
25 Dec.	894	3	4		
1739		25 March	942	10	0
24 June	942	10	0		
25 Dec.	925	0	0		
28 Feb.	1039	3	4		
1740		25 March	975	0	0
24 June	975	0	0		
29 Sept.	1025	3	0		
25 Dec.	970	0	0		
1741		25 March	981	13	4
Total		L. 10997		6	8
		L. 28193		16	2

L. 2955 16 8

L. 1311 10 0

L. 4187 18 4

3 Jan. 250 0 0 0

5 Nov. 521 10 5 0

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

William Arnel, for Free Britons and Writing.	John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Daily Courants.	John Walthoe, for printing and publishing Corn Cutters Journal.	William Wilkins, for London Journals and Writing.	John Peele, for Money expended on his Majesty's Service.	Annual Totals.
1732 2602 6 8	1297 10 0	0 0 0	560 16 8		4460 13 4
1733 3435 0 0	1782 12 0	163 6 8	908 15 0	1033 6 8	7243 0 4
1734 3960 0 0	2789 3 4	920 16 8		633 6 8	8303 6 8
Gazetteers begun.					
1735 1000 0 0	2705 0 0	238 6 8	1486 5 0	1750 0 0	7179 11 8
	1736 3601 4 2				3601 4 2
	1737 1820 0 0			250 0 0	2070 0 0
	1738 5502 10 0				5502 10 0
	1739 3849 3 4			521 5 0	4370 8 4
	1740 3945 0 0				3945 0 0
	1741 981 13 4				981 13 4
Tot. L. 10997 6 8	L. 28193 16 2	L. 1322 10 0	L. 2955 16 8	L. 4187 18 4	L. 47657 7 10
1732 28 April, Paid to Mr George Hawkins for 1100 Persuaves to Impartiality and Candour in Judging of the present Administration					
1734 6 April, Paid Monsieur De Grillo, for a Pamphlet in Vindication of the Ministry, delivered at the Post-Office by Joseph Chrichley					
1735 28 August, Paid Samuel Beekley, for Disbursements on his Majesty's Service				980 14 0	
1739 23 August, Paid to Ditto, for printing and delivering several Pamphlets for his Majesty's Service				786 17 6	
1740 17 July, Paid Ditto, for printing several Things for the Use of the Publick				460 8 8	
					L. 50077 17 10

30 Dec. 1738
LMSH: Junt 1738

NUMB. XIV.

1742.

Francis Galsbury, Esq; a Member of the House of Commons, being examined in the most solemn Manner this 3d Day of June 1742, in Relation to an Order for 1500 l. which Mr Shepherd, in his Examination, mentioned to have been carried to Sir Charles Wager, when Mr Galsbury was present. And it being in particular asked this Examinant, whether Sir Charles Wager did not say to this Examinant, What shall we do in this Affair? and if Sir Charles did not inquire of Mr Shepherd whether the Fees were to be paid, or if Sir Charles Wager did not desire Mr Shepherd to receive the Money? The Examinant said, that he does not recollect any of these Circumstances, nor can he remember that he was present when any such Order was brought to Sir Charles Wager: That Sir Charles Wager did say to the Examinant, that he was in Expectation of getting some Money for Mr Lever, the High Bailiff of Westminster, to assist him, Mr Lever then being in great Distress; for he being a Brewer had lost his Customers, and was forced to keep at Home to avoid his Creditors. That when the Examinant returned one Day from the Navy Board, Sir Charles Wager told him, that in his Absence 1500 l. had been brought him by one of the Treasury, and Sir Charles desired this Examinant to take the Money and pay it to Mr Lever: That the Examinant received the 1500 l. from Sir Charles Wager the 2d of January last: That Mr Lever sometime before this, tho' the Examinant believes it could not be a Fortnight, applied to Sir Charles Wager, and mentioned the Distress he was in for Money to pay his Maltster; that Sir Charles had been told the King would give him (Lever) some Money, and thereupon Sir Charles lent him 500 l. for which the Examinant thought it proper to take a Bond. That on the 3d of January last, Mr Lever had of this Examinant 1000 l. that is 500 l. in ready Money, and 500 l. to pay off the aforementioned Bond. That on the 6th of January Mr Goostree brought to the Examinant a Bill of Costs on an Information against Mr Lever, &c. relating, as this Examinant imagines, to the Election at Westminster, which amounted to 124 l. 14 s. and this Bill the Examinant paid on Mr Lever's Account. That on the 9th of February the Examinant paid a Bill of 107 l. 12 s. 6 d. for Fees and Expences during Mr Lever's being in Custody with the Sergeant at Arms; and that on the 27th of February, the Examinant paid to Mr Lever 267 l. 19 s. which he conceived to be the Balance remaining in his Hands of the 1500 l. and for which he has Mr Lever's Receipt, but by what Accident

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c.

An. 15. Geo. II. dent the last mentioned Sum exceeded the real Balance by a few Shillings, the Examinant cannot recollect.

FRANCIS GASHRY.

NUMB. XV.

An Account of all Warrants from the Crown, directing the Payment of any Money to the Secretary of the Post-Office without Account, from the 10th of February 1718, to the 11th of February 1741.

			L.	L.
1719	September 19	King's Warrant		750
1721	May 6	Additional Warrant for	750	1500
1722	April 30	Additional ditto	1000	2500
	September 28	Ditto	200	2700
1723	August 17	Ditto	900	3600
1725	August 19	Ditto	300	3900
1727	October 31	King George II'd's Warrant to confirm the former		3900
1729	September 17	Additional	100	4000
1733	November 15	Ditto	300	4300
1734	May 6	Ditto	200	4500
1735	July 8	Ditto	200	4700

GEORGE STONE, Receiver General.

NUMB. XVI.

Examination of the Secretary of the Post-Office, relating to Money paid him by Warrant from the Crown.

John David Barbutt, Esq; Secretary to the Post-Office, being examined in the most solemn Manner, this 18th Day of May 1742, and being asked as to the Disposition of the Money paid into his Hands without Account, by a Warrant from the Crown, said, That there is in the Post-Office a private Office for the inspecting foreign Correspondence, and that the greatest Part of that Money is for the defraying the Expende of this Office. That the Accountant General and Receiver General, who have inspected the Books, have told him, that the first Traces they find of any Money thus paid by Warrant, was in the Year 1718. That this Examinant cannot say as to the first Establishment of this Office, having been but three Years and a Half himself in the Post Office; but he apprehends there was always an Office of this Kind, and that it was defrayed formerly by the Secretary of State: That he is a Stranger to the Business of the Office, having never been in it, for they pretend to be independent.

APPENDIX to the Farther Report, &c. 115

and receive their Instructions from the Secretaries of State, An. 25. Geo. II. 1742. and carry their Intelligence to the Secretaries of State, tho' the Post-masters have a Right to go into the Office. That the annual Expences of this Office are as follows, To the chief Decypherer, Dr *Willes**, for himself and his Son, 1000 *l.* to the second Decypherer, Mr *Corbiers*, 800 *l.* to the third Decypherer, Mr *Lampe*, 500 *l.* to the fourth Decypherer, Mr *Zolman*, 200 *l.* to the chief Clerk, Mr *Le Fevre*, 650 *l.* to the four other Clerks, Messrs *Bode*, *Tbouveis*, *Clark*, *Hemmitt*, 300 *l.* each; to the Comptroller of the Foreign Office, Mr *Day*, 60 *l.* to the Door-Keeper, 40 or 50 *l.* but this Examinant believes 50 *l.* There are besides, accidental Charges for Seals, &c. an Account of which is brought in by one of the Clerks, which may amount to 100 *l.* and to Mr *Lavalade*, formerly Alphabet-Keeper, but now superannuated, 40 *l.* that when these Sums were discharged, the Overplus, which may amount to 90 *l.* is divided between the two Post-masters and the Secretary, each Post-master taking three Sevenths, and the Secretary one Seventh: That Mr *Le Fevre*, besides his above-mentioned Salary, is paid something out of Incidents, so that his whole Salary may amount to about, as he believes, 800 *l. per Annum*. That his (Mr *Le Fevre*'s) is a very troublesome Post, it being necessary he should always be present at the going out and coming in of the Mails. That this Examinant does not know of a Pension of 200 *l. per Annum* paid out of this Money, but Mr *Clark*, who has formerly attended, and is incapacitated at present, has 200 *l.* paid him out of his Salary of 300 *l.* and another attends for him.

J. D. BARBUTT.

* Dean of Lincoln; appointed Bishop of St David's in August 1742. — See the Proceedings against the Bishop of Rochester, Anno 1723, in *TIMBERLAND's History of the House of Lords*, Vol. 3. p. 284.

E R R A T A.

Page 87. l. 25, read 138. P. 95, l. 4, for 15,000 read 1500.

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ADDENDA.

As there is at this Time a large Body of British Forces in Flanders, and Embarkations thither still continued; we presume the following Account of the Total Monies voted by Parliament during the Course of Queen Anne's War, from 1702 to 1712, will be acceptable.

The several Years Provisions are transcrib'd from the printed Votes, except in one Instance in the Year 1710, where those Prints were erroneous, as appears by Comparing the Journals, in the Case of 20,200 l. printed instead of 220,000 l. voted for Augmentation Troops in Flanders.

	L.
<i>Anno 1702.</i>	<u>3,000,000</u>
<i>Anno 1703.</i>	
FOR 40,000 Men for Sea Service	2,080,000
For the Ordinary of the Navy	129,314
For 40,000 Land Forces	833,826
Ordnance for Land Service	70,973
Subsidies to the Allies	51,843
For 10,000 additional Forces	178,180
For Guards and Garrisons	350,000
	<u>3,694,136</u>
<i>Anno 1704.</i>	
For 40,000 Men for Sea Service	2,080,000
The Ordinary of the Navy not provided for	
Forty Thousand Land Forces	884,072
Ten Thousand additional Forces	178,180
Vol. XIII.	Subsidies

L.

Subsidies to the Allies	55,272
For the <i>Portugal</i> Service	150,000
For Guards and Garrisons	337,000
For Ordnance for Land-Service	118,362
For circulating Exchequer Bills	6,000
	<hr/> 3,828,886

Anno 1705.

For 40,000 Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
For the Ordinary of the Navy	100,000
For Ordnance Stores for Sea-Service	40,000
For building a Wharf and Storehouse at <i>Portsmouth</i>	10,000
For 40,000 Land-Forces	885,193
For 10,000 Additional Forces	177,511
For 10,000 Men to serve in <i>Portugal</i>	222,379
Subsidies to the Allies	370,119
Subsidy to the Duke of <i>Savoy</i>	40,000
Recruiting Horses lost at <i>Schellenburg</i> and <i>Blenheim</i>	6,725
Ditto for Foreign Troops in <i>English</i> Pay	24,665
For an additional Regiment on the <i>Portugal</i> Establish.	5,135
For Surgeons for the Hospital in <i>Portugal</i>	244
Expences in <i>Portugal</i> Service last Year	68,546
Ordnance for Land-Service	120,000
Transport Service	60,000
For 5000 Troops for augmenting their Levy	11,844
Ditto their Pay	87,125
For Guards and Garrisons	357,000
For circulating Exchequer Bills	4,000

4,670,486

Anno 1706.

For 40,000 Seamen	2,080,000
For Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
For Guards and Garrisons	357,000
For 40,000 Land-Forces	886,223
For 10,000 additional Forces	177,511
For Interest Debentures	47,000
For Wharf and Storehouse at <i>Portsmouth</i>	10,000
For Ordnance for the Land-Service	120,000
For Transport Service	120,000
For circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
For Subsidies to the Allies	414,166
For Ordnance Stores for 8 new Ships for those lost in the great Storm	18,238
For 10,210 Men to act in <i>Portugal</i>	222,379
For 5,000 more in <i>Catalonia</i>	96,729
For Subsidies to the Allies	48,630
For	

During Queen Anne's Wars.

119

L.

For Bounty Money to the Troops that serv'd in } <i>Germany, 1704</i>	65,000
For additional Charge of the <i>Hanover</i> Troops due	784
For General Officers and Contingencies in <i>Spain</i>	7,631
For Levy Money for Horses dead last Campaign	15,670
For ditto to Officers	15,296
For the Queen's Proportion for prosecuting King <i>Charles's Success in Spain</i>	250,000

5,075,757

Anno 1707.

For 40,000 Men for the Sea-Service	2,080,000
For Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
For Guards and Garrisons	357,000
For 40,000 Men for Land-Service	893,706
For 10,000 additional Forces and Proportion for 3000 <i>Palatines</i>	211,762
For Interest Debentures	49,000
For Wharf and Storehouse at <i>Portsmouth</i>	10,000
For Ordnance for Land-Service	120,000
For Transport-Service	144,000
For circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
The Queen's Proportion of Subsidies to the King of <i>Denmark</i>	37,500
of 13,000 Men in <i>Portugal</i> Service	150,000
of Subsidies to the Duke of <i>Savoy</i>	160,000
of 8,000 Men sent to the D. of <i>Savoy</i>	50,000
Subsidies to the Landgr. of <i>Hesse Cassel</i>	5,952
to the Elector of <i>Triers</i>	5,952
to the Elector <i>Palatine</i>	4,761
For 20,562 Men to serve in <i>Spain</i> and <i>Portugal</i>	445,350
For 8,833 additional Forces for the same Service	186,296
To the Duke of <i>Savoy</i> , expended in Defence of <i>Turin</i>	50,000
Loan to the Emperor last Year	47,500
Levy, &c. of the Forces under the Earl <i>Rivers</i>	63,661
Pay of General Officers in <i>Portugal</i>	3,014
The Queen's Proportion for 3000 <i>Palatines</i> last Year	26,692
Agio Bread and Forage for the <i>Prussians</i>	37,012
Ditto last Year	19,755
Levy Money for Horses killed in <i>Flanders</i>	35,753
For Horses dead, <i>English, Danish</i> and <i>Hanoverian</i> , 1705-6	36,701
Prosecuting King <i>Charles's</i> Successes in <i>Spain</i>	150,000
Garrison at <i>Gibraltar</i>	3,520
Additional Subsidies to <i>Hesse Cassel</i>	20,000
Expences on the <i>Hessian</i> Troops last Year	11,780

Anno 1708.

L.

For 40,000 Seamen	2,680,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	894,272
Ten Thousand additional Troops	177,511
The Queen's Proportion of 3000 Palatines	34,251
of 4692 Saxons	43,251
of Boibmar's Regiment	9,269
The Forces in Spain and Portugal	586,671
Subsidies to the Allies	494,689
Augmenting the Duke of Savoy's Forces	500,000
Guards and Garrisons	511,734
Extraordinary Subsidies to the Duke of Savoy 1707.	100,000
Hessians employ'd in Italy	22,957
Fortifications of Gibraltar	12,284
Interest of Debentures	60,334
Wharf and Storehouse at Portsmouth	10,000
Circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
Transport-Service	144,000
Ordnance for Land-Service	120,000
A Debt to Capt. Roche	2,126

5,926,849

Anno 1709.

For 40,000 Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	901,827
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Proportion of 3,000 Palatines	34,251
of 4,639 Saxons	43,251
of Boibmar's Regiment	9,269
Augmentation Troops in Flanders	220,000
Extraordinary Charges in War	310,748
Subsidies to the Allies	553,845
Guards and Garrisons	549,235
Ordnance for Land-Service	180,000
Interest of Debentures	49,310
Circulating Exchequer Bills	3,500
Forces in Spain and Portugal	1,081,083
Transport Service	144,000

6,457,830

Anno 1710.

For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	901,994

Ten

During Queen Anne's Wars.

121

Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Proportion of 3,000 Palatines	34,251
of 4,000 Saxons	43,251
of Bothmar's Regiment	9,269
Augmentation Troops in Flanders	220,000
Subsidies to the Allies	567,845
Guards and Garrisons	543,775
Ordnance for the Land-Service	130,000
Forces in Spain and Portugal	1,126,035
Extraordinary Expences in the War	234,974
Interest of Debentures	49,357
Transport Service	144,000
Circulating Exchequer Bills	2,000

6,384,260

Anno 1711.

For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	120,000
Forty Thousand Land Forces	919,092
Proportion of 3000 Palatines	34,251
of 4639 Saxons	43,251
of Bothmar's Regiment	9,269
Troops of Augmentation	220,000
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
Guards and Garrisons	546,108
Ordnance for Land Service	130,000
Interest of Debentures	49,357
Transport Service	144,000
Subsidies to the Allies	478,956
Forces in Spain and Portugal	1,500,000
For Payment of 45,000 l. per Annum to 1714, for specyng Exchequer Bills	157,500

6,609,295

Anno 1712.

For Forty Thousand Men for Sea-Service	2,080,000
Ordinary of the Navy	180,000
Recoinage for Scotland, and Deficiency in Coinage	4,615
Interest on South-Sea Stock	535,332
Forty Thousand Land-Forces	886,223
Ten Thousand additional Forces	177,511
For 15,178 Troops of Augmentation	260,993
Forces in Spain to Lady-day	225,385
Ditto the other three Quarters	250,000
Forces in Portugal	196,452
Ordnance for Land-Service	111,983
Fortifications	

Fortifications of Edinburgh Castle	2,50
of Fort William	1,62
of Dumbarton Castle	30
Church at Rotterdam	2,50
Guards and Garrisons	499,73
Transport-Service	80,00
Deficiencies last Year	589,83
Extraordinary Charges of the War	242,02
Subsidies to the Allies	328,95
	6,656,96

Note, The odd Shillings and Pence being omitted, a competent additional Sum must be allow'd for those Fractions of a Pound.

Anno.	Monies voted by Parliament.
1702	3,000,000
1703	3,694,130
1704	3,820,880
1705	4,670,480
1706	5,075,750
1707	5,540,160
1708	5,926,840
1709	6,457,830
1710	6,384,160
1711	6,609,290
1712	6,656,960
Total	57,844,633



A STATE

STATE of the War in Flanders, Portugal and Spain, from the Year 1701 to the Year 1711 inclusive, as deliver'd into the House of Commons 28 Jan. 1711, by the then Secretary at War.

Quotas agreed upon at the Hague in 1701, to act against France.

	Men
BY Holland	102000
Deduct for Garrisons	42000
Remains for the Field	60000
By England	40000
Total for the Field	100000

But Holland has augmented her Troops to	129458
Deduct for Garrisons	42000
Remains for the Field	87458
And England has augmented their Troops to	72197
Total for the Field	159655

Altho' England augmenting in Proportion ought to have furnish'd but	58305
So that England has furnish'd more than her Proportion	13892
	72197

Altho' Holland augmenting in Proportion ought to have furnish'd for the Field	108295
So that Holland has furnish'd less than their Proportion	20837
Remains as above	87458

N. B. As the Number of Garrisons have been increased by the Acquisitions in the Low Countries during this War, they must necessarily take up a greater Number of Men than the first 42000, which consequently reduces the Number for the Field, and then the Troops furnish'd by England more than their Proportion would appear greater than the above

13892
And

124 *State of the War in Flanders, &c.*
 And the Deficiency of Troops by Holland more
 than the above

20837

A State of the War in Portugal, 1703 and 1704.

Englsh. Men
 Eleven Battalions, eight Squadrons 11620

Memorandum.

The States kept up to their *Quota* of one third till the Battle of *Almanza*, but since that they have not sent one Man to *Portugal*, whereas the Queen has since the said Time sent to that Country, and rais'd there at her Charge 8 Battalions and 19 Squadrons, making

9405

In all 21025

Dutch. Men
 Six Battalions, four Squadrons 4000

Memorandum.

The King of *Portugal* by Treaty of 16 May, 1703, was to bring into the Field 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse, on his Account.

And, in Consideration of a Subsidy of a Million of *Patacons* a Year, (whereof the Queen to pay two Thirds, and the States one Third) that King was to furnish 13000 Men more; but the whole Body of his Troops scarcely ever amounted to the least of those Numbers.

A State of the War with Spain.

Englsh Forces in 1705 and 1706 17322
 In 1708, Foreign Troops in *Englsh* Pay 16709

Total, 37 Battalions, 34 Squadrons 34031
 In 1709 Foreign Troops 11084

Total 51 Battalions, 36 Squadrons 45115
 In 1710, 5 Battalions more 3845

Total 48960
 In 1711, 9 Battalions, 12 Squadrons in *Englsh* Pay 9013

Total, 65 Battalions, 48 Squadrons 57973

Dutch

From the Year 1701 to the Year 1711. 125

Dutch Forces 6500
Foreign Troops in Dutch Pay 5700

Total, 14 Battalions, 8 Squadrons 12,200

After the Battle of *Almanza* the Dutch sent no more Forces.

In 1711 the Dutch promis'd to send 4 Battalions, but never sent them.

The States in this Year had no more than 6 Battalions and 14 Squadrons in Spain.

An Account of Subsidies payable to Foreign Princes, pursuant to the respective Treaties, from the Commencement of the War in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710 and 1711, amounting in the whole to 25,270,657 Crowns.

Memorandum.

At the Beginning of the War, the Subsidies were to be paid between England and Holland by equal Portions.

	Crowns
But by the Account what England paid	} 15,790,361
amounts to	
And by Holland	9,480,296

Making together 25,270,657

One Moiety whereof for	} 12,635,328½	} 15,790,361
England amounts to		
So that England paid more	} 3,155,032½	
than the first Proportion		

So that England, during the War, paid more than in Proportion 788,758 l. 2 s. 6 d. and which should have been paid by the Dutch.

SEA SERVICE.

By the Treaties between the Crown of *Great Britain* and the States General, their Proportion of Ships of the Line of Battle, to act in Conjunction with those of this Kingdom, in the Channel, and in and about the *Mediterranean*, ought to be three to five.

And as to the Number of Ships of the Line of Battle, which the States General have each Year, during this War, joined to her Majesty, on the aforementioned Services, the same will appear, by the following Account, which hath been computed with as much Exactness as the Nature of the Thing will bear, viz.

In the Year 1702.

Her Majesty had 44 Ships employed in the Channel and Sound.

Soundings, of the Line of Battle, and 30 in and about the *Mediterranean*, making in the whole 74, and they were join'd by no more than 33 of the States General, whereas they should have been 44.

In the Year 1703.

Seventy-nine of her Majesty's Ships were employed on the aforesaid Services, and but 22 of the States, which ought to have been 47.

In the Year 1704.

There were 74 of the Queen's Ships, and but 18 *Dutch*, which should have been 44.

In the Year 1705.

Seventy-nine Ships of her Majesty's were employed, and but 20 *Dutch*, instead of 47.

In the Year 1706.

Seventy-eight Ships of her Majesty's were employed, and but 15 of the States General's, instead of 46.

In the Year 1707.

Seventy-two of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 27 of the States, instead of 48.

In the Year 1708.

Sixty-nine of the Queen's Ships were employed, and but 25 of the States, instead of 43.

In the Year 1709.

Sixty-seven of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 11 of the States, instead of 42.

In the Year 1710.

Sixty-two of the Queen's Ships were employ'd, and but 13 of the States, instead of 37.

In the Year 1711.

Fifty-nine of the Queen's Ships were employ'd in the *Mediterranean*, and were join'd by no more than 12 of the States, instead of 35, and not so much as one Ship allow'd by the States General to act with those of her Majesty's against the Enemies Ships, at *Dunkirk*, and in the Channel.

Admiralty-Office, 21 Jan. 1712.

By Command of their Lordships,
J. BURCHETT.

G. BYNG.

W. DRAKE.

J. WISHART.

GEO. CLARK.

N. B. The Queen fitted out, during the War, 713 Ships of the Line.

The States General should have join'd them with
431 Ships of the Line.

Whereas they sent but 196

So that the States General } 235 Ships of the Line.
were deficient

In the foregoing Volume, Anno 14, Geo. II. P. 29. We took Notice of a Motion having been made on the 11th of December 1740, for the new-rai'd Men to be incorporated into the Standing Corps, as being less burthensome and expensive than forming them into new Regiments: Since the Publication whereof, the following Speeches, in the Debate on that Motion, having come to hand, We think them too important to be omitted: And if hereafter any material Speeches occur, we shall not fail to insert them in the succeeding Volumes.

AN Estimate of the Expence of raising the said 10,000 Men having been presented to the House, the same was referred to the Committee of Supply: On this Occasion Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, open'd the Debate Sir W. Yonge. with a Speech to the following Effect:

Sir,

' As this Estimate has been drawn up after very accurate Calculations and careful Enquiries, I hope that no Objections will be rais'd against it, and that the Sum necessary for raising the new Regiments will be very readily granted by that House, which voted the War necessary for which they are designed.

' I hope, it will be admitted as some Proof of Frugality, that this Estimate requires less Money than one that was laid before the Parliament in the Reign of King William; for if it be considered, that since that Time the Necessaries of Life are become dearer, and that, therefore, all Expences are encreased, it will appear to be the Effect of the exactest OEconomy, that the Sum required for the same Service is less.

' I have heard indeed, Sir, that in Conversation, the Method of raising Troops on this Occasion has been censured as improper, and that in the Opinion of some, whose Judgment cannot be entirely disregarded, it would be more reasonable to add more Men to our Regiments already established, than to raise new Regiments with new Officers.

' The chief Argument, Sir, produced in support of their Method of Augmentation, is drawn from the Necessity of publick Frugality, a very popular Topic, which never fails to produce Favour and Attention; for every Man is naturally inclined to hear his Friend, and to consider that Man as performing the Office of Friendship, who proposes Methods of alleviating his Taxes.

' Frugality is undoubtedly a Vertue very necessary to the Happiness of the Nation, and such as there occur frequent

Occasions of inculcating to those who are intrusted with the Superintendence of publick Disbursements, but, I am far from thinking that this Estimate affords any Opportunity for Declamations of this Kind, and am of Opinion that the Addition of new Soldiers to each Regiment, would, in reality, be more expensive.

It cannot be denied, Sir, that by augmenting the Regiments, there would be immediately saved to the Publick the Expence of the Officers which are necessary in the Method now proposed; but it is to be considered how much the Number of Officers contributes to the Regularity and Discipline of the Troops, and how much Discipline and Order promote their Success. It is to be considered, Sir, that the most successful Method of making War is undoubtedly the cheapest, and that nothing is more expensive than Defeat.

If by raising the same Number of Men under fewer Officers, we should give our Enemies any Advantage; if a single Party should be cut off, a Garrison forced, an Expedition rendered fruitless, or the War protracted but a few Months, where will be the Advantage of this admired Frugality? What would be the Consequence, but the same or a greater Expence, not to gain Advantages, but to repair Losses, and obviate the Effects of our former Parsimony?

In private Life, Sir, it is common for Men to involve themselves in Expence only by avoiding it, to repair Houses at greater Charges than new ones might be built, and to pay Interest rather than the Debt. Weak Minds are frightened at the Mention of extraordinary Efforts, and decline large Expences, though Security and future Affluence may be purchased by them; as tender Bodies shrink from severe Operations, though they are the certain Methods of restoring Health and Vigour. The Effects of this Timidity are the same in both Cases, the Estate is impaired insensibly, and the Body languishes by Degrees, till no Remedy can be applied.

Such Examples, Sir, are frequent, and the Folly of imitating them is therefore greater, for who would pursue that Track by which he has seen others led to Destruction? Nor need we search for remote Illustrations to discover the destructive Tendency of unseasonable Tendernefs for the Publick, for I believe the whole History of the Wars of King William will prove, that too close an Attention to Parsimony is inconsistent with great Achievements.

It may be expected that I who cannot claim any Regard in this Disquisition from my own Experience, should produce some decisive Evidence in favour of the Method which I have taken upon me to defend; this Expectation I shall endeavour to satisfy by alledging the Authority of the greatest Comman-
der

der of latter Ages, whom neither his Friends nor his Enemies will deny to have been well versed in these Subjects, and whose Success is a sufficient Proof of the Soundness of his Principles.

The illustrious Duke of *Marlborough* was of Opinion, that the whole Force of the *French* Armies consisted in the Number of the Officers, and that to be always equal to them in the Field, it was necessary to form our Troops nearly upon the same Plan; to this Scheme he conformed in his Practice of War, and how much his Practice confirmed his Opinion, let *Blenheim* and *Ramillies* attest.

As I pretend not to have determined myself on this Question, otherwise than by Authority, and as I know not any Authority equal to that of the Duke of *Marlborough*, I cannot discharge the Trust reposed in me by my Country, any otherwise than by proposing, that on this Occasion we agree to grant to his Majesty the Sum calculated for raising the new Regiments, as I believe that Method of Augmentation most likely to produce Success in our Undertakings, and consequently to procure a speedy Conclusion of the War.

Mr. *Pulteney* spoke next to the following Effect.

Mr. *Pulteney*.

Sir,

I have been so long accustomed to the Debates of this House, and have so often attended to the Eloquence of the Right Honourable Gentleman, that I am never startled at Paradoxes, nor shocked at Absurdities. I can now hear with great Tranquillity a Harangue upon the Necessity of Placemen in this House, upon the Usefulness of Standing Armies, and the Happiness of a general Excise.

I am no longer offended with Facts quoted in Opposition to History, nor with Calculations drawn up without Regard to the Rules of Arithmetick; I know that there are Persons in this House, who think themselves obliged to speak even when in their own Opinion nothing can be said with Weight or with Propriety, who come hither prepared against the Shame of Confutation, and determined not to be convinced.

To reason with such Men, Sir, is indeed no pleasing Task, it is to fight with enchanted Heroes upon whom the common Weapons of Argument have no Effect, and who must be softened by a Counter-Charm before they can be attacked with any Prospect of Success.

There are some, however, of whom I am willing to believe that they dispute only for Truth, and enquire with the View of attaining a Solution of their Doubts. For the sake of these, Sir, I think it necessary to declare my Sentiments, as I shall be desirous, in my turn, to hear their Sentiments; but

but with regard to those whose Opinion I know already by their Posts, I should think it of great Advantage to the Dispatch of publick Affairs, if they would content themselves with voting for their Pay, without any Ambition of other Service, or adding the Praise of Volubility to that of Steadiness.

‘ Having this Opportunity, Sir, of declaring my Opinion of the Measures pursued in regulating our military Preparations, I shall not confine myself entirely to the present Question, but lay before the House my Thoughts upon some Parts of the Establishment, which may perhaps require a Reform, and which are at least proper Objects of Consideration, though not absolutely necessary to the Determination of our Opinion upon the present Motion.

‘ I have long ago, Sir, declared, what therefore it is scarcely of any Use to repeat, that I know not any Advantage to be hoped from a Standing Army, nor can discover why the ablest and most vigorous of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom should be seduced from the Loom, the Anvil, and the Plough, only to live at ease upon the Labour of Industry, only to insult their Landlords, and rob the Farmers. I never could find why any Body of Men should be exempt from the common Labour of social Duties, or why they should be supported by a Community, who contribute neither to its Honour nor its Defence.

I doubt not, Sir, but I shall hear on this Occasion of the Service of our Troops in the Suppression of Riots ; we shall be told, by the next pompous Orator who shall rise up in Defence of the Army, that they have often dispersed the Smugglers, that the Colliers have been driven down by the Terror of their Appearance to their subterraneous Fortifications, that the Weavers in the midst of that Rage which Hunger and Oppression excited, fled at their Approach, that they have at our Markets bravely regulated the Price of Butter, and sometimes, in the utmost Exertion of heroic Fury, broken those Eggs which they were not suffered to purchase at their own Terms.

‘ Some one perhaps of more Penetration, may inform us of the Use which has been made of them at Elections, where the surly Burgesses have been sometimes blind to the Merit of those worthy Gentlemen, whom the Soldiers have known how to Esteem according to their Desert ; nor indeed do I see how those can refuse their Votes in Favour of our Troops, who are indebted for the Power of giving them, to their kind Interposition.

‘ To these Arguments, Sir, I shall content myself with answering, that those, who are versed in the History of
Bri-

Britain, know, that we have had Colliers and Weavers for many Years before a Standing Army was heard of among us, and that it is, nevertheless, no where recorded that any of our Kings were deposed by those formidable Bodies of Men, or that any remarkable Changes were made by them in the Form of our Government ; and, therefore, till some Reason shall be alledged, why such Insurrections are now more dangerous, and our civil Magistrates more impotent than in former Ages, I humbly conceive that even without the Protection of a Standing Army we might yet sleep in Security, notwithstanding the Plots of the Colliers and the Combinations of the Weavers.

‘ But I must own, Sir, these are not our only Enemies, for there is somewhere, yet in Existence, a Person that lays Claim to the Dominion of these Kingdoms, and pleads an hereditary Title to dispose of our Wealth, to subvert our Liberties, and destroy our Religion.

‘ If any Foreigner, Sir, unacquainted with our Affairs, were to be at present at our Debates, and hear with what Ardour we animate each other to an obstinate Resistance of this Pretender to the Throne, how often he is represented as hovering over us, and how often we have caught a general Panic, and imagin’d ourselves upon the Verge of Destruction, how often our most zealous Patriots take Opportunities of declaring their Resolution to die in the Defence of their Liberties, and how pathetically our most elegant Declaimers have expatiated on the Misery of that unhappy Race whom they should leave behind to groan under the Oppression of absolute Power, what would be his Opinion of this Pretender, whom he saw so perpetually dreaded, against whom so many Alliances were formed, so many Armies were levied, and so many Navies equipped ?

Would he not believe him to be some formidable Tyrant in a Neighbouring Country, the Lord of wide Dominions, and the Master of numerous Armies and powerful Fleets ? Would he not imagine that he could assemble half the Continent at his Call, that he was supported by powerful Alliances, and that nothing but a fair Wind was required to land him on our Coasts at the Head of Millions ? And would he not, even on that Supposition, be inclin’d to censure us as timorous, as somewhat regardless of the Honour of our Nation, and condemn us for giving Way to such Suspicions and Exclamations as have a natural Tendency to heighten the Apprehension of Danger, and depress the Spirits of the People ?

‘ But what would be his Conclusion, Sir, when he should be told, what in reality is true, that this dreadful Pretender is an

an unhappy Fugitive, driven in his Infancy from this Country, and by Consequence without any personal Interest ; that he is supported by the Charity of a Prince whose Name is hated almost by every Inhabitant of the Kingdom ; that he has neither Sovereignty, nor Money, nor Alliances, nor Reputation in War, nor Skill in Policy ; that all his Actions are watched by *British* Spies ; and that the few Friends that remain to support the Farce of a Court, are such only as dare not return to their Native Country, and are therefore without Fortune, and without Dependants ?

‘ What could a wise Man conceive of a Nation held in continual Alarms by an Enemy like this ; of a Nation always watchful against an Invasion from a Man who has neither Dominions to supply, nor Money to hire, a single Regiment ; from a Man whose Title all the neighbouring Princes disown, and who is at such a Distance from them, that he cannot be assisted by them without open Preparations, of which we cannot fail of having Intelligence, and which may be defeated, without Danger, by the Vessels regularly station’d on our Coasts ?

‘ Would not any Stranger imagine, Sir, that we were a Nation infected with a general Frenzy, that Cowardice had perverted our Imaginations, filled us with Apprehensions of impossible Invasions, raised Phantoms before our Eyes, and distracted us with wild Ideas of Slavery and Tyranny, Oppression and Persecution ?

‘ I have dwelt thus long on this Point, because I know the Pretender is the last Refuge of those who defend a Standing Army ; not that I propose to convince any Man of the Folly of such Apprehensions, or to fortify him against such Terrors for the Time to come ; for if any Man, in reality, now dreads the Pretender, Fear must be his Distemper, he is doom’d to live in Terrors, and it is of no Importance whether he dreads an Invasion or a Goblin, whether he is afraid to disband the Army, or to put out his Candle in the Night, his Imagination is tainted, and he must be cured, not by Argument, but by Physick.

‘ But the greatest Part of those who disturb our Consultations with the Mention of the Pretender, are Men of a very different Character, Men equally unconcerned about his Designs, or his Motions, with those who are most desirous of setting the Nation free from the Burthen of an Army, and very often such as we may discover, from their Conduct, to be determined to comply with every Government, and such as have therefore nothing to fear from a Change of Masters.

‘ The Men for whose sake I am now speaking, Sir, laugh as much as I do at the Apprehensions of those whom they
contri-

contribute to terrify ; they know too well the Impotence of the Pretender to dread an Invasion from him, and affect only to continue their Outcries, that they may not be deprived of a Topic, on which, by long Practice, they have attained an uncommon Facility of Haranguing, which they know how to diversify with various Combinations of Circumstances, and how to accommodate to any emergent Occasion without the Pain of torturing their Inventions.

‘ It may be useful, Sir, to inform these Men, that their Disguise ought at last to be thrown off, because it deceives no longer, and that the Nation cannot be cheated, but at the Expence of more Cunning than they are willing, or perhaps able, to display. A Mask must necessarily be thrown aside, when instead of concealing, it discovers him by whom it is used.

‘ Those who are attempting, Sir, to deceive others, and whose Character is exalted, in their own Opinion, in proportion to the Success of their Endeavours, have surely a Sense of Shame, though they have none of Virtue ; and cannot without Pain, find their Artifices detected, and themselves made the Objects of Ridicule, by those Stratagems which they employ for the Deception of others.

‘ I hope, therefore, Sir, that, for their own Sakes, these Declaimers on the exploded Story of the Pretender, will change their Bugbear, that if it be necessary to frighten those whom they want Art or Eloquence to persuade, they will find out some other Object of Terror, which, after a little Practice in private Meetings, they may first produce in the Court, and then turn loose in the Parliament.

‘ The World, methinks, allows them a sufficient Choice of Tyrants more formidable than the Pretender. Suppose they should revive the History of the *Mobocks*. The *Mobocks* are a dreadful Race, not to be mentioned without Horror by a true Lover of his Country, and a steady Adherent to the House of *Hanover* ; they might then very easily encrease our Army, or inhance our Taxes ; for who would not be urged by his Wife and Daughter to agree to any Measures that might secure them from the *Mobocks* ?

‘ But as an Army is at present likely to be kept up for our Defence against an Enemy less formidable, it may be more seasonable to propose the Regulation than the Dismission of our Troops, and to mention those Evils which arise from the present Establishment, rather than those which are inseparable from the Expence of a standing Force.

‘ If it be necessary, Sir, to support Soldiers, I suppose that it will not be denied by the Advocates for an Army, that we ought to levy such Troops as may be of use ; yet in their

Practice they seem to have paid very little Regard to this Principle. Our Troopers are mounted upon Horſe which can ſerve no Purpoſe but that of Show, which may indeed wheel about in the Park with a formidable Air, but can neither advance upon an Enemy with Impetuofity nor retreat from him with Expedition ; and which, therefore, though purchaſed by the Nation at a very high Price, and ſupported at a large Expence, can only grace a Review, but are of very little Uſe in an Enemy's Country, and muſt periſh in the March, or ſtand unactive in the Battle.

‘ Nor is much more Service to be expected, Sir, from their Riders than from the Horſes, for there are very few of them acquainted with the firſt Elements of their Profeſſion, or who have ever learned more than a few Poſtures of Exerciſe, and the Meaning of a few Words of Command, but have a Number of Officers with large Appointments.

‘ The *French* Troops, Sir, if they are doubly officer'd, are officer'd and maintain'd at a leſs Expence, and to greater Effect ; for the Soldiers are better inſtructed, and the ſame Number of Men coſt not, perhaps, much more than half the Charge of a *Britiſh* Regiment.

‘ The Guards, Sir, that are maintained about this Metropolis, for no other Purpoſe than to keep up the Splendor of a modern Court, coſt the Nation yearly ſuch a Sum as would be ſufficient to ſupport an Army of *Frenchmen*, for the Protection of their Frontier Towns, or the Invaſion of neighbouring Countries.

‘ For my Part, I cannot ſee what Injury would be done to the Nation by abolishing an Eſtabliſhment, at the ſame Time both uſeleſs and expenſive, and employing that Money which is at preſent ſquandered upon Idlers without Effect, upon Levies of uſeful Soldiers for marching Regiments, who might be employed, when Occaſion ſhould require them, in the Service of their Country.

‘ It will doubtleſs be objected, that the Officers of this Body of Men, many of whom are Perſons of the higheſt Merit, and who have generally purchaſed their Commiſſions, might very juſtly complain of being deprived, without a Crime, of that which they have bought at its full Value, and to which therefore they imagine themſelves intitled, till they ſhall forfeit their Right by ſome Offence againſt the Laws, or ſome Neglect of their Duty.

‘ I ſhall not, Sir, at preſent enquire into the Juſtice of this Plea, nor examine, whether he who purchaſes an Employment, which he knows to be uſeleſs, and therefore burthenſome to the Public, deſerves, that the Public ſhould be ſolicitous to ſupport him in the Enjoyment of it : But I ſhall declare,

on this Occasion, with Confidence, that I know many of the Officers of the Guards to be Men of Honour, who would gladly exchange their Posts, so chargeable to the Nation, for an Opportunity of serving it, and who are not very anxious for the Increase of their Pay, so they may not be degraded from their present Rank.

‘ If these Gentlemen, Sir, might, in the Regiments that should be raised by disbanding the Guards, be advanc’d to higher Commissions, though with some Diminution of their Pay, they would imagine themselves abundantly compensated by the Happiness of becoming useful Subjects, and serving that Nation by which they have been hitherto supported only to fill up the Pomp of Levees, and add to the Magnificence of Drawing Rooms, to loiter in Anti-Chambers, and to quarrel at Gaming-Tables.

‘ If this Scheme should not be approved, the Method eligible, in the next Degree, seems to be, that of incorporating our new Levies into the Regiments already raised, that being associated with Men already acquainted with Discipline, they may learn their Duty much more expeditiously than in separate Bodies, where one Officer will be obliged to attend to the Instruction of great Numbers, and where no Man will be excited to Application, because no Man will see any Degree of Excellence, which he may be ambitious of attaining.

‘ I have, indeed, heard no Reason alledged for the Necessity of new Levies, which appeared likely to convince even those by whom it was produced. It appears to me that our present Army is more than sufficient for the publick Service without an Augmentation, and that some of our Regiments might immediately embark, not only without Danger to the Nation, but with far greater Hopes of Success, as our Enemies would have less Time to strengthen their Fortifications, and collect their Troops, and as disciplined Forces are more formidable than Troops newly levied ; for Discipline must be of great Efficacy to the Success of military Undertakings, or all Arguments which have been used in the Defence of a Standing Army fall to the Ground.

‘ In Answer to this Proposal, we shall probably be once again intimidated with an Invasion, whether from the Pretender, the Spaniards, the French, or any other Power, it is of no great Importance. An Invasion is a formidable Sound, the Sack of Towns, the Destruction of Villages, the Captivity of our Children, the Ruin of our Fortunes, and the Desolation of our Country are frightful Images, and may therefore be successfully produced, on this Occasion, to perplex our Thoughts, and embarrass our Enquiries.

‘ To remove therefore this Panic, and to dissipate, for ever, the Phantoms of Invasion, I will lay before the House the Opinion of the Great Commander whose Name has already been introduced in this Debate. In the late Reign, on a Day when the great Officers of the Crown, and many of the Council, were at a publick Feast in the City, a Report was suddenly spread, that the Duke of *Ormond* had landed in the West with two thousand Men. This Account was in Appearance well attested, and universally believed ; all Jollity was therefore at an End, the Company departed, the Council was summoned, and every Man offered such Expedients as his present Thoughts, confused and oppressed with the Proximity of the Danger, suggested to him. One proposed that a Body of Troops should be sent to a distant Part of the Kingdom, to restrain the Seditions of the Populace ; another apprehended more Danger from a different Quarter, and advised that the Inhabitants should be awed by another Detachment sent thither ; the most experienced easily saw the Unprofitableness of the Measures proposed, but could not so easily strike out more efficacious Expedients, and therefore sat in great Perplexity. Lord *Somers* particularly shook his Head, and seemed to consider the Kingdom as in the Hands of the Invaders, and the dreadful Pretender as seated on the Throne.

‘ At last the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had hitherto sat silent, ask’d calmly, whether they were certain that any Forces were really landed ? and was answered, that though it might not be absolutely certain, yet they were to consult and send Orders upon that Supposition. Then, says he, I will lay down this great Rule to be observed invariably, whenever you are invaded. Attend only to one Point, nor have any other Purpose in view than that of destroying the regular Forces that shall be landed in the Kingdom, without any Regard to petty Insurrections, which may be always easily quelled, and which will probably cease of themselves, when the Army, by which they were excited, is cut off. For this End let it be your Rule to keep your Army undivided, and to make no Motion but towards the Enemies, fight them with the utmost Expedition, before they can fortify themselves to receive Reinforcements from the Continent. By the Observation of this plain Method of Operation, continued he, I will engage without any other Force than the Regiments generally stationed about the Capital, to put a Stop to any Troops that shall be landed on the Coast of *Great Britain*.

‘ So far was this great Officer, who was acquainted with the whole Art of War, from sinking into Astonishment at the Sound of an Invasion, and so far from thinking it necessary, that

that the Nation should be harrassed by Standing Troops, to preserve it from being plundered by a foreign Army.

‘ But though our Troops, Sir, should not be necessary to prevent an Invasion, they may be useful in Services of equal Importance : The Ministry may think the Votes of the Officers more serviceable than their Swords, and may be more afraid of exposing themselves than the Nation by any Detachment of their Forces.

‘ Such is at present, Sir, the State of this unhappy Country, that neither in Peace nor War are any Measures taken, but with a View of encreasing or confirming the Power of the Ministry ; for this Purpose those Troops, whose Officers have Seats here, are to be retained at home, and the Fate of our *West India* Settlements to be committed to new levied Forces without military Skill.

‘ For this Reason is an Army to be raised without Necessity, and raised in a Manner that may furnish the Court with an Opportunity of extending its Influence, by the Disposal of great Numbers of new Commissions. By this Plan every Family that is burthened with a Relation, whose Vices have ruined his Fortune, or whose Stupidity disqualifies him for Employment, will have an Opportunity of selling, for a Commission, their Interest at the approaching Election ; Dependance will be propagated, and the troublesome Spirit of Liberty be depressed.

‘ To little Purpose will it be objected, that Soldiers and Officers will be equally Ignorant, that Discipline is not infused instantaneously, that a military Dress will not make a Soldier, that Men can only know their Duty by Instruction, and that nothing is to be hoped from Ploughmen, and Manufacturers commanded by School-boys. The Success of the Expedition is not so much considered by those who have the Direction of the Levies, as that of the Election, and while they keep their Posts they are very little concerned about the Affairs of the *West Indies*.

‘ In Defence of this Method it has, indeed, been affirmed, that it was preferred by the Duke of *Marlborough* ; but we are not informed to whom, or upon what Occasion he declared his Opinion, and therefore are left at Liberty to doubt, whether his Authority is not produced for a Method which he did not approve, or approved only at some particular Time for some extraordinary Service.

‘ It is urged that he recommended it by his Practice, and that his Success is a sufficient Proof that his Practice was founded upon right Maxims. But if it be remembered what was, in that Time, the Method of obtaining Commissions, and who it was that had the Disposal of them, it will appear,

pear not absolutely certain, that his Practice ought to be produced as a decisive Proof of his Opinion.

‘ If the Success of Troops be properly urged as an Argument for the Form of their Establishment, may not the Victories of Prince *Eugene* afford a Proof, equally convincing, that a few Officers are sufficient? And if the Arguments, which arise from Success are equal on both Sides, ought not the Necessity of saving the Publick Money to turn the Balance?

‘ War, Sir, is in its own Nature a Calamity very grievous to the most powerful and flourishing People, and to a trading Nation is particularly destructive, as it at once exhausts our Wealth, and interrupts our Commerce, at once drinks up the Stream and choaks up the Fountain. In those Countries, whose Affairs are wholly transacted within their own Frontiers, where there is either very little Money, or where their Wealth is dug out of their own Mines, they are only weakened by the Loss of Men, or by the Diminution of their Dominions, and in general can only suffer by being overcome.

‘ But the State of *Great Britain* is far different, it is not necessary to our Ruin that an Enemy should be stronger than ourselves, that he should be able to pour Armies into our Country, to cover the Sea with Fleets, to burn our Villages by Incursions, or destroy our Fortresses with Bombs; for he that can secure his own Dominions from our Attacks, to which nothing but Distance and some Advantages of Situation are necessary, may support a War against us; and he that can fit out Privateers to interrupt our Trade, may, without obtaining a Victory, reduce us to Distress.

‘ Our Situation, Sir, as it preserves us from the Danger of an Invasion except from that powerful Monarch the Pretender, who is indeed always to be dreaded, has likewise the Effect of securing other Nations from being invaded by us, for it is very difficult to transport in one Fleet, and to land at one Time, a Number sufficient to force their Way into a Country where the Ports are fortified, and the Inhabitants in Arms.

‘ Our Wars, Sir, are therefore to be determined by naval Battles, and those Nations have very little to fear from us who have no Trade to be disturbed, and no Navies to be destroyed; if they can only fit out Cruisers which may always be done by granting Commissions to foreign Adventurers, they may ruin our Merchants by Captures, exhaust the Nation by the Necessity of Convoys, and give neutral Traders an Opportunity of establishing their Credit at those Markets, which have been hitherto supplied by our Manufactures,

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' This is indeed far from being at present an exact Account of the State of *Spain*, whose wide extended Dominions are liable to Insults, and from whom many of her most wealthy Provinces may be torn without great Hazard or Difficulty. The particular State of her Commerce, which being only carried on from one Part of her Dominions to another, can only be for a Time interrupted, but is in no Danger of being invaded by any Rival, or lost by Disuse, at least requires our Consideration : And we ought to make War with the utmost Frugality against a People whom no Hostilities can really impoverish, whose Commerce may be said to lie at rest rather than to be shackled, as it will rise into greater Vigour at the End of the War, and whose Treasures, though the Want of them is a present Inconvenience, are only piled up for a Time of Security.

' As the only Method, Sir, of reducing this Nation must be that of invading its Colonies, and dismembering its Provinces, by which the chief Persons will be deprived of their Revenues, and a general Discontent be spread over the People, the Forces which are levied for this Expedition, (an Expedition on which the Honour of our Arms and the Prosperity of our Trade must so much necessarily depend,) ought to be selected with the greatest Care, and disciplined with the exactest Regularity.

' On this Occasion, therefore, it is surely improper to employ Troops newly collected from Shops and Villages, and yet more irrational to trust them to the Direction of Boys called on this Occasion from the Frolicks of a School, or forced from the Bosoms of their Mothers, and the Softness of the Nursery. It is not without Compassion, Compassion very far extended, that I consider the unhappy Striplings doom'd to a Camp, from whom the Sun has hitherto been screened, and the Wind excluded ; who have been taught by many tender Lectures the Unwholsomeness of the Evening Mists and the Morning Dews, who have been wrapt in Furs in Summer, who have lived without any Fatigue but that of Dress, or any Care but that of their Complexion.

' Who can forbear, Sir, some Degree of Sympathy, when he sees Animals like these taking their last Farewel of the Maid that has fed them with Sweet-Meats, and defended them from Insects ; when he sees them drest up in the Habilliments of Soldiers, loaded with a Sword, and invested with a Command, not to mount the Guard at the Palace, not to display their Lace at a Review, not to protect Ladies at the Door of an Assembly Room, nor to show their Intrepidity at a Country Fair, but to enter into a kind of Fellowship with the rugged Sailor, to hear the Tumult of a Storm, to sustain the

the Change of Climates, and to be set on shore in an Enemy's Dominions ?

' Surely, he that can see such Spectacles without Sorrow, must have hardened his Heart beyond the common Degrees of Cruelty, and it may reasonably be expected, that he who can propose any Method by which such Hardships may be escaped, will be thought entituled to Gratitude and Praise.

' For my Part, I should imagine, Sir, that an easy Method might be discovered of obviating such Misery, without lessening that Number of Officers, which perhaps, in Opposition to Reason and Experience, some Gentlemen will continue to think necessary, and I hope that this may be no improper time to declare my Opinion.

' I have observed, that for some time, no private Sentinel has ever risen to any Rank above that of a Serjeant, and that Commissions have been reserved as Rewards for other Services than those of the Camp. This Procedure, I cannot but think at once impolitick and unjust.

' It is impolitick, Sir, as it has a natural Tendency to extinguish in the Soldiery all Emulation and all Industry. Soldiers have an equal Genius with other Men, and undoubtedly there might be found among them great Numbers capable of learning and of improving the military Sciences ; but they have likewise the same Love of Ease, and the Desire of Honour and of Profit, and will not condemn themselves to labour without the Prospect of Reward, nor sacrifice their Time to the Attainment of that Knowledge, which can have no other Effect than to make them discover the Stupidity of their Commanders, and render their Obedience more difficult, as it will destroy that Reverence which is necessary to Subordination.

' It is unjust, Sir, because it is not to be doubted, that some Soldiers by the natural Force of their Faculties, or by a laudable Activity of Mind, have extended their Knowledge beyond the Duties of a private Station, and he that excels in his Profession has an equitable Claim to Distinction and Preferment. To advance any Man in the Army, because his Father is an Orator in Parliament, or the Leading Man of a Borough, seems not more rational, than to make another Man a Judge because some of his Ancestors were skilled in Gunnery ; nor would the Lawyers have juster Reasons for Complaint in one Case, than the Soldiers in the other.

It is therefore, Sir, in my Opinion, necessary to the Advancement of military Knowledge, that as a Sentinel is, for excelling in his Profession, advanced to the Degree of a Serjeant, the Serjeant, who continues his Application, and performs his Duty, should, in time, be honoured with a Commission.

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' It may be objected indeed, that Serjeants, though skilful in Discipline, yet can very seldom arrive at any remarkable Skill in Politicks, and though they should be so fortunate as to gain Estates, could never be of any use as the Representatives of a Borough; and to what Purpose should those Men be advanced, who can only serve their Country, but can contribute very little to the Support of the Court?

' This is, I own, Sir, an Objection which I despair of answering to the Satisfaction of those by whom it will be raised. The hardy Serjeant would never cringe gracefully at a Levee, would never attain to any successful Degree of Address in soliciting Votes, and if he should, by mere Bribery, be deputed hither, would be unable to defend the Conduct of his Directors.

' In Vindication of the present Scheme, I believe few of those rugged Warriors would find many Arguments; they would not recommend to the Nation a Troop of Boys, under the Command of Boys, as the most proper Forces to be sent to make Conquests in distant Countries; nor would imagine, that unskilful Soldiers could, under the Direction of Officers equally ignorant with themselves, attain the Knowledge of their Duty in the same Time as if they were incorporated with regular Troops, in which every Man might receive Instruction, and learn his Business from his Comrade.

' I had lately, Sir, the Opportunity of hearing the Opinion of one of the greatest Generals in the World, on this Subject, who declared with the utmost Confidence of Certainty, that raw Troops could be disciplined in a short Time, only by being incorporated with those that had been already taught their Duty; and asserted, that with an Army so mixed, he should think himself sufficiently enabled to meet any Forces of the same Number, and should not fear to acquit himself successfully, either in attacking or defending.

' Such are the Sentiments of this great Man, to whom I know not whether any Name can be opposed, that deserves equally to be revered. He has had the Honour of defending the Rights of his Country in the Senate, as well as in the Field, has signalized himself equally in the Debate and in the Battle, and perhaps deserves less Regard for having hazarded his Life, than for having been divested of his Employments.

' Since therefore, it is apparent that great Numbers of Officers are by no means necessary to Success in War, since they are dangerous to our Liberty in Time of Peace, since they are certainly expensive, and at best not certainly useful; and since the greatest General of the present Age has declar'd that our new Levies ought to be mingled with our

Standing Forces, I shall think it my Duty, to vote against the present Scheme of raising new Regiments, and shall agree to no other Supplies than such as may be sufficient for adding the same Numbers to the present Army.

General Wade.

General *Wade* then spoke as follows.

Sir,

‘ Though I cannot pretend to pursue the Honourable Gentleman through the whole Compass of his Argument, nor shall attempt to stand up as his Rival, either in Extent of Knowledge, or Elegance of Language ; yet as my Course of Life has necessarily furnished me with some Observations relating to the Question before us, and my present Station in the Army, may, in some Measure, be said to make it my Duty to declare my Opinion, I shall lay before the House a few Considerations, with the artless Simplicity of a plain Soldier, without engaging in a formal Debate, or attempting to overthrow the Arguments of others.

‘ It is observed, Sir, that for the greatest Part, the farther any Man has advanced in Life, the less Confidence he places in Speculation, and the more he learns to rest upon Experience, the only sure Guide in human Affairs ; and as the Transactions in which he is engaged are more important, with the greater Anxiety does he inquire after Precedents, and the more timorously does he proceed, when he is obliged to regulate his Conduct by Conjecture or by Deliberation.

‘ This Remark, Sir, though it may be just with Regard to all States of Life, is yet more constantly and certainly applicable to that of the Soldier ; because as his Profession is more hazardous than any other, he must with more Caution guard against Miscarriages and Error. The old Soldier, therefore, very rarely ventures beyond the Verge of Experience, unless in Compliance with particular Accidents, which does not make any Change in his general Scheme, or in Situations, where nothing can preserve him, but some new Stratagem or unprecedented Effort, which are not to be mentioned as Part of his original Plan of Operation, because they are produced always by unforeseen Emergences, and are to be imputed, not to Choice but to Necessity ; for in Consequence of my first Principle, an old Soldier never willingly involves himself in Difficulties, or proceeds in such a Manner, as that he may not expect Success by the regular Operations of War.

‘ It will not therefore be strange, if I, who, having served in the Army in the Wars of King *William*, may justly claim the Title of an old Soldier, should not easily depart from the Methods established in my Youth ; Methods

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by which their Effects have shewn me, that they at least answer the Intention for which they were contrived, and which therefore I shall be afraid of rejecting, lest those which are proposed to be substituted in their Place, however probable in Speculation, should be found defective in Practice; and the Reasonings, which indeed I cannot answer, should be confuted in the Field, where Eloquence has very little Power.

‘ The Troops of *Great Britain*, formed according to the present Establishment, have been found successful; they have preserved the Liberties of *Europe*, and driven the Armies of *France* before them; they have appeared equally formidable in Sieges and in Battles, and with Strength equally irresistible, have pressed forward in the Field, and mounted the Breach. It may be urged, that this Vigour, Alacrity and Success, cannot be proved to have been produced by the Number of Officers who commanded them; but since, on the contrary, it cannot be shewn that the Number of Officers did not contribute to their Victories, I think it not prudent to try the Experiment, which, if it should succeed, as it possibly may, would produce no great Advantage; and if it should fail, and that it may fail no Man will deny, must bring upon us, not only the Expence, which we are so solicitous to avoid, but Disgrace and Losses, a long Interruption of our Trade, and the Slaughter of great Numbers of our Fellow-Subjects.

‘ Thus far, Sir, I have proceeded upon a Supposition that the Balance of Argument is equal on both Sides, and that nothing could be alledged on one Part, but Experience, or objected to the other, but the Want of it; but as I am now called to declare my Opinion in a Question relating to my Profession, a Question of great Importance to the Public, I should think that I had not discharged my Duty to my Country with that Fidelity which may justly be expected from me, if I should omit any Observation that my Memory may suggest, by which the House may be better enabled to proceed in this Enquiry.

‘ I think it therefore proper to declare, that we not only, in the last great War, experienced the Usefulness of numerous Officers, but that we have likewise felt the Want of them on a Signal Occasion, and that the only greatest Advantage which our Enemies obtained, was gained over an Army, rendered weak by the Want of the usual Number of Officers. Such were the Forces that were defeated at the fatal Battle of *Almanza*, by which almost all *Spain* * was recovered from us. And it is, Sir, the Opinion of very skilful

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* General Wade, at the Head of two Battalions, repulsed twenty two Squadrons of the Enemy in that Action, being then Colonel of a Regiment.

Commanders, that the *Germans*, only by having fewer Officers than the *French*, did not succeed in those long and obstinate Battles of *Parma* and *Guasfalla*.

It is indeed natural to imagine, that a greater Number of Officers must promote Success, because Courage is kindled by Example, and it is therefore of use to every Man to have his Leader in his View. Shame at one Time, and Affection at another, may produce the Effects of Courage, where it is wanted, and those may follow their Commander, who are inclined to desert their Duty; for it is seldom known, that, while the Officers appear confident, the Soldiers despair, or that they think of retreating but after the Example of their Leaders.

Where there are only few Officers, it is apparent, that more is left to Chance, in which it becomes not a wise Man to place any Confidence; for if the Officers are killed at the Beginning of the Action, the Soldiers must become an useless, defenceless Herd without Order, without Unanimity, and without Design; but, by the present Method, if an Officer happens to fall, his Place is immediately supplied by another, the Action goes forward, and the Enemy receives no Advantage from Confusion or Delay.

I am therefore of Opinion, that in raising Troops for the Expedition now intended, the established Method ought to be followed, and that we ought not to hazard the Success of our Attempt, by new Regulations, of which no human Sagacity can foretel the Event.

Tho' it cannot be denied, that some Addition might be made to our Companies without any visible or certain Inconvenience, yet the Augmentation now intended, is too numerous to be so incorporated without some Neglect of Discipline, as the Officers would be charged with more Men than they could properly superintend.

There is indeed, Sir, another Method of Incorporation, by adding new Companies to each Regiment; but of this Method the Advantage would be small, because the Number of Captains and inferiour Officers must be the same, and the Pay of only the Field-Officers would be saved, and this trifling Gain would be far over-balanc'd by the Inconveniencies which Experience has shown to arise from it. There have been Regiments formed of thirteen Companies instead of ten; but it was found, that as the Officers of a Company may be overcharged with Soldiers, so a Colonel may likewise have more Companies than he can conveniently inspect, and the antient Regulation was restored, as the least liable to Difficulties and Objections.

Having thus endeavoured to vindicate the Manner in which
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our new Troops are proposed to be levied, it may be expected that I should now make some Observations on the Service in which they are to be employed, which I cannot think liable to any unanswerable Objection. It is now, Sir, in our Choice whether we will send the new Regiments abroad or keep them at home; and our Choice may easily be determined by comparing the Value of our Colonies, with That of their Mother Country. If it be not necessary to have any Army here, to defend us against Insults and Invasions, the Question about the Manner of raising or employing new Regiments is superfluous, because none ought to be raised, as our old Troops are sufficiently numerous for foreign Service. But if the Security of the Nation requires an Army, would it not be Madness to send those Troops, to a distant Part of the World, in which we can confide most? Would not those, who speak with such Contempt of an Expedition undertaken by Boys, have a better Reason for the Censure, if only Boys were station'd on our Coasts to repel the Veterans of the French? Would not such Measures animate our Enemies, and invite an Invasion?

It may perhaps be urged farther, that the Troops which are sent into the *West Indies*, are more likely to succeed in their Design, than any Regiment of antient Establishment. The chief Danger to be feared in that Part of the World, is not from the Enemy but the Climate, with which young Men are most able to contend, though they may not be equally qualified for Attempts, in which Skill is equally necessary with Vigour.

I am convinc'd, Sir, that this War has hitherto been prosecuted with Ardour and Fidelity, and that no Measures have been taken but such as Experience and Reason have supported, and therefore affirm, without Scruple, that if we are not successful, our Miscarriages must be imputed to the Chance of War, from which no Prudence can exempt us.

The Lord *Quarendon* * spoke next to the following Purpose. Ld. Quarendon.

Sir,

Having but very lately had the Honour of a Seat in this House, I am conscious how little I am acquainted with either the Subjects or Forms of Debate, and should therefore continue to listen to the Sentiments of Persons more experienced, with silent Veneration, did I not observe with how much Indulgence they are heard who mean well, however deficient in Knowledge, or in Eloquence.

As the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, Sir, professes to have form'd his Opinion rather from Facts than Arguments, I hope I shall be indulged by the House in an Attempt

* Now Earl of Litchfield.

tempt to examine those Facts which he has produced, because I think them not sufficient to support his Positions, which must therefore be establish'd by some other Proofs, before a Decision of this Question can be fixed by them.

With regard to his Experience, to which undoubtedly no small Degree of Veneration is due, he confesses that we have tried only one of the two Forms of Establishment now in Competition, and that therefore, though he has had Reason to approve that with which he is most acquainted, he has no certain Proofs of the Inefficacy or Imperfection of the other.

But Experience, Sir, may be extended much farther than our own personal Transactions, and may very justly comprehend those Observations which we have had Opportunities of making upon the Conduct and Success of others. This Gentleman, though he has only commanded in the Armies of *Great Britain*, has seen the Forces of other Nations, has remarked their Regulations, and heard of their Actions, he has probably acted in Conjunction with our Confederates in the last War, and tho' it is known that they differ from us in the Proportion of Soldiers and Officers, he has mentioned no Disadvantage which might be supposed to arise from their Establishment, and therefore, I suppose, he cannot deny that their Behaviour and Success was the same with that of our Troops.

The Battles of *Almanza*, *Parma*, and *Guaftalla*, which he has particularly mention'd, were lost, as he informs us, by Armies not officer'd according to the Establishment which he recommends to us; but it is observable that his Argument is defective in an essential Part; for though he affirms that the Armies which were defeated had fewer Officers than the Enemy, he has neither shown, nor attempted to show, that the Want of Officers occasioned the Defeat, or that the Loss would have been prevented by a greater Number.

These Instances, therefore, can be of no Effect on the Determination of the present Question; for though it is certain that at *Almanza*, and at other Places, Armies with few Officers, have lost the Battle, it is not less common for those Troops that are more liberally supplied to be overthrown by others which are differently model'd.

With Regard, Sir, to the Troops of *Germany*, I have heard them praised in many Parts of *Europe*, as not inferior either to those of *France*, or of any other Nation, and have been informed that their ill Success, both at *Parma* and *Guaftalla*, may be justly imputed to other Causes than the want of Officers.

There has, perhaps, Sir, seldom been an Example of Firmness, Discipline and Resolution, beyond that which was shown by

by the *Germans* at the Action of *Parma*, where they attack'd the Trenches of the *French*, sustained the Fire of the Ramparts of the City, and though they lost their Commander in Chief and two others, towards the Beginning of the Action, they continued the Fight for eleven Hours, and at last retired only at the Approach of Night.

' At *Guastalla*, Sir, they attacked the *French* in their Trenches, even with Forces inferior in Number, so far were they from any Diffidence in the Form of their Establishment; and after a Fight of seven Hours, in which their Loss was, under all Disadvantages, not greater than that of their Enemies, they retreated to their former Camp unmolested and unpursued. The *French*, Sir, were preserved in both these Battles, not by the Number of their Officers, but by their Situation, by Woods, Cassines, Ditches and Intrenchments.

' Nor do I discover, Sir, what can be inferred from his Observation of the Influence of Example in time of Action, but that Officers should be selected with great Care, and not be promoted by Favour, Interest, or Caprice; for an Example of Cowardice in a Leader must be pernicious, in Proportion, as that of Bravery is beneficial; and as, where more Officers are supposed necessary there is less Room for Choice, so it must be allowed that the Troops, which have more Officers than other Forces, are in more Danger of being infected with Cowardice.

' It appears therefore to me, that the Expence of the present Establishment is a certain Evil, and that the Advantages are very doubtful; and I think it demonstrable, that the present State of the Nation requires Frugality, and therefore I shall vote for the Incorporation of our new Levies with the old Regiments.

' By this Incorporation, Sir, our new levied Troops will be no longer distinguished from our Veterans; they will be equally acquainted with Discipline, and will learn from the Conversation of their Associates, a Spirit of Enterprize, and a Contempt of Danger; we may then employ Forces equally formidable in all Parts of the public Service, and invade the Dominions of our Enemies, without leaving our own Country desolate.

' The Arguments which the honourable Gentleman has offered in Defence of sending our younger Troops to the *West Indies*, which may likewise be used against an Incorporation, is in my Opinion, Sir, far from being conclusive; for it supposes, what will not be granted, that a cold Climate may be changed for a hotter, with more Safety by a young, than an old Man. I have been told on the contrary, that superabundant Heat is the great Disease of Youth, and that the Want of it produces most of the Infirmities of Age; and every one has known the Lives of Persons, languishing with Age, prolonged by a Removal into warm Countries. I am therefore

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of Opinion, that the honourable Gentleman's Argument is defective in all its Parts, and hope that I shall not be charged with Obstinacy or Perverseness for dissenting from him.

Mr. Howe.

Mr. Howe † spoke next in Substance as follows.

Sir,

‘ Before I engage in a Discussion of the Question, I cannot but think it necessary to observe, that the honourable Gentleman, who spoke the second in this Debate, has been very far from consulting either Policy or Justice in his Declamation, and that he deviated from the Subject only to ridicule his Country, to exalt our Enemies, and depress our Efforts.

‘ He has described, Sir, the *British* Youth, the Sons of noble Families, and the Hopes of the Nation, in Terms too contemptuous to be heard without Indignation ; he has amused himself with displaying their Ignorance and their Effeminacy, and has indulged his Imagination in a malignant Kind of Gaiety, which, howe it may divert himself, is very far from contributing either to the Reformation or Prevention of those Practices which he censures.

‘ I believe, Sir, it will be granted, that nothing ought to please but in Proportion to its Propriety and Truth ; and if we try the Satire that we have lately heard by this Test, it will be found to have very little Claim to Applause ; for our Armies must be composed of the Youth of the Nation : And for my Part, I cannot discover what Advantage we shall gain over the *Spaniards* by informing them how little our Troops are accustomed to Danger, how short a Time they have been acquainted with Fatigue, how tenderly they have been nursed, how easily they may be frightened, and how certainly they will be conquer'd, if they but meet with Opposition.

‘ Nor, Sir, is such an Account of the Youth of *Britain* more true, in my Opinion, than it is prudent. I am far from discovering any such remarkable Degeneracy in the Age, or any great Prevalence of Cowardice and unmanly Delicacy ; nor do I doubt of hearing, that our Youth, if they are sent upon any Expedition, will shew, that the *British* Courage is not yet extinguished, and that, if they are ranged on the Plains of the *West Indies*, they will discover themselves the Sons of those that forced the Pass of *Schellenbourg*.

‘ That the Degeneracy of the *British* Youth is, at least, not universal, we have just now, Sir, received an incontestible Proof from the Gentleman who spoke last, and spoke with so much Elegance of Language, and Justness of Reasoning, as shews, that there are to be found, among the Youth of *Great Britain*, Persons very well qualified for the Parliament ; and

† Created Lord Chedworth soon after the Dissolution of the Parliament.

I have never heard that a Post in the Army required greater Abilities.

' The Pleasure, however, with which I have attended to his Remarks, has not so far prejudic'd me in Favour of his Opinion, as that I shall easily consent to change that Method of Discipline to which our Troops have been accustomed, and of which we know by Experience, that it is at least not less efficacious than that of any other Nation. Customs, if they are not bad, are not to be changed, because it is an Argument in Favour of a Practice that the People have experienc'd it, and approv'd it, and every Change is disagreeable to those who judge only by Prejudice, of whom I need not say how great is the Number.

' Many Arguments may, Sir, in my Opinion, be added to our Experience in Favour of the present Establishment. The Number of Officers — But I find myself unable to pursue my Design, because I can't read my Notes, which, being written by another Hand, are difficult to make out, as 'tis the Dusk of the Evening — I shall therefore only make some Observations upon the Speech of the Gentleman who spoke the second in this Debate, and hope that I shall be allowed to deviate from the principal Question, since I do it only in Pursuit of another.

' He has observed, that our Troopers are mounted upon Horses that are of no Use ; a Remark, Sir, which I never heard from any other Person, and for which, I believe, no Authority can be produced : They are mounted, indeed, upon Horses very different from those which are used by other Nations, because scarcely any other Country breeds Horses of equal Size and Strength, and therefore, as I am inform'd, the *French* have purchased Horses from this Island, and I believe that all the Cavalry of *Europe* would be mounted upon our Horses, if they could procure them. I have been informed, that their Pressure in the Shock of Battle is such as no Forces in the World are able to sustain ; and that it was not less by the Strength of our Horses, than the Spirit of our Soldiers, that the Squadrons of *France* were, in the Battle of *Blenheim*, pushed into the *Danube*.

' Nor do I less disapprove his Censure of the Choice which has been made of the Troops intended for the *West Indian* Service, which, though I ardently desire its Success, I cannot think of equal Importance with the Defence of our own Country, for tho' we may be disgraced by a Defeat, we can be endanger'd only by an Invasion ; and therefore I think it necessary to retain those Troops on which we may best rely for the Security of this Island, lest our Enemies should take the Advantage of their Absence, and set the Pretender on the Throne.

Sir William Yonge rose next, and spoke to the Effect following :

Sir,

Sir Will. Yonge. ' It is a standing Maxim, both in private Life and public Transactions, that no Man can obtain great Advantages, who is afraid of petty Inconveniences ; and that he that will hope to obtain his End without Expence, will languish for ever in fruitless Wishes, and have the Mortification of seeing the Adventurous and the Liberal enjoy that Felicity, which though it is within his Reach, he is afraid of seizing.

' When the Depredations of the *Spaniards* became first the Subjects of our Debates, nothing was heard amongst us but Threats of Vengeance, Demands of Reparation, Assertions of Sovereignty, and Resolutions to obtain Security : The Importance of our Commerce, the Necessity of rigorous Measures, the Danger of Pusillanimity, the Meanness of Negotiation, and the Disadvantages of Delay, were thundered from every Part of the House. Every Man seemed to imagine that there was no Mean between Victory and Ruin, and that not to humble *Spain*, was to betray our Country to Insults, Ignominy and Slavery.

' Far was I then, Sir, from suspecting, that when the War, thus vehemently urged, should be declared, that the Prosecution of it would produce any Debates. I doubted not but that every Man would be desirous of signalizing his Zeal for the Prosperity of Commerce, by expediting the Supplies, and forwarding the Preparations, and that the only Contention amongst us would be, who should appear the most ardent Enemy of *Spain*.

' But no sooner are Hostilities begun against this insolent and oppressive Nation, than those who expressed most Resentment at the Prudence and Moderation by which they were delayed, those that accused every Attempt for an Accommodation, of Cowardice, and charged the Ministry with conniving at the Rapine of Pirates, begin to enquire into the Necessity of the Expences occasioned by the War, to harangue on the Advantages of Parsimony, and think it of more Importance to ease our Taxes, than to subdue our Enemies.

' In pursuance of this new Doctrine they are now endeavouring to embarrass the Measures of his Majesty, that they may save, according to their own Computation, only Thirty Thousand Pounds, which in reality I can easily shew to be no more than Fifteen Thousand.

' For the Sake of this important Sum our Army is to be modelled by a new Regulation, and the Success of the War is to be impeded, the Security of our Commerce to be hazarded, and our Colonies are to be endanger'd.

' Frugality

‘ Frugality is undoubtedly a Virtue, but is, like others, to be practised on proper Occasions : To compute Expence with a scrupulous Nicety in Time of War, is to prefer Money to Safety, and, by a very perverse Kind of Policy, to hazard the Whole for the Preservation of a Part.

‘ The Gentlemen, Sir, who have most endeavoured to distinguish themselves as the constant Opponents of the Administration, have charged it, on all Occasions, with giving Encouragement to the *Spaniards*, but can charge it with nothing so likely to raise the Confidence and confirm the Obstinacy of the Enemy, as the Objections which they themselves have made to the present Scheme of levying Forces ; for to how great a Degree of Poverty must they believe that Nation reduced, of which the warmest Patriots struggle to save a Sum so inconsiderable, by an Experiment of so much Uncertainty ? and how easily will the *Spaniards* promise themselves, that they shall gain the Victory only by obliging us to continue in a State of War, a State which, by our own Confession, we are not able to support ?

‘ Had any other Argument, Sir, been produced than the Necessity of Parsimony, it had been less dangerous to have agreed to this new Scheme ; but to adopt it only for the Sake of sparing Fifteen Thousand Pounds, would be to make ourselves contemptible, to intimidate our Allies, and to unite all those against us, who are inclined to trample on Misery, and to plunder Weakness.

‘ I am inclin’d to judge so favourably, Sir, of the Intentions of those whom I am now opposing, that I believe they have only used this Argument, because they were able to produce no other, and that if either Reason or Experience had been on their Side, the Poverty of the Nation had not been mention’d.

‘ But the honourable Gentleman, who has been so long engaged in military Employments, has shewn that all our Success has been obtained by the present Establishment, and that the Battle in which we suffer’d most, was lost by our unfortunate Deficiency of Officers.

‘ Nor do his Reasons, Sir, however modestly offer’d, deserve less Regard than his Experience, for he has shown, that a greater Number of Officers naturally contribute to preserve Discipline, and excite Courage, and it is not necessary that a Man should be much a Soldier to discover, that Discipline and Courage united, must generally prevail.

‘ To the Examples which he has produced in Favour of his Opinion, it has been objected, that Victories equally wonderful have been gained with fewer Officers, and, by the Honourable Gentleman that spoke the second on this Occasion,

sion, the Actions of *Eugene* were opposed to those of the Duke of *Marlborough*.

‘ That Victories have been gained by Troops differently regulated, I cannot deny : Victories have likewise been gained Sir, under every Circumstance of Disadvantage : Victories have been gained by inferior Numbers, and by raw Troops, over veteran Armies, yet no prudent General ever produc’d these Instances as Arguments against the Usefulness of Discipline, or as Proofs that Superiority of Numbers, was no Advantage.

‘ The Success of Prince *Eugene* in the late War, was far from convincing the *British* General that the *German* Establishment was preferable to our own ; for he required that the *Hessian* Troops, which were paid by *Great Britain*, should be officer’d like our national Troops. In this he could be influenced only by his own Opinion ; for he neither nominated their Officers, nor could advance his Interest at home by creating new Posts to which he did not recommend ; he could therefore only regard the Success of the War, and changed their Model only because he thought it defective.

‘ The *Germans* themselves, Sir, are far from imagining that their Armies might not be made more formidable by approaching nearer to the *British* Methods ; for one of their Officers, a Man of great Reputation and Experience has informed me, that they were convinced of their Defect, and that nothing hindered them from adding more Officers, but the Fear of Expences, that they imputed all their Defeats to the Necessity of Parsimony, that their Men wanted not Courage but Leaders, and that their Enemies gained Advantages merely by the Superiority of their Purles.

‘ In the late War it was common for the auxiliary Troops, when they were sent upon any Expedition of Importance, to be supplied with Officers either from their other Regiments, or by the *British* Forces ; so necessary did the Duke of *Marlborough* think a larger Number of Officers in time of Action, that where he could not alter the Establishment, he deviated from the common Methods of War, and transferred his Officers occasionally into Troops over which they had no settled Authority.

‘ It is therefore most evident, Sir, that the Model on which our Troops are formed, was, by this great Commander, prefer’d to that which is now so warmly recommended, and I know not why we should recede from his Practice, if we are desirous of his Success.

‘ Nor can I discover, Sir, any better Method of selecting Officers than that which has of late been followed, however some may censure or ridicule it. To advance Gentlemen to
Com:

Command seems to be the most likely way to unite Authority with Rank, for no Man willingly obeys those to whom he has lately seen himself equal, or whose Conduct in lower Stations, he has perhaps had Opportunities of examining too nearly.

' The Distinction of Birth, however chimerical in itself, has been so long admitted, and so universally received, that it is generally imagined to confer on one Man an indelible and evident Superiority over another, a Superiority, which those who would easily imagine themselves equal in Merit cannot deny, and which they allow more willingly, because tho' it be an Advantage to possess it, to want it cannot be justly considered as a Reproach.

' For this Reason, Sir, Men chearfully obey those to whom their Birth seems to have subjected them, without any scrupulous Enquiries into their Virtues or Abilities ; they have been taught, from their Childhood, to consider them as placed in a higher Rank than themselves, and are therefore not disgusted at any transient Bursts of Impatience, or sudden Starts of Caprice, which would produce at least Resentment, and perhaps Mutiny, in Men newly exalted from a low Station. The more attentively, Sir, we look upon the World, the more strongly shall we be convinced of the Truth of these Assertions, and the more evidently shall we discover the Influence which operates, in a Degree scarcely credible, even to those who have experienced its Power, and which is indeed one of the chief Means of Subordination, by which Society is held together.

' Nor are Officers of Birth, Sir, to be preferred to Men who are recommended by nothing but military Service, only because they are more chearfully obeyed, but for another Reason of equal Importance. It has been observed, that, in reality, they discharge the Duty of Commanders in a Manner more likely to preserve Dignity and encrease Reverence ; that they discover, on all Occasions, a Sense of Honour and Dread of Disgrace, which are not easily to be found in a Mind contracted by a mean Education, and depressed by long Habits of Subjection.

' It is not indeed, Sir, universally and unvariably certain, that a Man raised from Meanness and Poverty, will be insolent and oppressive ; nor do I doubt but there are many now languishing in Obscurity, whose Abilities might add new Lustre to the highest Honours, and whose Integrity would very faithfully discharge the most important Trust ; and in their Favour, where ever they can be discovered, some Exceptions ought to be made ; but as general Rules are generally to be followed, as well in military Regulations as other Transactions, it will be found upon the exactest Enquiry by no Means

Means improper to advance Gentlemen to Posts of Command, rather than private Sentinels, however skilful or courageous.

‘ It is to be considered, Sir, that the present State of the Continent has for many Years made it necessary to support an Army even when we are not engaged in an actual War ; that this Army, tho’ of late it has, for the Ease of the People, been sometimes encamped during the Summer, is for the greatest Part quartered in Towns, and mingled with the rest of the Community, but governed at the same time by the Officers, and subject to the martial Law. It has often been observed by those who have argued against standing Forces, that this Difference of Government, makes different Societies, which do not combine in the same Interest, nor much favour one another ; and it is indeed certain that Feuds are sometimes produced, that when any private Quarrel happens either by Drunkenness, or Accident, or Claims really disputable, between a Soldier and any other Person, each applies for Support and Assistance to those in the same Condition with himself ; the Cause becomes general, and the Soldiers and Townsmen are not easily restrained from Blows and Bloodshed.

‘ It is true likewise that the Rhetoric of the Patriots has been so efficacious, that their Arguments have been so clamorously echo’d, and their Weekly Productions so diligently dispersed, that a great Part of the Nation, as Men always willingly admit what will produce immediate Ease or Advantage, believe the Army to be an useless Burthen imposed upon the People for the Support of the Ministry ; that the Landlord therefore looks upon the Soldier as an Intruder forced into his House, and rioting in Sloth at his Expence ; and the Farmer and Manufacturer, have learned to call the Army the Vermin of the Land, the Caterpillars of the Nation, the Devourers of other Mens Industry, the Enemies of Liberty, and the Slaves of the Court.

‘ It is not to be supposed, Sir, that the Soldiers entertain the same Ideas of their Profession, or that they do not conceive themselves injured by such Representations : They undoubtedly consider themselves as the Bulwark of their Country, as Men selected for the Defence of the rest of their Community, as those who have engaged at the Hazard of their Lives to repel Invasion and repress Rebellion, and who contribute more than their Part to the general Felicity, by securing Property and preventing Danger.

‘ It is not to be doubted, Sir, but Sentiments so widely different, must produce an equal Contrariety of Claims, and Diversity of Conduct ; the Trader imagines, that the Man who subsists upon the Taxes which are raised only from his

Labour,

Labour, ought to consider himself as his Inferior at least, if not as his Hireling and his Servant ; the Soldier wonders how he can ever conceive himself sufficiently grateful to him that has devoted his Life to his Defence, and to whom he must fly for Protection whenever Danger shall approach him, and concludes that he has an incontestable Right to the better Part of that, of which the Preservation of the whole depends upon him.

‘ Thus does Self-love magnify every Man in his own Eyes, and so differently will Men determine when each is to judge in his own Cause. Which of these Competitors thinks most justly of his own Station and Character, or whether both are not mistaken in their Opinion, I think it by no means necessary to decide. This at least is evident, that to preserve Peace and Harmony, between two Bodies of Men obliged to live together with Sentiments so opposite, there is required an uncommon Degree of Prudence, Moderation, and Knowledge of Mankind, which is chiefly to be exerted on the Part of the Soldiers, because they are subject to more rigorous Command, and are more easily governed by the Authority of their Superiors.

‘ Let us suppose any Dispute of this Kind, Sir, to happen where the Soldiers were commanded only by private Sentinels, disguised in the Dress of Officers, but retaining, what it cannot be expected that they should suddenly be able to lay aside, the Prejudices which they had imbibed in the Ranks, and all the Ardour of trifling Competition in which their Station had once engaged them. What could be expected from their Councils and Direction ? Can it be imagined that they would enquire impartially into the original Cause of the Dispute, that they would attend equally to the Parties, endeavour by Mildness and Candour to soften the Malevolence of each, and terminate the Dispute by some addressful Expedient, or decent Accommodation ? He surely must be very little acquainted with the vulgar Notions of Bravery and Honour, that could form any Hopes of such Conduct.

‘ The plain Soldier, Sir, has not accustomed himself to regulate his Motions by Reason, nor has learned any more of Honour, than that it consists in adhering invariably to his Pretensions, even though he should discover that they are false, and in resenting Affronts with the utmost Rigour, even when they were provoked by himself ; he is taught, that it is his Business to conquer in whatever Cause, and, that to desist from any of his Attempts, or retract any of his Assertions, is unworthy of a Man of Honour.

‘ Warm with such Notions as these, Sir, would such Officers, as have been recommended by the honourable Gentleman, apply

apply themselves to the Termination of Differences, without any Knowledge of the Laws of Society, without any settled Ideas of the different Rights of different Persons ; they would have nothing in View but the Honour of their Profession, nor endeavour to support it by any other Method than that of Violence. If a Soldier was affronted by a Farmer, they would probably lay his Territories waste, and ravage his Plantations like an Enemy's Country ; if another disagreed with his Landlord, they would advise him to *make good his Quarters*, to invade the Magazines of Provision without Restraint, to force the Barricadoes of the Cellar, and to forage in the Stables without Controul.

' But Gentlemen, Sir, are proper Judges of Debates between the Army and the rest of the Community, because they are equally related to both Parties, as Men who possess or expect Estates, or who are allied to those whose Influence arises from their Property. As Men bred in Affluence and Freedom, and acquainted with the Blessings of our Constitution, and the Necessity of civil Government, they cannot willingly contribute to the Increase of the military Power, and as Members of the Army they cannot but be desirous to support their own Rank, and to hinder their Profession from sinking into Contempt ; it is therefore their Care to repress Insolence on one Part, and to prevent Oppression on the other, to stop Dissensions in their Beginning, and reconcile all the different Pretensions of the People and Soldiers.

' I am indeed surprized, Sir, to hear the Promotion of Serjeants recommended by the honourable Gentleman, who has so often strained his Lungs, and exhausted his Invention, to explain how much our Constitution is endangered by the Army ; how readily those Men will concur in the Abolition of Property who have nothing to lose, and how easily they may be perswaded to destroy the Liberties of their Country, who are already cut off from the Enjoyment of them ; who, therefore can only behold with Envy and Malevolence those Advantages which they cannot hope to possess, and which produce in them no other Effects than a quicker Sense of their own Misery.

' Upon what Principles, Sir, any Gentleman can form those Notions, or with what View he can so long and so studiously disperse them, it is his Province to explain, for the only Reason that can be offered by any other Person for his incessant Declamations, the Desire of securing his Country from the Oppression of a standing Army, is now for ever overthrown by this new Proposal ; which, if it were to be receiv'd, would in a very few Years produce an Army proper to be employed in the Execution of the most detestable Designs,

signs, an Army that could be of no other Use than to gratify an ambitious Prince or a wicked Ministry, as it would be commanded, not by Men who had lost their Liberty, but by Men who never enjoyed it ; by Men who would abolish our Constitution without knowing that they were engaged in any criminal Undertaking, who have no other Sense of the Enjoyment of Authority than that it is the Power of acting without Controul ; who have no Knowledge of any other Laws than the Commands of their Superiors.

‘ To Men like these, Sir, to Men raised up from Poverty and Servility to Rank and Power, to Ignorance invested with Command, and to Meanness elated with Preferment, would any real Patriot, any zealous Assertor of Liberty, any inflexible Enemy to the Corruptions of the Ministry, consign the Protection of his Country, and intrust to these our Happiness, our Properties and our Lives ?

‘ Whether the honourable Gentleman has changed any of the Sentiments which he has hitherto appeared to admit with regard to the Army ; whether this new Determination is only an Instance of that Inconsistency which is scarcely to be avoided in the Vindication of a bad Cause ; or whether he was betrayed to it only by his Hatred of the Administration, which would prompt him to recant his own Advice, if it should happen to be approved, I will not pretend to determine : But I must lament on this Occasion the Entertainment which the House will lose, by the eternal Cessation of any Harrangues on the Army, since he cannot now declaim on either Part without contradicting his former Declarations.

‘ Nor will the honourable Gentleman find less Difficulty in proving, that Justice rather than Policy requires the Promotion of Serjeants to Commissions. Military Preferments are always at the Disposal of the Crown ; nor can any Right be pretended to them but such as arises from the Custom which has been generally followed in conferring them, which is not only variable at Pleasure, but has never been at any Time regularly observed. The Order of Rotation has been suffered sometimes to proceed, because of two Persons otherwise equal, he that has served longest may plead the most Merit ; but the Plea of Service has been always over-ruled by Birth or powerful Recommendation. And tho’, Sir, it is natural for Men disappointed to complain, yet as those Officers, whose Preferment has been delayed, were not thought in reality to have received any Injury, their Murmurs have been the less regarded.

‘ It might be expected, Sir, from a Patriot, a Lamentor of the Degeneracy of Mankind, and an inflexible Opponent of Corruption, that he should consider rather Facts than Persons ; that he should regulate his Decision by the invariable Principles

ples of Reason and Justice, and that therefore he should not applaud at one Time what he condemns at another.

But this Gentleman seems to have established some new Maxims of Conduct, and perhaps upon new Notions of Morality ; for he seems to imagine, that his Friends may seize as their Right, what his Adversaries cannot touch without Robbery, though the Claim of both be the same.

It is well known, Sir, to the whole Army, that a noble Person whose Abilities are so loudly celebrated, whose Virtues are so liberally praised, and whose Removal from his military Employments is so solemnly lamented as a publick Calamity, obtain'd his first Preferments by Pretensions very different from military Merit ; and that at the Age only of Seventeen, a Time of Life in which, whatever might be his Abilities, very little Prudence or Experience could be expected, he was advanced to the Command of a Regiment, and exalted above many Officers whose known Bravery and frequent Hazard entitled them to Favour.

I do not assert that he was undeservedly promoted, or condemn those who either solicited or granted his Commission. I maintain only that what was then reasonable and just, is not now either iniquitous or ridiculous, and different Persons in the same Circumstances have a Right to the same Treatment.

In the Reign of Queen *Anne*, a Reign, Sir, which every *Briton* recollects with so much Satisfaction, and which will for ever afford Examples of the wisest Councils, and most successful Wars, when new Regiments were to be raised it was far from being thought necessary to observe this Gentleman's favourite Method of Rotation ; Posts were filled, not with the Officers of other Regiments, that Room might be left for the Promotion of Serjeants, but with Gentlemen who had never seen a Battle, or learned any Part of the military Discipline.

But tho', Sir, the Regulation of our Army be thus violently attacked, the greatest Crime of the Ministry is, in this Gentleman's Opinion, that of levying new Troops, when we have no Employment for our Standing Forces ; of laying unnecessary Impositions upon the Nation, and alarming them with the Fears of an Invasion, only that the Army might be encreased.

On this Head, Sir, a Declaration of the Duke of *Marlborough* has been produced, with a great Pomp of Circumstances, and such a seeming Accuracy of Narration, that the Attention of the House was engaged, and the Account was receiv'd with all the Solemnity of universal Silence, and with the Veneration due to so high an Authority in a Question of so much Importance.

The

' The Subject is indeed so worthy of Regard, that I think Sir, every Man ought to contribute to the clearing it up ; and therefore I take the Liberty of adding to the Honourable Gentleman's Relation, what I hope will be heard with equal Curiosity, the Method by which that great Commander proposed to put a Stop to an Invasion with so small a Number.

' He was very far, Sir, from imagining that he should be able to repel them by open Force ; he was far from being so confident of his Superiority in military Skill, as to imagine that he should defeat them by Stratagem ; and therefore he designed, by burning the Villages and destroying the Country, to deprive them of the Means of Subsistence, and harraß them with Famine ; to hover at a Distance, and cut off those Parties which Necessity should force out to forage, till a Body of Troops could be assembled sufficient to overthrow them in a Battle, or to drive them back to their Ships.

' Such was the Scheme, Sir, as I have been inform'd, of this great Man, nor perhaps, can any other be struck out by human Abilities, where greater Numbers are to be oppos'd by smaller. But this Scheme, though preferable, in the last Extremities, to Slavery, is such as cannot be mention'd without Horror, and of which the Execution ought to be avoided by every Expedient that can be practis'd without the Danger of our Liberties. We ought certainly not to reject a nauseous Medicine, by which that Health is preserv'd, which, if lost, can only be restor'd by the Amputation of a Limb.

' As it was therefore necessary, Sir, to secure our Coasts from an Invasion, it was necessary to raise new Troops for the *West-India* Expedition ; nor did this Method produce any Delay, for the Regiments were compleated a long Time before the Ships of War, and the Transports were ready to convoy and receive them, nor could the utmost Ardour and Diligence dispatch them sooner from our Coasts.

' The Ships, Sir, were by the Violence of a Frost, scarcely exampled, retain'd for a long Time in the Harbours, without a Possibility of being put to Sea ; when they were all assembled at the Place appointed for their Conjunction, they waited for a Wind ; all the Delay that can be objected, was produc'd by the Seasons, of which the Régulation was in no Man's Power.

' But the Time, Sir, which was unwillingly spent in the Camp, was not however lost or misemploy'd, for the Troops were, by the Order of the General, every Day exercis'd, and instructed in the Art of War, so that what was lost in Time, was more than recompens'd by the Advantage of better Discipline.

‘ Nor did these Troops appear an Herd so ignorant and contemptible, as they have been represented by malicious Invectives and ludicrous Descriptions ; there were not indeed among them many grey headed Warriors, nor were their former Campaigns and past Exploits, the Subjects of their Conversation ; but there was not one amongst them who did not appear ready to suffer, in the Cause of his Country, all that the most harden’d Veteran could undergo, or whose Alacrity and Eagerness did not promise Perseverance in the March, and Intrepidity in the Battle.

‘ Their General, Sir, who saw them pursue their Exercises, declar’d how much he was satisfied with their Proficiency, applauded their Appearance, and express’d his Confidence in their Courage ; nor do I doubt, but our Enemies will find, that it is not necessary to send out our most formidable Forces to humble them, and that the Youth of *Great-Britain* will compensate their Want of Experience by their Courage.

‘ If I, Sir, have been drawn aside from the present Question, it is by following, perhaps, with an Exactness too scrupulous, the Hon. Gentleman, whose Propositions I have now shewn to be erroneous, and whose Reproaches will, I believe, now appear rather the Effects of Disappointment than of Zeal ; and therefore I think it now necessary to return to the Business before us, the Consideration of the present Establishment, from which, as it was approv’d by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and has been defended with very strong Arguments by one of the most experienc’d Officers of the present Age, I cannot think it safe or prudent to depart.

Mr *Greenville* spoke next to the following Effect :

Sir,

Mr *Greenville*.

‘ As a noble Person has been frequently hinted at in this Debate, to whom my Relation is well known, and whom, as I know him well, I have the strongest Motives to reverence and honour, I cannot forbear to give, on this Occasion, an Attestation which he will be allowed to deserve by all those whom Interest has not blinded, and Corruption depraved.

‘ It will be allowed, Sir, that he is one of those who are indebted for their Honours only to Merit, one whom the Malice of a Court cannot debase, as its Favour cannot exalt ; he is one of those whose Loss of Employments can be a Reproach only to those who take them from him, as he cannot forfeit them but by performing his Duty, and can only give Offence by steady Integrity, and a Resolution to speak as he thinks, and to act as his Conscience dictates.

‘ There

‘ There are, Sir, Men I know, to whom this Panegyric will seem romantic and chimerical, Men to whom Integrity and Conscience are idle Sounds, Men who are content to catch the Word of their Leader, who have no Sense of the Obligation of any Law but the supreme Will of him that pays them, and who know not any Virtue but Diligence in Attendance, and Readiness in Obedience.

‘ It is surely, Sir, no Loss to the noble Person to be debarred from any Fellowship with Men like these. Nothing can be more displeasing to Virtue than such a Situation as lays it under a Necessity of beholding Wickedness that cannot be reformed; as the Sight of a Pest-house must raise Horror, though we should suppose the Spectator secure from the Contagion.

Then Mr *Ord* stood up and spoke as follows :

Sir,

‘ As I cannot approve the Scheme now propos’d for augmenting our Forces, I shall endeavour to shew why the Arguments, by which it has hitherto been supported, have failed to convince me, and shall lay before the House some Reasons against it, to which I shall expect an Answer, before I shall think that I can agree to it, without squandering the Money which my Constituents have intrusted me with the Disposal of. Mr Ord.

‘ The Argument, Sir, with which this Motion was introduc’d, which is indeed the strongest that has yet been offer’d, was, that this Estimate is less expensive than one that was laid before the House in a late Reign, and that therefore it could not reasonably be charged with Extravagance.

‘ Let us now consider this Argument with that Care which is required by the Importance of the Question; let us inquire what Consequences will follow from it, and to what previous Suppositions it must owe its Force.

‘ The Argument, Sir, evidently supposes that the Estimate in the Reign of King *William*, was drawn up without any Intention to deceive the House, or to raise Money for Purposes different from those, for which it was really expended. But if we suppose that Estimate to be fraudulently calculated, this may contain the same Fallacies in a lower Degree, and the only Merit that can be claim’d by the Authors of it, will be, that they are not the most rapacious Plunderers of their Country; and that however they may be charged with Profusion of public Money, they are yet more modest than some of their Predecessors.

‘ But it is known, Sir, that in the Reign of King *William*, very few Estimates were honestly computed; it is known

known that the Rotation of Parties, and Fluctuation of Measures, reduc'd the Ministry to subsist upon Artifices; to amuse the Parliament with exorbitant Demands, only that they might obtain the necessary Grants, and to pretend Expences which never were incurr'd, that the Supplies which the public Affairs really required, might not be withheld; as fraudulent Tradesmen fix immoderate Prices, that the Buyer may make Offers proportionate to their Demands.

' The Estimates therefore of that Reign are of very little Authority, though they might sometimes pass the House without Censure; for it is to be considered, that by the Frequency of new Elections, the greatest Part of the Members were often unacquainted with the State of publick Accounts, and that an Army was so little known to this Kingdom, that the true Expence of it might easily be concealed.

' Nor is this, Sir, the only Fallacy of this Argument; for it supposes likewise, that the Nation is no less wealthy than in the Time when that Computation was offered, with which this is so triumphantly compared. For every Man knows that publick as well as private Expences are to be proportioned to the Revenue by which they are supplied, and that the Charges which are easily supported at one Time, may threaten Ruin at another.

' But unhappily, Sir, it is evident, that, since the Days of that King, the Nation has been exhausted by a long and wasteful War, and since, by a Peace equally destructive; it is embarrassed with an enormous Debt, and intangled in Treaties, of which the Support may call every Day for new Expences; it has suffered since that Time a thousand Losses, but gained no Advantage, and yet the Expences of that Time are mentioned as an Example to be compared with those which are proposed in this.

' The Difference of the Condition of the *British* Nation at those two Periods of Time, Sir, is not less than that of the Strength of the same Man in the Vigour of Youth, and the Frigidity of old Age, in the Flush of Health and the Languor of Disease, of the same Man newly risen from Rest and Plenty, and debilitated with Hunger and Fatigue.

' To make such a Comparison, Sir, betrays at least a very criminal Insensibility of the public Misery, if it may not be charged with greater Malignity. I know not whether those who shall hear of this Debate, may not impute such Reflexions rather to Cruelty than Negligence, and imagine that those who squander the Treasure of the Nation, take Pleasure in reproaching that Poverty which their Counsels produce, and indulge their own Vanity by contemplating the Calamities from which they are themselves secure, and to which they are indebted

indebted for Opportunities of increasing their own Fortunes, and gratifying their Ambition. It is evident, that an Estimate which requires less than that which has been mentioned, may yet exact more than the Nation can now raise, without feeling too great Inconvenience to be compensated by the Advantages which can be expected from our new Forces. Nor is it sufficient that it is lower than those of former Times; for as it ought to be the Care of the Government to preserve the Ease and Happiness of the People, it should be reduced in Proportion to the Diminution of the national Wealth.

* The Right honourable Gentleman confesses, Sir, that Frugality is a Virtue, and his Argument supposes, that to contract Expences is an Argument of prudent Measures; why then is he afraid of carrying Virtue to a greater Height, of making the Burthen still more light, and preferring the cheapest Estimate that can be proposed, when it is asserted by those whose Authority is most worthy of Regard, that it will produce no Weakness in our Troops, nor give our Enemies any Superiority?

* I do not pretend any other Skill in military Affairs, than may be gained by casual Conversation with Soldiers, and by a cursory Observation of daily Occurrences; but I speak with greater Confidence on this Occasion, because I do not think any other Qualifications necessary for the Determination of this Question, than a Habit of just Reasoning and Freedom from the Prejudices of Interest.

* Every Man knows, Sir, without a military Education, that it is imprudent to purchase any thing at a greater Price which may be procured at a less; and that when the same Sum will buy two Things, of which one is evidently preferable to the other, the best ought to be chosen.

* If the Application of either of these two Positions will decide this Controversy, there will be no need of recurring to Experience, of citing the Authority of foreign Commanders, of comparing the Actions of the *Germans* and *British* Generals, or of enquiring how Battles have been lost, or to what Causes Victories are to be ascribed.

* It is evident, Sir, that the Scheme now proposed, is twice as costly as that which is recommended in Opposition to it; and therefore unless it will produce twice the Advantage, it must be acknowledged to be imprudently chosen. The Advantage in War is to be rated by comparing the Strength of different Numbers in different Circumstances, and enquiring what Degree of Superiority will be found.

* If we suppose, Sir, two Bodies of Men equally armed and disciplined opposed to each other without any Advantage
of

of Situation, we must conceive that neither Party could be conquered, that the Balance of the Day must remain equal, and the Contest would continue undecided.

' It cannot be objected to this Supposition, Sir, that no such Event is recorded in History, because in War many Causes really act which cannot be estimated ; one Army may consist of Soldiers more courageous, and more confident in the Justice of their Cause, unforeseen Accidents may operate, Orders may be mistaken, or Leaders may be misinformed ; but all these Considerations are to be set aside in Speculation, because they may equally be alledged on either Part.

' Two Bodies of Men, Sir, equally numerous, being therefore supposed equal, it is to be enquired how either may be superior to the other. It is proposed on one Part to produce this Effect by doubling the Number of Officers rather than increasing that of the Soldiers ; and the other, to double the Soldiers under the same Officers, the Expence being the same of both Methods.

' When two Armies modelled according to these different Schemes enter the Field, what Event can be expected ? Either five Thousand Men with a double Number of Officers, must be equal to ten Thousand differently regulated, or the Public has paid more for Assistance of the Officers than its real Value, and has chosen of two Methods equally expensive that which is least efficacious.

' This, Sir, is the State of the Question now before us, our present Deficiency is not of Men but Money, and we may procure ten Thousand Men regulated like the foreign Troops, at the same Expence as five Thousand in the Form proposed ; but I am afraid that no Man will be found to assert, that the Addition of Officers will be equivalent to a double Number of Soldiers.

' Thus it is evident, Sir, evident to Demonstration, that the most expensive Method is at the same time the least advantageous, and that the Proposal of new Regiments is intended to augment the Strength of the Ministry rather than of the Army.

' If we suppose, Sir, what is more than any Foreigner will grant, that the additional Officers raise a Body of five Thousand Men to an Equality with six Thousand, is not the Pay of four Thousand Men apparently thrown away ? and do not the Officers receive a Reward which their Service cannot deserve ? Would it not be far more rational to raise seven Thousand, by which our Army would be stronger by a seventh Part, and as the Pay of three Thousand would be saved, the Publick would be richer by almost a Third.

' Surely, Sir, numerical Arguments cannot but deserve some Consideration, even from those who have learned by
long

long Practice to explain away mere Probability at Pleasure, to select the Circumstances of complicated Questions, and only to shew those which may be produced in Favour of their own Opinions.

‘ In the present Question, Sir, there is very little Room for Fallacy, nor do I see what remains to the Decision of it, but that those Gentlemen, who have been acquainted with military Operations, should inform us, what Degree of Superiority is conferred by any assignable Number of Officers; that we may compare their Service with the Price, and discover whether the same Money will not purchase greater Advantages.

‘ The Experience of the late War may evince, Sir, that those Troops which have the greatest Number of Officers are not always victorious; for our Establishment never admitted the same, or nearly the same Number with that of the *French*, our Enemies; nevertheless we still boast of our Victories; nor is it certain that we might not have been equally successful, tho’ the Number of our Officers had been yet less.

‘ Foreigners, Sir, are very far from discovering the Defect of their own Establishment, or imagining that they should become more formidable by imitating our Methods. When I travelled, I took Opportunities of conversing with the Generals of those Nations which are most famous for the Valour of their Troops, and was informed by them, that they thought a Multitude of Officers by no Means useful, and that they were so far from desiring to see their own Regulation changed, that they should make no Scruple of recommending it to other Nations, who in their Opinion, squandered their Treasure upon useless Commissions, and increased the Calamities of War by unnecessary Burthens.

‘ I hope no Man will think it sufficient to reply to these Arguments with general Assertions, or will deny the Necessity of Frugality, and extol the Opulence of the Nation, the Extent of our Commerce, and the Happiness of our Condition. Such indeed, Sir, is the Method of Argumentation made use of by the Hireling Scriblers of the Court, who, because they feel none of the publick Calamities, represent all Complaints as criminal Murmurs, and charge those with Sedition who petition only for Relief. Wretches like these would celebrate our Victories, though our Country should be over-run by an Invader, would praise the Lenity of any Government by which themselves should be spared, and would boast of the Happiness of Plenty, when half the People should be languishing with Famine.

‘ I do not suppose, Sir, that the despicable Sophistry of Prostitutes like these has any Effect here, nor should I have thought them worthy of the least Notice, had it not been proper to enquire, whether those may not be justly suspected of some Inclination to deceive, even in this House, by whom the most profligate of Mankind are openly paid for the Promulgation of Falshood, and the Patronage of Corruption.

‘ It is indeed, Sir, artful, in those who are daily impairing our Honour and Influence, to endeavour to conceal from the People their own Weakness, that Weakness which is so well known in foreign Countries, that every Nation is encouraged to insult us; and by which it may reasonably be imagin’d that new Enemies will, in a short Time, be raised.

‘ The late Changes in our military Regulations have indeed taken away all the Terror of our Arms; those Troops are now no longer dreaded, by which the Liberties of *Europe* were recover’d, and the *French* reduced to abandon their Schemes of universal Empire, for the Defence of their own Country, because the Officers by whom they were formerly conducted to Glory and to Victory, are now dismissed, and Men advanced to their Posts, who are neither feared nor known.

‘ When the Duke of *Argyle* was lately deprived of his Command, the *Spaniards* could not conceal their Satisfaction; they bestowed, however unwillingly, the highest Panegyric upon his Bravery and Conduct, by shewing that he was the only *Briton* of whom they were afraid. Nor did their Allies the *French* discover less Exultation, for by them it was declared, that the Nation was now disarmed, that either no War was intended, or that none could be successfully prosecuted, since, as they made no Scruple to assert, though I know not whether I ought to repeat it, we have no other Man capable of commanding Armies, or conducting any great Design.

‘ I am informed that this illustrious Warrior, whose Abilities are sufficiently attested by those Enemies that have felt their Prevalence, is of Opinion, that the Number of Officers now required is not necessary, and has declared that he should with equal Confidence undertake either Invasion or Defence, with Forces modelled after the *German* Custom. And since I have shown that unless the Troops so regulated are equivalent to a double Number added to the standing Regiments, Part of the Expence of the Officers is evidently squandered, I shall vote against the Motion, unless it be proved,

proved, which I believe will not be attempted, that the Force of a Regiment is doubled by doubling the Officers.

General *Wade* spoke next to the following Effect :

Sir,

' The learned Gentleman who spoke last, must be ac- General *Wade*.
knowledgeed to have discovered a very specious Method of Reasoning, and to have carried his Enquiry as far as Speculation without Experience can hope to proceed, but has in my Opinion admitted a false Principle, by which all his Argument has been perplexed.

' He supposes that the Advantages must be always in Proportion to the Money expended in procuring them, and that therefore if five thousand Men, raised at any given Cost will be equal to ten Thousand, they ought, if they are regulated according to an Establishment of double the Charge, to be able to encounter ten Thousand.

' But in this Supposition, Sir, he forgets, that the Possibility of Loss is to be thrown into the Balance against the Advantage of the Expence saved; and that tho' the Strength of the Troops be not encreased in Proportion to the Encrease of the Cost, yet the additional Security against a great Loss may justly entitle the most expensive Regulation to the Preference.

' Suppose five Thousand Men to be brought into the Field against six Thousand, if they can by multiplying their Officers at a double Expence be enabled to engage successfully a Body superior in Number by only a sixth Part, the Nation may be justly said to gain all that would have been lost by suffering a Defeat.

' That we ought not to chuse a worse Method when we can discover a better, is indisputably true, but which Method is worse or better, can be discovered only by Experience. The last War has taught us, that our Troops in their present Establishment are superior to the Forces of *France*, but how much they might suffer by any Alteration it is not possible to foresee.

' Success is gained by Courage, and Courage is produced by an Opinion of Superiority; and it may easily be imagined, that our Soldiers, who judge of their own Strength only by Experience, imagine their own Establishment and Discipline advanced to the highest Perfection; nor would they expect any other Consequences from an Alteration of it, but Weakness and Defeats. It is therefore dangerous to change the Model of our Forces, because it is dangerous to depress the Spirit of our Soldiers.

Tho' it is confessed, Sir, that the *French*, whose Officers are still more numerous, have been conquer'd by our Troops, it must be likewise alledged, that they had yielded us far easier Victories had their Officers been wanting; for to them are they indebted for their Conquests wherever they have been successful, and for their Resistance wherever they have been with Difficulty defeated; their Soldiers are a spiritless Herd, and were they not invigorated by the Example of their Leaders, and restrained by the Fear of instant Punishment, would fly at the Approach of any Enemy, without waiting for the Attack.

' I cannot therefore, Sir, but be of Opinion, that the Necessity of a large Number of Officers may be learned even from the Behaviour of those Troops which have been unsuccessful; since it is certain, that tho' they have been often overcome, they have generally resisted with great Steadiness, and retired with great Order.

' If those who are only speculative Warriors shall imagine that their Arguments are not confuted, I can only repeat what I declared when I first attempted to deliver my Sentiments in this Debate, that I do not pretend to be very skilful in the Arts of Disputation. I, who claim no other Title than that of an old Soldier, cannot hope to prevail much by my Oratory; it is enough for me that I am confident of confuting those Arguments in the Field, which I oppose in Parliament.

Henry Fox, Esq; spoke next to the following Effect.
Sir,

Mr Henry Fox.

' I am far from thinking that this Question has been hitherto fully explained by those who have either consider'd it only as a Dispute about Money, or a Question merely speculative concerning the Proportions between different Degrees of Expence, and Probability of Success. In a War of this Kind Expence is the last and lowest Consideration, and where Experience may be consulted, the Conjectures of Speculation ought to have no Weight.

' The Method, Sir, by which our Troops have hitherto been regulated, is well known to have produced Success beyond our Expectations, to have exalted us to the Arbitration of the World, to have reduced the *French* to change their Threats of forcing a Monarch upon us into Petitions for Peace, and to have established the Liberties of almost every Nation of the World that can call itself free.

' Whether this Method, Sir, so successful, so easy, and so formidable, shall be changed; whether it shall be changed at a Time when the whole Continent is in Commotion, and every Nation calling Soldiers to its Standard; when the
French,

French, recover'd from their Defeats, seem to have forgotten the Force of that Hand that crush'd them in the Pride of Victory ; when they seem to be reviving their former Designs, and rekindling their extinguish'd Ambition ; whether at such a Time the Regulations of our Army shall be changed to save, upon the highest Computation, only thirty thousand Pounds, is the present Question.

‘ On such a Question, Sir, I cannot observe, without Astonishment, any Man deliberating for a single Moment. To suspend our Opinion in this Case, would be to balance our Lives, our Liberties, our Patrimonies, and our Posterity, against thirty thousand Pounds.

‘ The Effects of our present Method, Sir, are well known to ourselves, our Confederates, our Enemies, to every Man that has heard the Name of *Blenheim* and *Ramelies* ; the Consequences of the Establishment, now contended for, our most experienc'd Commanders own themselves unable to foresee, and I am far from believing that theoretical Disquisitions can enable any Man to make great Discoveries in Military Affairs.

‘ Our own Inexperience of the Method which is so warmly recommended, is not the strongest Objection to it, tho' even this ought, in my Opinion, to restrain us from trying it at this hazardous Conjunction. But since Arguments, merely negative, may be thought overbalanced by the Prospect of saving Money, I shall lay before the House, what Effects the Want of Officers has produced with Regard to those Nations, whose Poverty has laid them under a Necessity of parsimonious Establishments.

‘ When the *Germans* were defeated by the *French* in the late War, I was at the Court of *Turin*, where the Battle was, as it may easily be supposed, the reigning Subject of Conversation, and where they did not want Opportunities of informing themselves minutely of all the Circumstances which contribute to the Event ; it was there, Sir, universally determined, that the *Germans* lost the Day merely for want of Officers.

‘ It was observed also, Sir, that some Troops which were once courted and feared by all the neighbouring Potentates, had lost their Reputation in latter Times, of which no Reason could be alledg'd, but that they had lessened the Number of their Officers ; such is the Change in the Model of the *Walloons*, and such is the Consequence produced by it.

‘ I am very far, Sir, from thinking, that Reason is not to be consulted in Military Operations as in other Affairs, and have no less Satisfaction than the learned Gentleman who spoke last but one, in clear and demonstrative Deductions ; but in this Question, Reason itself informs me, that
Regard

Regard ought only to be had to Experience, and that Authority unsupported by Practice, ought to have no Prevalence.

I shall therefore, Sir, make no Enquiry into the Abilities of the Generals by whom these contrary Opinions are defended, nor draw any Parallel between their Actions or their Knowledge. It is sufficient for me that the one is proposing a new Scheme, and that the Opinion of the other can plead the Practice of King *William*, and the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the Success of the last War.

Yet, Sir, if Parsimony be a Virtue at this Time so eminently necessary, it may be urged in Favour of this Estimate, that it will be less expensive than those that have been formerly offered; and that as all Changes ought to be gradual, this may be considered as the first Step towards a general Reduction of the publick Charge.

Then Mr. Alderman *Heathcote* spoke to the following Purpose.

Sir,

Mr. Heathcote.

It was not without Astonishment that I heard the honourable Gentleman who spoke lately, conclude his Remarks with an Attempt to renew our Apprehensions of the Pretender, a chimerical Invader, and an Enemy in the Clouds, without Spirit, and without Forces, without Dominions, without Money, and without Allies; a miserable Fugitive that has not a Friend in this Kingdom, or none but such as are exasperated by those, whom the Men, that mention him with so much Terror, are attempting to vindicate.

The Vanity, Sir, of such Fears, the Folly of admitting them if they are real, and of counterfeiting them if they are false, has been sufficiently exposed in this Debate, by my honourable Friend; but as he thought it unnecessary to employ Arguments in Proof of what cannot be denied, and believed it sufficient to ridicule a Panic which he supposed merely political, I who judge, perhaps, more favourably of the Sincerity of some, and more tenderly of the Cowardice of others, shall endeavour to shew, that the frequent Revolutions which have happened in this Nation, afford us no Reason for fearing another equally sudden and unforeseen in Favour of the Pretender.

The Government, Sir, is always stronger, as it is complicated with the private Interest of more Individuals; because, though there are few that have Comprehension sufficient to discern the general Advantage of the Community, almost every Man is capable of attending to his own; and tho' not many have Virtue to stand up in Opposition to the Approach of general Calamities, of which every one may hope

to exempt himself from his particular Share, yet the most sanguine are alarmed, and the most indolent awakened at any Danger which threatens themselves, and will exert their utmost Power to obviate or escape it.

‘ For this Reason, Sir, I have long considered the public Funds established in this Nation, as a Barrier to the Government, which cannot easily be broken : A foreign Prince cannot now be placed upon the Throne, but in Opposition almost to every wealthy Man, who having trusted the Government with his Money, has repositied a Pledge of his own Fidelity.

‘ But to this Gentleman, Sir, whom I am now answering, Arguments can be of very little Importance ; because, by his own Confession, he is retained as a mere Machine, to speak at the Direction of another, and to utter Sentiments which he never conceived, and which his Hesitation and abrupt Conclusion, shews him to admit with very little Examination. He had not even allowed himself Time to know the Opinion which he was to assert, or to imprint upon his Memory those Arguments to which he was to add the Sanction of his Authority. He seems to have boldly promised to speak, and then to have inquired what he was to say. Yet has this Gentleman often declaimed here with all the apparent Ardour of Integrity, and been heard with that Regard which is only due to Virtue and Independence.

‘ Some of his Assertions are such, however, as require Confutation ; which is, perhaps, more necessary, since he has produced an Authority for them, which many of those who heard him, may think of much greater Weight than his own. He affirms, That we can suffer only by an Invasion, and infers from his Position, that we need only to guard our own Coasts. I am of an Opinion very different, and having not yet prevailed upon myself to receive Notes from any other Person, cannot forbear to speak what I think, and what the publick Prosperity requires to be generally known. We may surely suffer by many other Causes, by the Ignorance or Treachery, or Cowardice of the Ministry, by the Negligence of that Person to whom this Gentleman was probably indebted for his Notes. We may suffer by the Loss of our Sugar Colonies, which may be justly valued at ten Millions.

‘ These Plantations, which afford us almost all the profitable Trade that is now left us, have been exposed to the Insults of the Enemy, without any other Guard than two Ships, almost unfit for Service. They have been left to the Protection of Chance, with no other Security, at a Time
when

when the *Spaniards* had fitted out a Squadron, to infest and ravage our *West-Indian* Colonies.

• The Admiral, who was sent into the *West-Indies*, was confined for almost a Year in the Ports, without Forces, Ships, or Ammunition, which yet might have been sent in a few Months, had not Pretences of Delay been studiously invented, had not the Preparations been obstructed by clandestine Expedients, and had not every Man been tacitely assured, that he should recommend himself to his Superiors, by raising Difficulties, rather than by removing them.

• Such was the Conduct of those, who now stand up in the Face of their Country; and, without Diffidence or Shame, boast of their Zeal, their Assiduity, and their Dispatch; who proclaim with an Air of triumphant Innocence, that no Art or Diligence could have been more expeditious, and that the Embarkation was only impeded by the Seasons and the Winds.

• With Assertions equally intrepid, and Arguments equally contemptible, has the same Person, who boasted his Expedition, endeavoured to defend the Establishment of new Regiments, in Opposition to the Practice of foreign Nations, and to the Opinion of the greatest General among us; and, to shew how little he fears Confutation, has recommended his Scheme on Account of its Frugality.

• It is not to be wondered, Sir, that such an Orator should undertake to defend the Model of the Troops sent to the *West Indies*, that he should prefer Boys to Veterans, and assert the Propriety of intrusting new Levies to unexperienced Commanders; for he has given us in this Debate such Proofs of controversial Courage, that nothing can be now imagined too arduous for him to attempt.

• His Strength, Sir, is indeed not equal to his Spirit, and he is frequently unsuccessful in his most vigorous Efforts; but it must be confessed that he is generally overborn only by the Force of Truth, by a Power which few can resist so resolutely as himself, and which therefore, though it makes no Impression upon him, prevails upon others to leave him sometimes alone in the Vindication of his Positions.

• The Examples, Sir, of those noble Persons who were advanced early to Commissions, will be produced by him without Effect, because the Cases are by no Means parallel. They were not invested with Command till they had spent some Time in the Service, and exhibited Proofs of their Courage and their Capacity; and it cannot be doubted, but some Men may discover at Seventeen more Merit, than others in the full Strength of Manhood.

• But, Sir, there is another Consideration of more Importance,

tance, which will annihilate the Parallel, and destroy the Argument founded upon it. At the Time in which these Persons were preferred, the Nation had but newly seen an Army, and had therefore very few old Officers whose Experience could be trusted, or whose Services required to be rewarded: The Ministers were obliged to select those, who, though they did not understand the Military Sciences, were likely to attain them in a short Time, and the Event has sufficiently proved, that in the Choice no greater Regard was paid to Interest than to Judgment.

‘ It was prudent likewise, Sir, to choose young Persons, supposing their Abilities equal with those of others, because the Nation was likely to possess them longer, and would not be reduced by an Interval of Peace to make War again with raw Forces under the Direction of ignorant Commanders.

‘ But this Provision, however reasonable, the Wisdom of this Ministry has found Means to defeat, by detaining at home the disciplined Troops, and depriving the most experienced Generals of their Commands, at a Time when they are most necessary, at a Time when the whole World is in Arms, when the Ambition of *France* is reviving its Claims, and the *Spaniards* are preparing to invade our Colonies.

‘ But, Sir, though our Generals are discarded, we are sufficiently inform’d, that it is not because we are imagined to be in a State of Safety; for the Encrease of our Army betrays our Fear, of which whether it will be dispell’d or encreas’d by such Measures, it is not difficult to determine.

‘ An Army thus numerous, Sir, is, in my Opinion, and of every honest *Briton*, of every one that reveres the Constitution, or loves his Liberty, an Evil more to be dreaded, than any from which we can be defended by it. The most unpopular Act of the most unpopular of our Monarchs, was the Establishment of a Standing Army; nor do I know any Thing to be feared from the Advancement of the dreadful Pretender to the Throne, but that he will govern the Nation with an armed Force.

‘ If our Troops continue to be increased, which we may reasonably suspect, since, if Arguments like these be admitted, Pretences for Augmentations can never be wanting, the Consequences are easily foreseen; they will grow too numerous to be quarter’d in the Towns, and, with an Affectation of easing them of such unwelcome Guests, it will be proposed, that after having spent the Summer in a Camp, they shall retire in Winter to Barracks. Then will the Burthen of a Standing Army be imposed for ever on the Nation; then may our Liberties be openly invaded, and those who

now oppress us by the Power only of Money, will then throw aside the Mask, and deliver themselves from the Constraint of Hypocrisy ; those who now sooth us with Promises and Protections, will then intimidate us with Threatenings, and, perhaps, revenge the Opposition of their Schemes by Persecution and Sequestrations.

Lord Gage spoke next, to the following Effect :

Sir,

Lord Gage.

' If the Weakness of Arguments proved the Insincerity of those who produce them, I should be inclined to suspect the Advocates for the Establishment of new Regiments, of Designs very different from the Defence of their Country ; but as their Intentions cannot be known, they cannot be censured, and I shall therefore confine myself to an Examination of their Reasons, which they have offered, and the Authorities which they have cited.

' The *German* General, who has been mentioned on this Occasion, with so much Regard, is not less known to me than to the honourable Gentleman ; nor have I been less diligent to improve the Hours in which I enjoy'd his Friendship and Conversation. Among other Questions which my Familiarity with him intitled me to propose, I have asked him to what Causes he imputed the ill Success of the last War, and he frankly ascribed the Miscarriages of it to the unhappy Divisions by which the *German* Counsels were at that Time embarrassed.

' Faction produces nearly the same Consequence in all Countries, and had then influenced the Imperial Court, as of late the Court of *Great Britain*, to dismiss the most able and experienced Commanders, and to intrust the Conduct of the War to Men unequal to the Undertaking ; who, when they were defeated for want of Skill, endeavoured to persuade their Patrons and their Countrymen, that they lost the Victory for Want of Officers.

' They might, perhaps, think of their Countrymen, what our Ministers seem to imagine of us, that to gain Belief among them, it was sufficient to assert boldly, that they had not any Memory of past Transactions, and that therefore they could not observe, that the same Troops were victorious under *Eugene*, which were defeated under the Direction of his Successors ; nor could discover that the Regulation was the same, where the Effects were different.

' Thus in every Place, it is the Practice of Men in Power, to blind the People by false Representations, and to impute the publick Calamities rather to any other Cause than their own Misconduct. It is every where equally their Practice, to oppress and obscure those who owe their Greatness to their

Virtue

Virtue or Abilities, because they can never be reduced to blind Obedience, or taught to be Creatures of the Ministry ; because Men who can discover Truth, will sometimes speak it, and because those are best qualified to deceive others, who can be persuaded that they are contending for the Right.

‘ But it is surely Time for this Nation to rouse from Indolence, and resolve to put an End to Frauds that have been so long known. It is Time to watch with more Vigilance the Distribution of the publick Treasure, and to consider rather how to contract the National Expences, than upon what Pretences new Offices may be erected, and new Dependences created. It is Time to consider how our Debts may be lessened, and by what Expedients our Taxes may be diminished.

‘ Our Taxes, Sir, are such at present, as perhaps no Nation was ever loaded with before ; such as never were paid to raise Forces against an Invader, or imposed by the Insolence of Victory upon a conquered People. Every Gentleman pays to the Government more than two thirds of his Estate by various Exactions—This Assertion is receiv’d, I see with Surprise, by some whose ample Patrimonies have exempted them from the Necessity of nice Computations, and with an affected Appearance of Contempt by others, who instead of paying Taxes, may be said to receive them, and whose Interest it is to keep the Nation ignorant of the Causes of its Misery, and to extenuate those Calamities by which themselves are enriched.

‘ But, Sir, to endeavour to confute Demonstration by a Grin, or to laugh away the Deductions of Arithmetic, is surely such a Degree of Effrontery, as nothing but a Post of Profit can produce ; nor is it for the Sake of these Men, that I shall endeavour to clear up my Assertion, for they cannot but be well informed of the State of our Taxes, whose chief Employment is to receive and to squander the Money which arises from them.

‘ It is frequent, Sir, among Gentlemen, to mistake the Amount of the Taxes which are laid upon the Nation, by passing over in their Estimates all those which are not paid immediately out of the visible Rents of their Lands, and imagining that they are in no degree interested in the Imposts upon Manufactures or other Commodities. They do not consider that whenever they purchase any Thing of which the Price is enhanced by Duties, those Duties are levied upon them ; and that there is no Difference between paying ten Shillings a Year in Land-Taxes, and paying five Shillings in Land-Taxes, and five Shillings to Manufactures, to be paid by them to the Government.

‘ It would be in reality equally rational for a Man to
please

please himself with his Frugality, by directing half his Expences to be paid by his Steward ; and the Event is such as might be expected from such a Method of OEconomy : For as the Steward might probably bring in false Accounts, the Tradesman commonly adds two Pence to the Price of his Goods for every Penny which is laid on them by the Government ; as it is easy to shew, particularly in the Prices of those two great Necessaries of Life, Candles and Leather.

‘ Now, Sir, let any Gentleman add to the Land-Tax, the Duties raised from the Malt, Candles, Salt, Soap, Leather, distilled Liquors, and other Commodities used in his House ; let him add the Expences of Travelling so far as they are increased by the Burthen laid upon Innkeepers, and the Extortions of the Tradesmen which the Excises have occasioned, and he will easily agree with me that he pays more than two Thirds of his Estate for the Support of the Government.

‘ It cannot therefore be doubted that it is now necessary to stop in our Career of Expences, and to enquire how much longer this Weight of Imposts can possibly be supported. It has already, Sir, depress’d our Commerce, and over-borne our Manufactures ; and if it be yet increased, if there be no Hope of seeing it alleviated, every wise Man will seek a milder Government, and enlist himself among Slaves that have Masters more wise or more compassionate.

‘ We ought to consider, Sir, whether some of our present Expences are not superfluous or detrimental, whether many of our Offices are not merely Pensions without Employment, and whether Multitudes do not receive Salaries, who serve the Government only by their Interest and their Votes. Such Offices, if they are found, ought immediately to be abolished, and such Salaries withdrawn, by which a Fund might be now established for maintaining the War, and afterwards for the Payment of our Debts.

‘ It is now, Sir, in my Opinion, a Question whether we shall choose the dearest or the cheapest Method of encreasing our Forces, for it seems to me not possible to supply any new Expences. New Troops will require more Money to raise and to pay them, and more Money can only be obtained by new Taxes ; but what now remains to be taxed, or what Tax can be encreased ? The only Resource left us is a Lottery, and whether that will succeed is likewise a Lottery ; but tho’ Folly and Credulity should once more operate according to our Wishes, the Nation is in the mean time impoverished, and at last Lotteries must certainly fail like other Expedients. When the Publick Wealth is entirely exhausted, Artifice and Violence will be equally vain. And tho’ the
Troops

Troops may possibly be raised according to the Estimate, I know not how we shall pay them, or from what Fund, yet unmortgaged, the Officers who will be entailed upon us, can hope to receive their Half-pay.

‘ For my Part, Sir, I think the Question so easy to be decided, that I am astonished to see it the Subject of a Debate, and imagine that the Controversy might be ended only by asking the Gentleman, on whose Opinion all his Party appear to rely without any Knowledge or Conviction of their own, whether, if he were to defend a Nation from its Enemies, and could procure only a small Sum for the War, he would not model his Forces by the cheapest Method.

Mr Sloper * spoke next.

Sir,

‘ I cannot, without the highest Satisfaction, observe any Advances made in useful Knowledge, by my Fellow-Subjects, Mr Sloper. as the Glory of such Attainments must add to the Reputation of the Kingdom which gives Rise to such elevated Abilities.

‘ This Satisfaction I have received from the Observations of the Right Honourable Member, whose accurate Computations cannot but promise great Improvements of the Doctrine of Arithmetic; nor can I forbear to sollicit him, for the Sake of the Publick, to take into his Consideration the present Methods of Traffick used by our Merchants, and to strike out some more commodious Method of stating the Accompts between those two contending Parties Debtor and Creditor. This he would doubtless execute with great Reputation, who has proved from the State of our Taxes, that new Forces require new Funds, and that new Funds cannot be established without a Lottery.

‘ I am indeed inclined to differ from him in the last of his Positions, and believe the Nation not yet so much exhausted, but that it may easily bear the Expence of the War; and shall therefore vote for that Establishment of our Troops which will be most likely to procure Success, without the least Apprehension of being censured either by the present Age, or by Posterity, as a Machine of the Ministry, or an Oppressor of my Country.’

General Wade spoke again, as follows:

Sir,

‘ Since the Right Honourable Member has been pleased to insinuate, that by answering a plain Question I may put an End to the Debate, I am willing to give a Proof of my Desire to promote Unanimity in our Councils, and Dispatch in our Affairs, by complying with his Proposal. General Wade.

‘ If

* Deputy-Cofferer of the Household.

‘ If I were obliged with a small Sum to raise an Army for the Defence of a Kingdom, I should undoubtedly proceed with the utmost Frugality ; but this noble Person’s Ideas of Frugality would, perhaps, be very different from mine ; he would think these Expences superfluous, which to me would seem indispensably necessary, and though we should both intend the Preservation of the Country, we should provide for its Security by different Methods.

‘ He would employ the Money in such a Manner as might procure the greatest Numbers ; I should make my first Enquiry after the most skilful Officers, and should imagine myself obliged by my Fidelity to the Nation, that entrusted me with its Defence, to procure their Assistance, though at a high Price.

‘ It is not easy for Persons who have never seen a Battle or a Siege, whatever may be their natural Abilities, or however cultivated by Reading and Contemplation, to conceive the Advantage of Discipline and Regularity, which is such, that a small Body of Veteran Troops will drive before them Multitudes of Men, perhaps equally bold and resolute with themselves, if they are unacquainted with the Rules of War, and unprovided with Leaders to direct their Motions.

‘ I should therefore, in the Case which he has mentioned, prefer Discipline to Numbers, and rather enter the Field with a few Troops well governed and well instructed, than with a confused Multitude unacquainted with their Duty, unable to conduct themselves, and without Officers to conduct them.

Mr. *Vyner* spoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr *Vyner*.

‘ I am not very solicitous what may be the Determination of the House upon this Question, because I think it more necessary to resolve against an Augmentation of the Army, than to enquire, whether it shall be made by one Method or another.

‘ Every Addition to our Troops I consider as some Approach towards the Establishment of arbitrary Power, as it is an Alienation of Part of the *British* People, by which they are deprived of the Benefits of the Constitution, and subjected to rigorous Laws, from which every other Individual is exempt.

‘ The Principal of these Laws, which all the rest are intended to enforce, requires from every Soldier an unlimited and absolute Obedience to the Commands of his Officers, who hold their Commissions, and expect Advancement by the same Compliance with the Orders of the Ministry.

‘ The

* The Danger of adding to the Number of Men, thus separated from their Fellow Subjects, and directed by the arbitrary Determinations of their Officers, has been often explained with great Strength and Perspicuity; nor should I have taken this Occasion of recalling it to the Attention of the House, but that I think it a Consideration, to which, in all Debates on the Army, the first Regard ought to be paid.

Then Colonel *Mordaunt* spoke to the Purpose following.

Sir,

* The Objection which the Honourable Gentleman has raised, will be most easily removed, by considering the Words of the Act by which the Military Authority is establish'd; where it is by no Means declared, that either Officers or Soldiers are obliged indiscriminately to obey all the Orders which they shall receive, but that they shall, on Pain of the Punishments there enacted, obey all the *lawful* Orders of their Commander.

Col. Mordaunt.

* The Obedience therefore, Sir, required from a Soldier, is an Obedience according to Law, like that of any other Briton, unless it can be imagined that the Word *lawful* is in that Place without a Meaning. Nor does his Condition differ from that of his Fellow-Subjects by an Exemption from any Law, but by a greater Number of Duties, and stricter Obligations to the Performance of them; and I am not able to conceive how our Constitution can be endanger'd by augmenting an Army, which, as it can only act in Conformity to it, can act only in Defence of it.

The Question at last was put, That the new rais'd Troops be incorporated into the standing Corps, but it passed in the Negative by 232 against 166.

Farther Speeches
on the Motion
for removing Sir
R. Walpole.

The following SPEECHES on the Motion to remove Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's Councils and Presence, have been communicated since the Publication of our former Volumes.

Mr. *Sandys*, (whose Speech we gave at large, *Anno 14. George II. P. 65*) was seconded by Lord *Limerick*, who spoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

* As I have been for some Time a constant Opponent of the Measures by which the Motion now offered has been produced, I suppose it will create no Surprise, either in the Validators or Adversaries of the Gentleman to whom it relates, that I stand up to second it. To add any Thing to the Representation which you have already heard of the Miseries of

Lord Limerick.

of the Nation, will be equally difficult and unnecessary. It is known to all, that we are oppressed with Taxes, and involved in War, that the War has been hitherto unsuccessful and ignominious, that our Fleets have been mann'd by Violence, and detained in our Harbours upon false Pretences, that our Trade has been at once diminish'd by Impresses, and betrayed by the Denial of Convoys.

' If it were necessary, Sir, to give any other Proof of the Difficulties and Distresses to which we are reduced, let it be remembered, how lately the Right Honourable Gentleman himself declared, in the Midst of our Deliberations upon the Ravages and Insults of *Spain*, we were not able to engage in a War, that we were without a single Ally to support us, and that our own Strength was not sufficient. Either this Account of our Condition was true or false. If it was true, what can be said in Defence of the Person who has destroyed those Ties that conjoined our Interest with that of the Powers on the *Continent*; who has broken the Union which Nature seemed to have formed, and which Religion had confirmed; who has conducted our Affairs with so much Ignorance or Perfidy, that he has disgusted one Party without gratifying the other; who has drawn equally upon the Nation the Hatred of *France* and her Enemies, and whom neither the House of *Bourbon* nor of *Austria* can be expected to favour?

' How this could have been effected, Sir, it would not be easy for any Man but our Minister to discover; nor would even his absurd Policy, and perverse Subtilty, have been sufficient, had he not aided his own Abilities by *French* Councils, and concurred with the inveterate and implacable Enemies of *Great Britain*, to involve his Country in Distress.

' If his Account of the Condition of the Nation was false, this Falshood alone is a sufficient Motive to the Proposition which has been offered; for surely that Man ought to be removed from his Majesty's Councils for ever, who when his Country was harrassed by the Attacks of a contemptible Enemy, when its Commerce was every Day obstructed, and its Honour impaired, was so far from encouraging his Fellow-Subjects to the Assertion of their Rights, the Revenge of their Losses, and the Reparation of their Honour, that he endeavoured to sink them into Cowardice, to depress them with false Comparisons of the Strength of their Enemies with their own, and whose Counsels have no other Tendency than to encourage new Insults, and prepare the People for submissive Slavery.

' Such Counsels, Sir, must proceed, in my Opinion, from other Motives than Regard to publick Felicity, and since nothing is more evident than that no Man, who prefers any Interest

terest to that of *Great Britain*, ought to be intrusted with Power or admitted to Confidence. I declare, that in my Opinion, the Motion now made is necessary and just.

Mr. *Wortley* spoke next in Substance as follows.

Sir,

‘ Before the Propriety of this Motion becomes the Subject Mr. *Wortley*. of our Debates, I think it necessary to propose, that *the Order of the House* be strictly observed, which is well known to require, that every Member against whom an Accusation is brought, should retire out of this Assembly, while his Conduct is examined.

‘ This Procedure which is established by immemorial Custom, and confirm’d by innumerable Precedents, is founded likewise upon right Reason ; for as any Member of this Assembly may be said to be here tried by his Associates, by Men with whom he has at least concurred in publick Affairs, and with whom he has probably been more intimately conversant, it is proper to free our Debates from those Prejudices, which cannot but be raised by the Presence of a Man, who has been long regarded with Friendship or Esteem by those who are now become his Judges : To banish that Tendernefs which may be produced by the Sight of a Companion or an Acquaintance perplexed and disturbed ; and perhaps sometimes to suppress that Awe which may be raised in Part of this Assembly by a powerful Offender, whose Looks may upbraid some with the Benefits which they have formerly received from him, and whose Eyes may dart Menaces upon those who are dependent on his Favour.

‘ It is evident that to preserve Impartiality in our Enquiries, and Integrity in our Decisions, all private Regards must be laid aside ; and that therefore Objects which may impress or inforce them, ought to be carefully removed ; and as the Presence of the Person accused may exasperate or intimidate his Adversaries, or encourage his Friends, or awe his Followers, I move that, while this Question is debated, Sir *Robert Walpole* be ordered to withdraw.

Mr. *Gybbon* seconded this Motion.

Sir,

‘ This Motion is so agreeable to the strictest Maxims of Mr. *Gybbon*. Justice, the most prudent Methods of Trial, and the standing Practice of this House, that I cannot but second it as necessarily previous to the principal Question.

‘ The Practice of this House is only to be proved by Precedents, which are indeed sufficiently numerous ; but because

to recite all the Instances which might be found in our Journals, would unnecessarily retard the Business of this Day, I shall select only some of later Date, which may shew beyond Controversy, that our immediate Predecessors did not deviate in this Respect from the Custom of antient Parliaments, and that this Method of Procedure was found too useful to be laid aside.

* In the Reign of King *James* the Second, when Mr. *Coke* was censur'd for the Use of Expressions disrespectful to the King, while the House was deliberating upon his Offence, he was ordered to withdraw.

* When in the following Reign, among other Captains of the Navy, Captain *Churchill*, a Member of this House was accused of taking Money from the Merchants whose Ships he was appointed to convoy, he was first heard in his Place, and then withdrew; so far as it appears, without waiting for an Order which he knew the Practice of the House would regularly produce.

* When in the Examination of *Francis Rainsford*, the Committee for receiving the public Accounts, having reported that Lord *Faulkland* had withdrawn a Letter which had been written by him, a Debate arose upon the Nature of the Offence, and the Punishment which it might be proper to inflict. Lord *Faulkland* having spoken in his own Vindication, withdrew, and afterwards being call'd in and heard a second Time, withdrew again. And another Dispute arising on a succeeding Day concerning two thousand Pounds irregularly received by Lord *Faulkland* from the King, he again withdrew, after having made his Defence.

* In the same Reign Mr. *Manley* being charged with indecent Expressions used by him in the Debate upon the Proceeding against Sir *John Fenwick*; when the Debate began, he was required to withdraw.

* More Instances, Sir, might easily be collected, if more were necessary; but as these are sufficient to shew what has been the Practice of this House, and as that Practice may be justified by Reason, I hope we shall be careful not to depart from it on this Occasion.

Mr.

* Mr *Coke's* Words were these, "I hope We are all Englishmen, and not to be frightened out of our Duty by a few high Words." At which Exceptions being taken by Lord *Preston*, he was, after Debate, order'd to withdraw. The whole Proceedings upon this Affair are only to be met with in *Chandler's History of the Commons*, Anno 1685, P. 193. No other Collection of Debates having taken the least Notice of the Proceedings of King *James's* Parliament. The other Precedents cited by Mr. *Gibbon* are also to be found in *Chandler's History of the Commons*, during the Reign of King *William*.

Mr. Bromley † answered after this Manner.

Sir,

‘ I am very far from being convinc’d either by the Arguments or Precedents which have been produced, that the Right Hon. Gentleman, to whom this Motion relates, ought to be required to withdraw.

‘ All the Persons mentioned in the Precedent which have been alledged, and all those that have been forbidden to be present at the Debates relating to themselves, have been charged with some known Crime, and are to be considered as standing for their Trial. But the Question in the present Case, is not whether the Right Hon. Gentleman has been guilty of the Actions imputed to him, or the Author of any particular Counsels, but whether those Actions are in themselves Criminal, or those Counsels really Pernicious. He is not charged with any Word or Act which the Laws of his Country have determined to deserve Punishment; but with Conduct which his Enemies propose first to prove Criminal, and then to punish by a new Method of Prosecution.

‘ In the Instances, Sir, which have been mentioned to support this Motion, the Offenders have been allowed to hear their Accusation, and to make their Defence in their Places; nor can I discover how any Man’s Conduct is impartially examined, where he is not allowed to speak in his own Defence; or how any Man can defend himself who is not permitted to hear the Charge against him.

Mr. Howe spoke next to the following Effect.

Sir,

‘ These Precedents are in my Opinion, so far from proving what is intended by them, that they seem to me not to have any Relation to the present Question, of which I have not yet been able to discover how it differs from the common Enquiries that are made in this House.

‘ Whenever we enquire into the Expediency of past Measures, our Disquisitions cannot but affect those by whom they were conducted or advised; yet they are not therefore required to withdraw during our Deliberations, but are expected to justify their Counsels, to explain their Motives, and excuse their Miscarriages.

‘ The Charge, Sir, against the right honourable Gentleman, is only a political Enquiry into the Conduct of the Ministry for many Years; nor has it been urged in such a manner as to relate particularly to him. There is therefore no Reason for requiring him to withdraw, which will not equal-

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† Created Lord Montfort, soon after the Dissolution of this Parliament.

ly shew that all those should retire at the same Time, who have concurred in the Measures disapproved by the Gentleman that made the Motion ; who may then safely promise himself Victory, when all those from whom he expects Opposition shall be banished from the House.

Mr. *Ereskine* then spoke to the following Purpose.

Sir,

Mr. *Ereskine*.

‘ I am not surprized to find that on this Occasion the Friends of the Minister have Recourse to their usual Arts of Sophistry ; and that they endeavour to protect his Person by the same Fallacies with which they have always vindicated his Measures ; that they labour to perplex our Enquiries by an artful Confusion of distinct Questions, and that they are desirous to exclude Light when it will only discover what it is their Interest to conceal.

‘ In their first Fallacy, Sir, they have not indeed been very successful. Whether their Anxiety for the Event of the Day has disconcerted their Sophisms, or whether their Cause will in reality admit of no better Defence, their present Plea is such as Men celebrated for the Acuteness of their Penetration, and the Readiness of their Invention, might have been expected not to have alledged in a Debate of so much Importance to the Nation, and, what has always more sensibly affected them, to themselves. Having had Warning of the Storm that was hanging over them, they should have provided themselves with some Shelter against it that might not be easily thrown down ; and not have thought it sufficient to assert, what they can never hope to prove, that there is no Distinction to be made between this and any other political Enquiry.

‘ There is the same Difference, Sir, between this and other political Enquiries, as between national and personal Transactions, between Consultations and Trials. The Question in other Debates relates equally to every Man in the House ; this affects one Man of this Assembly in a particular Manner : And surely it will not be again asserted that it is an Enquiry of the same Nature, whether a Member shall be expelled this House, or whether Peace shall be concluded with *Spain*.

‘ That this Question will incidentally produce political Debates, may reasonably be expected, because the Errors or Crimes charged upon this Gentleman are chiefly political ; and when the principal Question is personal, that Man to whom it relates ought to be withdrawn while it is debated.

Colonel *Bladen* spoke next to the Purpose following.

Sir,

Colonel *Bladen*.

‘ I Know not upon what Arguments it is so positively asserted

ferred, that this is a Question of a peculiar Nature, and that it ought to be distinguished from other political Disquisitions; and I hope that the Zeal of the Opponents of the Ministry, however ardent, will not prompt them to require, that what is not proved should be admitted.

‘ I have always hitherto imagined, that those Debates which are properly political in the Interest of the Publick, is the Object of Enquiry; and as I know only two Motives that can give occasion to the present Motion, Regard to publick Happiness, and the Gratification of private Resentment, I have been candid enough to believe, that it was made with no other View than the Advantage of the Nation.

‘ Of this, Sir, indeed I was persuaded, by the Observations with which the Motion was introduced; for to what other Purpose were all the Disappointments, Misfortunes and Errors, whether real or pretended, of near twenty Years so laboriously enumerated? For what End are we informed of the long continued Insolence of the *Spaniards*, of our destructive Alliances with the *French*, of the Decline of our Commerce, and the Weakness of our Arms? Why else are the Losses of our Merchants so pathetically exaggerated, and why are we told once more of the Load of our Taxes, and the Discontent of the People?

‘ If it be not imagined, Sir, that our Compliance with the Motion will remedy these Calamities; and that the Removal of one Gentleman from his Majesty’s Councils, will revive our Trade, and invigorate our Forces; awe our Enemies, and animate our Allies; this long, this elegant Declamation, has been nothing more than an Effusion of ostentatious Eloquence, without any Intention of informing us; it has been only an Overflow of Malice, a Torrent of Invectives.

‘ But if, as we ought to imagine, those by whom this Motion is made and defended, are persuaded, that the Counsels of one Man have sunk the Nation into Disgrace, and that by depriving him of his Influence, they shall restore the publick Honour and Felicity, the Debate, like all others, is an Enquiry whether the Measures which they propose will produce the Consequences expected from them.

‘ In the Precedents cited to support the second Motion, Sir, there is not the least Appearance of a Parallel with the present Case. They were Persons who had either committed an Offence in the Presence of the Assembly by which they were to be judged, and against whom it was therefore unnecessary to produce Evidence; or Men convicted of Offences by legal Testimonies, and whose Punishment was therefore the only Subject of Deliberation.

‘ Nothing is more reasonable, Sir, than that in these Circumstances the Offender should withdraw; for to what Purpose

pose should he continue in the House ? The only Reason he has a Seat, the Reason for which every other Man has a Seat, in this Assembly, is the Right of examining, deliberating and voting : And this Right has undoubtedly ceased ; since it would be absurd to consult any Man with regard to Censures which are to be inflicted upon himself, or to suffer him to vote in his own Cause.

‘ But, Sir, with Regard to the Right Hon. Gentleman mentioned in the present Motion, the first Enquiry must be, whether any of the Measures objected to him are in themselves criminal ; an Enquiry at which he has the same Right to be present with any other Member, and may claim more justly a Right to speak in the Vindication of, as he is supposed to have been principally the Author of them, and consequently to be more than others acquainted with the Motives which influenced him in his Advice.

‘ If it should appear, Sir, which can hardly be hoped even by those who have been long accustomed to deceive themselves with sanguine Expectations, and whom a perpetual Train of Defeats hath not awakened from their Dream of Success, that these Measures have been really pernicious, and that the Authors of them deserve Punishment ; must not those Authors be discovered ? Will not any particular Person be at Liberty to deny the Guilt imputed to him, and may he not claim the common Right of a *British* Subject to stand Face to Face against his Accuser ?

‘ That this may be justly demanded by him, Sir, appears even from those Precedents which have been produced to prove that he ought to withdraw ; for all the Offenders were allowed to vindicate themselves in their Places : And if it be allowed that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman against whom the Motion is directed, may hear his Accusation, and offer his Defence, I doubt not but his Innocence will be evidently shewn, and that therefore there will be no Room for deliberating on his Punishment.

Mr. *Gybbon* then spoke to the following Purpose.

Sir,

Mr. *Gybbon*,

‘ If it be only required that the Gentleman to whom this Motion relates should hear his Accusation, that Privilege has been already enjoyed. He has already been accused of almost every Crime which ministerial Power could enable him to commit ; he has been charged with destroying the Security of those Alliances which it is the invariable Interest of this Nation to preserve ; with contributing to the Exaltation of that House, which has never formed any Designs but for the Destruction of the Common Liberties of Mankind, and for the Attain-

Attainment of universal Empire ; with neglecting the Protection of our Commerce, and betraying our Merchants to Plunder, and our Seamen to Slavery ; with concealing and palliating the Insolence of our Enemies, and the Violation of our Rights ; and with obstructing the Operations of the War by treacherous Delays, and hindering its Success by denying our Commanders the Liberty of Action.

‘ The Accusations, Sir, with Regard to his domestick Conduct are still more atrocious. He is taxed as an Enemy to our Privileges, and a Violator of our Constitution ; as the Projector of a military Establishment by which the most pernicious Measures may be defended ; and as the Corruptor of that Assembly to which the Rights of the People are intrusted. He has been openly charged with betraying his Country, and with attempting to enslave it ; and, after this, is it demanded that he may hear his Accusation ?

‘ What other Crimes those who know him best expect to hear alledged against him, I am not able to conceive ; but by their Demands they give us Reason to imagine that they are yet afraid of some heavier Charge, and that to have supported the publick Enemies, or to have formed a Plan of general Slavery, is not the highest Instance of his Guilt.

‘ But whatever Crimes, Sir, his Favourites may have had Opportunities of remarking, as their Fidelity is too well known to afford any Hopes that they will discover them, we should proceed to consider the Facts already mentioned ; he may therefore now produce what he may have to urge in his own Defence ; after which it is allowed by all, that he ought to withdraw.

Hereupon Mr Pulteney* spoke in Substance as follows.

Sir,

‘ In all Debates it ought to be our first Care, that we do not suffer ourselves to be diverted from the principal Question by Considerations of small Importance ; and that we do not in the Preliminaries of our Disquisitions weary that Attention, and squander those Moments which should be reserv'd for higher Purposes, in the Pursuit of obscure Inquiries, and the Explication of intricate Reasonings.

‘ Whether it is not required by the Rules of strict Justice, that the Gentleman should retire, I cannot suddenly determine ; but since we ought not, in the Prosecution of an Oppressor, to make Use of those Arts which we are endeavouring to prevent ; and since to insist with much Vehemence on his Absence may be imagined to betray some Dif-

* Since made Earl of Bath.

Diffidence of our Cause, or Fear of his Abilities: I think it may very properly be left in his own Choice to stay or retire on this Occasion.

Mr Stephen Fox † then spoke to the following Effect.

Sir,

Mr. Steph. Fox.

‘ Having had Time to consider the Charge against the Right Hon. Person, whose Conduct we are called upon by a very extraordinary Motion to examine, I shall endeavour to answer every Part distinctly; without deviating, at least without intending to deviate, from the Order in which his imaginary Crimes have been ranged, and his supposed Miscalriages recounted.

‘ I am far from thinking it necessary to apologize for the seeming Vanity of undertaking an extempore Answer to a laboured Invective; I do not, Sir, pretend to display any uncommon Strength of Memory, Readiness and Apprehension, or Command of Argument on this Occasion; for as I have heard nothing new, I have nothing new to reply. As the Charge is only a Complication of forgotten Pamphlets, or a Recollection of former Debates, the Answer can be little more than a Recapitulation of those Arguments, which every Man in this House has heard, and must have heard with Conviction.

‘ I was indeed, Sir, very far from suspecting those, by whom this Motion has been made and supported, of an Attempt to prevail upon the Majority of this House to condemn their own Conduct, and to prosecute one of their Members for Measures which themselves approved. I did not doubt but that a Motion so uncommon, arose from some uncommon Cause, some imagined Discovery of a secret Combination with our Enemies, an Alienation of our Claims, or a Design against our Liberties.

‘ Full, Sir, of this Expectation, I listened with the utmost Impatience to every Period of the Speech by which the Motion was introduced; and while we were told from what Causes the Discontent of the Nation proceeds, while we were warned against the Continuance of a Standing Army, informed of the daily Increase of the Power and Influence of the House of *Bourbon*, and the hourly Ravages of the *Spaniards*; while the Oppressions of the Excise were displayed, and the Errors of the Convention enumerated, I could scarcely forbear to call out for *The Charge*, for the new Topick of Accusation, to which I considered this long Detail of Censures as only preparatory; and which I supposed

† Then one of the Chief Clerks of the Treasury; since created Lord Ilchester.

posed was to be represented as the Result of all former Misconduct, the Complication of every different Species of Wickedness, and to which we were conducted as to the highest Pinnacle of Guilt by this Gradation of Perfidy, Oppression, and Corruption.

But, Sir, since my Expectations are deceived, since Malice has only traced its former Steps, and that Invektive which began with the Treaty of *Hanover*, has concluded with nothing more formidable than the Prostitution of the Parliament; I shall hope to dissipate, without Difficulty, those Clouds which have been raised to hide the Truth from our Eyes, and confute those Objections once more which have been so often alledged, and so often answered.

The Difficulty of a proper Reply is now much diminished by the Occasion on which it is to be made; for it has hitherto been necessary to shew the Propriety and Usefulness of those Measures which were represented as dangerous or unprofitable; to obviate Objections which the Necessity of concealing private Intelligence, or immature Designs, did not always allow to be fully confuted; and to justify by long Reviews, and difficult Explications of the secret Connection of Events, those Measures which, considered with Regard to the Circumstances which attended them, might seem rashly or imprudently concerted.

But in debating the present Question all that can produce Perplexity or Hesitation, must be the Distraction of the Mind by different Methods of Apology, equally proper, and for the greatest Part equally easy: For the Motion appears to be unjust, whether, those that oppose it shall evince, as they have often done, the Propriety of the Measures on which it is intended to fix an indelible Censure, or shall shew that the Person against whom it is directed did not transact them, or not without the Concurrence of the other Ministers, or the Approbation of Parliament.

With Regard, Sir, to the Treaty of *Hanover*, the Difficulty of this Choice will immediately occur; for though it might be easily dispatched by a Declaration which almost every Man in the Nation knows to be true, that it was transacted at *Hanover*; and though the Right Hon. Gentleman may with great Security defy his Enemies to prove that he was the original Author of it, or that he promoted it otherwise than any other of the Council; yet since some may desire a fuller Account of that important Affair, which as it was transacted in the last Reign may not be otherwise known to some of the Members of this House, than by wandering Reports, or partial Representations, I shall endeavour to

shew, that tho' it has been long the Occasion of groundless Clamours, that it was not only prudent but necessary.

' To place this Affair in its proper Light, it may be necessary to recapitulate some Occurrences which preceded it, and to consider the State of the Nation from the Beginning of the late King's Reign.

' The Difficulties with which the Establishment of the Royal Family in these Kingdoms were embarrassed, are well known and universally remember'd. Our late King had no sooner taken Possession of a Throne, to which he was called for the Defence of Religion and the Preservation of Liberty, than Discontent, and Jealousy were spread over the whole Country : The People were already corrupted with idle Doctrines, which had no other Tendency than to facilitate the Introduction of the Pretender, by teaching that an Hereditary Right is not to be forfeited, and that the Acts of Parliament, by which he was excluded, were empty Forms, without Validity and without Obligation. These Tenets were assisted by artful Calumnies, and Insinuations of pernicious Designs ; and the People were wrought by various Motives to such a Degree of Frenzy, that they imagined themselves obeying the Dictates of their Religion, while they were endeavouring to expel or destroy the Monarch by whom it was supported ; and imagined that their Liberty could only be preserved by the Advancement of a Prince who would believe it his Duty to persecute, and his Right to enslave them.

' Infatuated, Sir, with these wild Notions of Justice and Policy, a great Part of the Nation thought it necessary to refuse Obedience to the Government ; to set the Laws at Defiance ; and to declare their Adherence to another Prince for whose Service Armies were levied, and whom a Foreign Monarch, celebrated for Romantic Valour and Chimerical Expeditions, was invited to establish. So little did these Madmen in the Heat of their Zeal regard the Welfare of their Country, that they willingly exposed it to the Plunder of rapacious Mercenaries, and to all the Devastations which were to be expected from Troops accustomed to all the Cruelties of War ; restrained by neither Tendernefs nor Interest, and who could only enter these Kingdoms with a Design to load themselves with Plunder, and live at Ease in their own Country upon the Wealth of *Great Britain*.

' That this Disturber of the World was snatched away by the Chance of War, in the midst of new Schemes for the Ruin of Nations, and new Designs of augmenting his Power ; and the Army of the Rebels, for want of Discipline and Commanders was easily overthrown ; and that both Justice and Lenity were employed to influence the People, I need

not

not relate ; since the Events are too recent and too publick not to be remember'd. But though the Laws recovered their Authority, and Subordination was again established ; it was not reasonable to imagine that Force had produced any Change in Opinions, or that those whose Designs had been defeated believed them unjust, because they had been unsuccessful. It might be with Justice suspected, that those who durst clamour no longer openly, murmured in private ; and that they whose Swords had been wrested from their Hands, would not fail to snatch them again, when they could promise themselves stronger Support, or more resolute Associates.

* Such, Sir, was likewise the Opinion of all Foreign Princes of the State of *Great Britain*, which they considered as governed by a King to whom more than half of his People were subject only by Force, and whom it was easy to embarrass with Insurrections whenever he should interpose in the Affairs of the Continent. They conceived the two Parties in this Kingdom to be in an Equipoise, and believed that any neighbouring Power might turn the Balance.

* It has been observed, that with regard to Governors and Subjects, Power subsists upon Opinion, and the same Remark may be extended to the Competition between different States. To be thought weak, and to be weak in Reality, may sometimes produce the same Consequences. Enemies in either Case are excited to Insolence, and invited to Invasion ; and though they may sometimes meet with Resistance which they did not expect, they may likewise sometimes in the Uncertainty of human Schemes be conducted by Error to the End which they proposed ; and succeed by a Concurrence of favourable Accidents in Enterprizes, which they were induced to undertake only by a weak Confidence in false Reports.

* Thus, Sir, our Divisions naturally impaired the Influence of the King, and weakened his Government even when all real Danger of a Revolution had ceased, when Reason had regained its Influence, and the Phantoms of counterfeit Loyalty had been dispelled by the Light of Truth. It was the Interest of Foreign Princes to believe him still surrounded by Enemies, and 'tis well known how difficultly Opinions are eradicated which are complicated with favourite Passions. There was in the Nation a numerous Faction who under various Denominations, and upon various Motives favoured the Claim of the Pretender ; this Faction was represented far more numerous, more powerful, and more restless than it was ; and those Princes whom Chance or Ambition made the Enemies of the King of *Great Britain*, imagined that they had Allies in his own Dominions, that Armies would start-up

out of our Towns and Villages at the Promise of Assistance, and that they might oblige him to submit to any Terms, or pursue him to Ruin, or to Death, at the Expence of his own Subjects.

‘ Such, Sir, was the Opinion which prevailed in all the Courts of *Europe*, at the Time when our late King was informed that a Confederacy had been formed against him by the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna* ; in which nothing less was designed than the Destruction of our Trade both in the *Indies* and the *Mediterranean*, the Subversion of our Liberties, and the Advancement of the Pretender to the Throne. Against this Confederacy he secured the Nation and himself by an Alliance which counterballanced it, and by entering into the Treaty of *Hanover* with *France*, divided the Power of the House of *Bourbon*.

‘ The Confederacy of the *Germans* with the King of *Spain*, has been often ridiculed as improbable and imaginary ; and those who could not deny its Reality have represented it as an airy Project, a Scheme which it was not possible to execute, and which it was therefore not necessary to obviate by any extraordinary Measures.

‘ But the Probability of such an Alliance appears from a View of the State of the Nation, and of the Opinions of Foreign Princes at that Time. It was natural to project the Introduction of the Pretender into these Kingdoms, because it was believed that he would be welcomed at his Arrival by the Acclamations, and supported in his Enterprize by the Arms of the People. It was rational to believe that they should be able to deprive us of our Trade, because the Necessity of establishing a new Monarch would divert the Attention of our Government from Foreign Affairs, and it was not likely that any thing would be denied by him to such kind Assistance, and so useful Allies.

‘ That the *Spaniards* were convinc’d of the Possibility of this Project, we may be assured, Sir, from the Confidence with which they exposed a small Body of their Troops, to be slaughtered, by landing them on the northern Part of this Island. No Man can imagine that they expected from them alone either Conquests or Resistance ; and it is therefore evident that they expected them to be joined by the Inhabitants, and imagined the Disaffection so general, and the People so warlike, that to erect a Standard and to raise an Army, would be the same.

‘ Nor will it be difficult to conceive that this Opinion might be communicated with little Labour to the Court of *Vienna*, if we reflect how readily every Prince hearkens to Accounts that flatter his Inclinations, and how welcome every

every Report will always be found, that encreases our own Dignity and Power, by representing our Competitors as unable to stand before us.

‘ I am, Sir, indeed far from believing that the united Power of *Germany* and *Spain* could have driven our Monarch from his Throne ; or that the Nation would even at that Time have received the Pretender supported by a foreign Power : But to infer that no such Design was formed, because it would probably have failed in the Execution, is by no means rational. It is to suppose that Men are never blinded by their Passions, or deceived by their Intelligence ; that opposite Parties see the same Objects in the same Light, and that every Man proportions his Undertakings to his Strength.

‘ The Error, Sir, of those Princes was far from being such as could diminish their political Reputation ; if we suppose them zealous for their Religion, the Force of Enthusiasm has been often seen ; if we suppose their Heads heated by Ambition, it is easy to conceive that they might be hurried forward to imaginary Conquests which their Armies could never have achieved ; if we consider them as corresponding with the disaffected Part of our own Nation ; we know how readily every Man persuades himself that his own Party will prevail, how he exaggerates in his own Mind its Numbers, its Wealth, and its Unanimity, and confidently affirms to others what he has learned to believe himself.

From all these Causes, co-operating at once, what Degrees of Infatuation may not be expected ? what may not Monarchs be capable of undertaking, who being infected with Lust of Dominion, imagine that their Happiness will be encreased as their Empire is extended ; who think their Ambition authorised by Religion, and are assured by those whom it is the highest Act of Impiety to disbelieve, that they shall fight under the Banner of Omnipotence ? That Heaven will assist those Forces which are levied for the Extirpation of Heresy, and that they are appointed to put an End to the Prevalence of Schism ?

‘ When to these Motives, Sir, it is added, that the Attempt is in itself without Danger, and that they are only to assist the greater Part of the Nation in butchering the less ; is it to be imagined, that Opportunities so favourable will not be improved ? That any Monarch will forbear to give an Instance of his Piety, when he may shew it by gratifying his Ambition ? Or that he will not engage in a Design at once pleasing, easy and meritorious ?

‘ Perhaps these Considerations, Sir, may induce the House to allow that his late Majesty, neither deceived the Parliament

ment by false Representations, as has been insinuated by the honourable Gentleman, nor was himself deceived ; yet since it has been alledged that the Confederacy of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, if it was ever formed, was a Confederacy of Madmen ; that their Designs ought to have raised Pity rather than Fear, and to have been ridiculed rather than opposed, it may be proper before we dismiss this Transaction to enquire what was really to be dreaded from them.

‘ It is well known, Sir, that the Favourers of the Pretender were at that Time sufficiently numerous to disturb the Nation, though not to inflame it ; and that their Discontent was such as might naturally have incited them to a Rebellion, by which, though it would probably have ended in their Defeat, our Country might have been harrassed for a long Time ; and the Hon. Gentleman will scarcely affirm that a Civil War is not a Calamity to be very cautiously avoided, what Party soever may be likely to prevail.

‘ If it is not to be imagined that Troops could have been landed on our Coasts in such Numbers as might have threatened Conquest, they might at least have burnt our Villages, and destroyed the Inhabitants ; they might have ravaged our unfortified Towns, laid whole Counties desolate, and filled the Nation with Horror and Confusion ; and when our Armies had at length destroyed them, the Injury might be revenged indeed, but could not be repair’d.

‘ From such Miseries, Sir, if we were preserved by a seasonable Alliance with *France*, can the Author of it be censured as an Enemy of *Great Britain* ? Can it be affirmed that Invasions and Civil Wars are to be preferr’d to an Alliance by which no Claim was resigned, and in which mutual Security was honourably stipulated upon equal Terms ?

‘ If we consider, Sir, what has been urged against this Treaty, we shall be able to recollect only violent Invektives without Proof, and noisy Declamations without Reason. We have been told that *France* is the irreconcilable Enemy of *Great Britain*, that her Resentments are never to be extinguished, and that her Interests are invariably opposite. We are told that to enter into Alliances with *France* is to destroy at once that Plan of Power, that our Ancestors have exhausted their Treasures to establish, and to sacrifice all the Advantages of the last War.

‘ These, Sir, are indeed pompous Expressions by which the Imagination may be warmed, but which have little Efficacy to convince the Reason ; Sounds which may raise Commotions in a popular Assembly, but can not have much Influence upon a Parliament. That our Ancestors have ge-
nerally

nerally employed their Strength and Policy in Opposition to *France*, cannot be denied ; but if we think their Example such as ought to influence our Measures, we must imagine them to have acted upon rational Motives, and are therefore only to resemble them in our Conduct, as we resemble them in the Circumstances of our Affairs.

‘ They opposed the *French*, because they had no other Enemy to fear ; and upon the same Principle would have united with them against an Enemy from whom they were both in Danger ; nor could they entail upon us any Scheme of Conduct, unless they could ascertain the Course of Events. To believe, that we are invariably to declare ourselves Enemies to *France*, is to be deceived by idle Sounds, and to follow Prejudice instead of Policy. It is our Interest to oppose that Nation with most Vigour from whom we have most to fear ; not to enquire whom our Ancesters hated or dreaded, but who has at present the strongest Inclination and the greatest Power to injure us ; to regulate our Alliances according to the Interests of foreign Princes, to observe the Rotations of Power, and vary our Politics as different Exigencies may happen to require.

‘ It might at least, Sir, be expected from those who have declaimed for so many Years against the Treaty of *Hanover*, that they should have shewn us what ill Consequences have been produced by it ; what Part of our Trade we have relinquished, or what Pretensions we have resigned. It might not be unequitable to require, that they should prove this Transaction to have brought upon us greater Evils than those from which we were rescued ; the Horrors of an Invasion, and the Miseries of a Civil War.

‘ The Charge, Sir, of Deserting our Ally is easily refuted, since that Ally was not deserted till he had formed Schemes for our Destruction : That we contributed to aggrandise the House of *Bourbon*, though it has been echoed round the Kingdom, has not been proved ; since no Man, however confident in his Assertions, or vehement in his Investives, has undertaken to shew, that the Treaty of *Hanover* either increased the Wealth, extended the Influence, or enlarged the Dominions of *France*. She gained nothing by it but a Neutrality, which, without any such previous Stipulation, it had been our Interest to observe ; but which, perhaps, had not that Alliance been concluded, would have appeared the Effect of Cowardice or Weakness.

‘ It was said indeed by the Honourable Gentleman, that the *French* have given us no Assistance ; but it does not appear that we wanted or required it, or that by the Treaty of *Hanover*, we had a Right to demand it. Our Enemies
were

were discouraged from an Invasion by finding that they could no longer expect Success.

‘ Is it not, Sir, some Advantage that an Enemy who was elated to a Degree of Insolence, that incited him to form Designs upon our Country, to plan the Subversion of our Constitution, and doom us to irrecoverable Slavery, was reduced to confine his Resentment to petty Ravages, and Insults rather malicious than dangerous ? That instead of spreading Destruction over *Britain*, he was content to besiege a Fortrefs * with-held from him in his own Territories.

‘ Some have asserted in the Heat of their Animosity, when irritated by frequent Defeats, and oppressed by Arguments to which they were unwilling to yield, tho’ they found themselves unable to confute them, that the Rapine and Insolence of the *Spaniards* have been always secretly encouraged by *France* : This, Sir, is an Insinuation of which it does not appear to me, that the Importance is proportioned to the malignant Pleasure with which it is produced ; for how can it affect the Conduct of the Ministry, whether it be true or false ?

‘ If the *French*, Sir, did in reality exasperate the *Spaniards* against us, at the Time when they engaged with the utmost Solemnity to assist us against them ; if while they were exchanging Ratifications, and redoubling Protestations of Friendship, they endeavoured to embarrass our Government, and obstruct our Commerce, what can be inferred from their Conduct but their own Perfidy ? And by what Law is a Minister of *Great Britain* to be punished for those Crimes in which he did not concur ?

‘ In Political as in private Transactions mutual Trust is unavoidable ; nor can any more be required from either Party than to preserve his own Faith, and watch that the other does not make use of an Appearance of Friendship to injure or betray him. No Man ought to suffer but for his own Wickedness or Negligence, because no Man can regulate the Conscience of another.

‘ But it is not necessary, Sir, to have Recourse to the secret Operation of remote Agents for the Explication of Events, of which the immediate Causes may be so easily assigned. The *Spaniards*, though they found their Scheme of an Invasion no longer practicable, had yet so much Confidence in the Accounts which they had received of the Violence of our Factions, and the Ardour of our Animosities, that they imagined us to be in a State that would not allow us to regard our Honour or our Commerce, and believed that they might without Danger insult our Flag and plunder our Merchants.

‘ That

* The Siege of Gibraltar.

* That this Opinion was the Foundation of their Conduct, and that they still retain it with a Degree of Bigotry peculiar to themselves, appears, Sir, from their Manifesto lately published. Our Divisions are there mentioned with an Appearance of Triumph, which perhaps may be still heightened by an Account of the present Debate, and to which the Opponents of the Administration, whatever may have been their Intentions, it must be confessed, have long contributed.

* Against these Depredations, Sir, frequent Remonstrances were made, and Promises of Inquiry and Reparation were constantly returned, with what Degree of Sincerity it was not possible for our Ministers to determine. The Distance of the *Spanish* Territories made it easy for the Governors to elude the Orders of their Master, or to deceive him with false Representations, which could not always be confuted by our Ministers before their Attention was diverted by some new Controversy. The Delays in the *Spanish* Forms of Proceeding, well adapted to favour any fraudulent Design, often made it impossible to procure Proof of an unjust Seizure, for the Master of a Vessel was perhaps dead, and his Crew dispersed, before his Cause was determined.

* It might indeed be suspected that these Ravages were not committed by the Subjects of *Spain* without the Connivance of their Court; and that the Orders sent to *Spain* would not have been so long eluded, had the Officers believed that Compliance would have been more likely to procure Favour or Promotion: But as their King not only disowned their Proceedings, but promised that Justice should be rigorously observed; and as War is always the last Remedy which a wise Government employs, it was thought more prudent to preserve our Claims by frequent Repetitions, and to wait for some Opportunity of obtaining their Confirmation, than to assert them by Force, and load the Nation with the Expences of a War.

* When the Project was formed of establishing Don *Carlos* in *Italy*, we thought the Opportunity obtained which we had so long desired, and therefore readily complied with the Propositions which were made us for establishing a lasting Peace with *Spain*. This indeed we did not submit to purchase at a high Rate, for the Transportation of Don *Carlos*, though it gratified the Ambition of his Mother, was no great Sacrifice on our Part. There was no Enemy to encounter, no Danger to fear; and the Expence which alone can be complained of, ought to be compared with that of a War which it was probable we might avoid by it.

* Yet the Ministry, Sir, by this Step furnished their Ad-

versaries with a new Theme for Declamation ; they have been charged with throwing Weight into that Scale of Power which was too heavy before, with propagating the Influence of the House of *Bourbon* thro' the whole Continent of *Europe*, and with endangering our future Commerce by investing them with the Dominion of the *Mediterranean*.

' But before these Investives are indulged, it ought to be proved that we granted some Advantage which it was impolitic to grant, and which it was in our Power to deny ; that we could have hindered the *Spaniards* from the Acquisition of that Part of *Italy*, or have hindered them without more Expence and Danger, than our Interest in the Transaction could induce us to incur.

' It ought to be examined, Sir, whether it was not more prudent to procure a Reconciliation of long Disputes, by assisting them in an Enterprize which they could have executed by their own Strength ; and by appearing to favour Designs which we could not effectually obstruct ; than to exasperate Hatred and inflame Quarrels by needless Opposition, and to harraßs ourselves with a War of which it was impossible to foresee the Success, or fix the Duration.

' It was said by the hon. Gentleman, that our Compliance had no other Effect upon the *Spaniards* than to heighten their Insolence, to harden their Obstinacy, and to confirm their Contempt ; that therefore our Money was lavished without Recompence, and our Alliance offered only to be slighted.

' I confess, Sir, that neither the Policy nor the Gratitude of the *Spaniards*, could induce them to improve the Advances which were made at *Seville* into a firm and lasting Friendship ; that their Insolence had not been abated, or their Pretensions remitted ; and that their Depredations after a very short Suspension were renewed with equal Rapacity and equal Cruelty. Of this the Parliament itself has complained in its Addresses to the King, nor does the Cause of which I have undertaken the Defence, require that any Truth should be denied or disguised.

' These Ravages and Cruelties, Sir, are Facts of which no Man will dispute the Certainty or palliate the Injustice ; but it appears to me, that every impartial and candid Enquirer will discover, that they cannot rationally be charged on the Ministry : For how can it be imagined that they could willingly promote the Disappointment of their own Measures, or what Interest can they be supposed to advance by increasing the Discontent of the People ? The Conduct of the *Spaniards* must be therefore attributed only to themselves ; nor can it be expected that we should undertake to reform their

their Folly or their Wickedness, or to teach them either Politicks or Gratitude.

‘ I cannot but observe, Sir, that in the Charges made by the Hon. Gentlemen; the Crimes of Mankind are amassed together and thrown upon a single Person, who is so unfortunate in his Situation, that he is equally to be accused of the Misconduct of his Friends and of his Enemies; of Transactions by which his Influence is apparently diminished, as well as those by which it may seem to be advanced: He is represented as the general Dictator of Guilt, nor is any Man imagined to deviate from the Right, but by his Instigation or Connivance.

‘ Unhappy surely is the Lot of that Man, from whom an Account is required of the Conduct of those whom he has not Power to direct; whom neither Distance nor Ignorance can secure from being an Associate in every Act of Wickedness; and whose Innocence can only be preserved by a Reformation of the Universe.

‘ That the Ministry, Sir, have been insensible of the Sufferings of their Country, that they have seen without Concern the Obstruction of our Trade, and heard without Compassion the Complaints of our Merchants; that they have sat at Ease in the Enjoyment of their Salaries, while their Fellow-subjects were languishing in Distress; and insulted or neglected those Calamities which their Indolence, Unskillfulness or Cowardice had brought upon the Nation, are Insinuations which ought not to be credited, because they cannot be proved.

‘ Their frequent Remonstrances to the Court of *Spain* afford sufficient Evidence, that they did not forget their Duty or neglect it; their Assertion of our Rights shew that they had no Intention to resign them. And the Charge of Insensibility, Negligence, and Corruption, must be reduced at last only to this, that they thought Success more likely to be obtained by Negotiation, which others expected only from Violence and Slaughter.

‘ Had the *Spaniards*, Sir, been persuaded at length to attend to the Remonstrances of Justice, to restore what they could not retain without Robbery, and admit what they cannot deny without the Violation of the most solemn Treaties; had the Pacific Acts of Negotiation terminated our Disputes, procured Security to our Trade, opened the Seas of the *West-Indies*, and established, upon equitable Terms, that Concord which is necessary to the Happiness of both Nations; Would those allow themselves Criminal who had so long sounded the Trumpet of War, who had called out incessantly for Reprisals and Revenge, and who had exhausted

sted their Eloquence to inflame the Resentment of the Nation, and to incite the Parliament to Impatience and Violence? Would they have admitted, that they might be deservedly censured as the Enemies of their Country, for endeavouring to precipitate us into an unnecessary War, and for promoting Havock, Bloodshed and Confusion?

‘ Would they not have urged that they had only given their Opinion, with that Liberty which is allowed in Parliamentary Debates, and with that Sincerity which Patriotism requires? That they were deceived by false Appearances, or hurried on by a Zeal too impatient of the Injuries of the Publick? That they did not lay any Claim to Prescience or Infallibility, and that involuntary Errors could never be justly punished, because they could not be avoided? And would not this Plea have satisfied the most rigorous Enquirer, and pacified the warmest Resentment?

‘ Whoever, Sir, admits the Validity of this Excuse, which he that denies has no great Regard to his own Honour or Safety, must allow, that it may be now urged, with equal Justice, in Vindication of the Ministry. If they have been mistaken in their Choice of Measures, they have been betrayed into Error only by their Caution; nor did their Delays proceed from any other Cause, than the Fear of increasing the Expences of the Publick, and hazarding the Quiet of *Europe* by precipitate Resolutions.

‘ I shall not insist at this Time on the Probability that contrary Measures, if they had been pursued by the Ministry, would have been opposed with equal Vehemence, and their Absurdity aggravated with the same Violence of Declamation: That the Ministry would have been represented as Men hardened against all the Impulses of Humanity; who look’d with Satisfaction on Slaughter, Devastations and Cruelty; who were delighted with embroiling the World, and employing one Nation in the Destruction of another; who had involved their Country in foreign Wars only to divert the Attention of the Publick from their own Miscarriages and Corruption; and who would prolong it without End, as it might give them Opportunities of gratifying their Friends and exposing their Adversaries.

‘ That such would have been the Outcries of the Opposition, if more violent Measures had been pursued, I do not affirm, Sir, whatever I may believe. I do not affirm it, because I think that every Assertion ought to be supported by Evidence, and that Positions and Conjectures are to be carefully distinguished. I will however declare with great Confidence, that this Accusation had been more just and more plausible; and that the Vulgar, upon whom the Influence

fluence of Sounds is well known by Experience to the Opponents of the Ministry, would have been more easily inflamed by artful Representations of the Horrors of a destructive War, than of the Shame of a dishonourable Peace. I cannot, therefore, but once more suspect, that they whose constant Hope of Success has arisen from a Practice of appealing from the Parliament to the Rabble, could not have suffered so commodious a Topic to escape them; but would have exhibited the Ministry to public Views as blood-thirsty Monsters, who were daily sacrificing the Lives of thousands to their Caprices; and because they had no Tenderness for their Fellow-subjects, preferred War to Peace; who contemplated with Pleasure those Dangers in which they never involved themselves, and feasted their Imagination with Slaughters which heightened the Pleasure of their own Security.

But that there are indeed Insults which must be resented, and Evils to which War itself is to be preferred, cannot be denied; and such at length has the Parliament declar'd the Insolence and Rapacity of the *Spaniards*, against whom therefore War has been proclaimed, and prosecuted in such a Manner as was most likely to attain the End for which War ought always to be made; the Redress of Wrongs and Re-establishment of Peace.

But the Ministry, Sir, have been no less unfortunate in their Conduct of the War than in their Methods of Negotiation; for their Opponents appear resolved to be equally dissatisfied on every Occasion, and to discover Treachery, Cowardice, or Corruption, whatever Measures are pursued.

The War has indeed had already one Effect that they may, without want of Candour, be suspected of desiring. It has furnished them with numerous Topics of Accusation which they could not have obtained in Time of Peace. It has given them an Opportunity of diversifying their Invectives, and enlivening their Harangues; and enabled them to substitute new Calumnies in the Place of those which, though no longer credited, they had been hitherto forced to repeat. The Excise, which had with unwearied Eloquence been for many Years echoed from one side of this House to the other; the Dangers of a Standing Army which had been exaggerated with all the Zeal of ardent Patriotism; and even the Convention which, tho' a later Subject, had been discussed till it was no longer a Terror but a Vexation to Mankind, gave way to more splendid Themes! Themes on which the Imagination might expatiate without Labour, and Eloquence wanton without the Aid of Invention: They harangued now on the Bravery of our Sailors, the Strength
of

of our Nation, the Triumphs of our Ancestors, and the Weakness of *Spain*.

But when they had amused themselves with the Display of our Power, and gratified their Love of their Country by a Recollection of her ancient Glory, they always concluded with a pathetic Lamentation of our present Miseries; they complained that our Force was restrained by the Corruption of our Governors; that the Courage of our Sailors was of no other Use than to heighten their Impatience of the ignominious Inactivity to which they were condemned; that our ancient Honours were tamely suffered to be torn from us; that we were no longer courted, revered, or feared; that the *Spaniards*, however weak, however contemptible, were yet successful in the War; and that we perceived no other Effect of our Armaments than Expence and Disappointments.

When they were asked from what Causes these Complaints proceeded, what Dominions had been taken from us, or what Battles we had lost, it was answered, that not to have conquered in such a War was to be overcome; that it was expected by the People of this Nation, that a single Fleet should have reduced *Spain* to Submission, and that one Effort of the *British* Force might put us in Possession of the Mines of the *West Indies*.

Such Expectations indeed it is common for the People to form at the Commencement of a War; and it has not been unusual for Governors to promote them, though perhaps without sufficient Regard to Justice or to Prudence; neither of which could ever countenance the Propagation of Falshood. For if the People are persuaded to think too highly of their own Strength, what can be expected but that they will demand Success proportioned to their imaginary Force? And that the Blame of every Defeat will fall upon the Government?

Such Expectations, Sir, were therefore never raised by the Ministry, because they knew that they could only be gratified by Chance, in which no wise Man will put any Confidence: But they were eagerly excited by the Boasters of Patriotism who knew that Success would be received as a Confirmation of their Predictions, and would establish the Reputation of their Sagacity; but that any Defeat would be imputed to the Ministry, and blow up the Flames of publick Hatred; and that in the mean Time they gained every Day the Favour of the Populace, to whom nothing is more grateful than exaggerate Representations of their own Strength.

They therefore called out incessantly for a vigorous Prosecution of the War; they required that Insolence should no longer be born without Resentment, nor Ravages without Reprisals;

Reprisals ; they demanded that Fleets should be equipped, that Commerce should be protected, and *Spain* humbled.

Ships were accordingly put into Commission, new Vessels were built, the Workmen in the Docks were enjoined double Labour, naval Stores were purchased and Contracts for Provisions made every Day ; but our Fleets completely rigged remained in our Harbours for want of Men, and our Enemies roved at large over the Ocean, while we were soliciting our Sailors to engage in the Service of the Publick.

For removing this Obstacle, Sir, at which the Opponents of the Ministry were for the greatest Part content to clamour ; without any Endeavour or perhaps any Desire to surmount it, because they found specious Reasons for imputing it to the Administration, many Schemes were offered : But they were almost always opposed with the utmost Obstinacy, by Men who had wearied the Parliament with the Justice and Necessity of the War, with the Diminution of our Trade, and the Importance of an uninterrupted Navigation.

When one Project was disapproved, another was proposed ; and nothing was left unattempted that might contribute to that Success which all appeared to wish, though only the Ministry endeavoured to procure it. But to every Proposal that could be formed, to every Method that Invention or Experience could suggest, so many Inconveniences were objected by the zealous Guardians of the Liberties of the People, that much Time was wasted, and Losses suffered by the Merchants.

But that Sagacity, Sir, which always enabled them to improve every Accident to their own Advantage, suggested to them that they might now accuse the Ministers of delaying the Preparations for War, detaining the Ships which were to guard the Coasts, and exposing the Merchants by Negligence or Design to the Rapacity of the *Spanish* Privateers.

At length, Sir, our Fleets in the *West-Indies* began Hostilities ; the *Spaniards* were confined to their Ports ; their Colonies were kept in continual Terror ; and one of their most important Settlements was laid in Ruins. Who would not now have thought that the Ministry had given sufficient Proofs of their Sincerity in the Prosecution of the War, and that there could be no longer any Pretence for Complaints ? But even this Advantage served only to shew, how a vigilant and sagacious Patriot can improve every Occurrence to the Propagation of his Tenets and the Support of his Cause. The Ministry, Sir, was on this Occasion once more loaded with Calumnies ; they were now accused as secretly chagrined at
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the public Felicity, and incensed against that Commander by whom the Honour of our Nation was retrieved, and the Insolence of our Enemies repressed.

How the Ministers gave Occasion to so atrocious a Charge, it may not be improper to declare. When those who had for many Years affected a particular Degree of Solitude for the publick Welfare, and who had been distinguished by their Zeal for a War with *Spain*, heard the first Rumour of that Success which they had so confidently predicted; it was their Employment once more to engage the Populace by entertaining them with the delightful Narrative, uniting in their Acclamations and partaking of their Triumph.

For this Purpose, Sir, they did not fail to exaggerate the Enterprize, and magnify the Advantages that were to be expected from it; and so wanton was their Imagination, that it formed no Ideas but of the Conquest of the *West-Indies*, and the utter Destruction of the *Spanish* Dominions.

The Friends of the Government, tho' pleased with the Success of the Expedition in proportion to its Importance, discovered no such Raptures of Exultation: They rejoiced indeed, but with that Moderation which accompanies true Greatness of Mind; they praised the Bravery and Prudence of *Vernon*, but without exalting him above all his Predecessors; they thought that to give way to an Excess of Praise or Joy upon any slight Advantage, had a Tendency to lessen the Reputation of our Arms, as it might be inferred by Foreigners that our Exultation was produced only by our Fear.

Whatever, Sir, were the Motives of their Conduct, it may be imagined that in a Nation where Freedom is so lavishly boasted, every Man might plead an Exemption from the Necessity of joining his Voice to Shouts of which he did not know the Reason, or which he thought too loud for the Occasion which produced them; and that no Man would accuse him of Disaffection to his Country, because he did not evaporate in useless Congratulations, and wild Effusions of Jollity.

But as Men resolv'd to censure can never want a Fund of Accusation, no sooner were the Ministers stigmatized as Enemies to *Vernon*, than they were discovered to have formed a Plot for his Destruction in Concert with the *Spaniards* and *French*; whose Fleets had found an Opportunity of uniting, while our Admiral was cruising on another Part of the Coast, and guarding a Fortrefs of which the Importance has been formerly one of the popular Subjects of Declamation. They indeed sailed immediately to the *West Indies*, before there was any Opportunity of interrupting their Course; but

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how little they performed, and how shamefully they returned is well known. If it be true, that they failed with the Consent of our Ministers, as insinuated by the hon. Gentleman; it must be allowed, that they were trapan'd by them into uselefs Expences and unprofitable Fatigues; and that they have at length Reason to complain of that Friend, by whom they are said to have been so long favoured and assisted.

But what Defence can be made of the Conduct of the Minister, when it is urged that the *French* are now, in Opposition to all the Faith of Treaties, busy in the Reparation of the Port of *Dunkirk*; and that they are establishing an Asylum for Privateers, and preparing to dispute the Command of the Channel? What, but that by confessing that they act in Contradiction to Treaties, it is granted that the Ministry is to be acquitted; for let me once more remind those who may be inclined to patronise the Motion, that no Man is to be punished for the Dishonesty of another.

Such, Sir, is the Charge against the Administration of foreign Affairs, and with so little Difficulty is that Charge refuted. Whether the Conduct of domestick Transactions will not admit of a Vindication yet more clear and easy, remains now to be examined.

As it is never grateful to my Disposition; to think or speak with Contempt of any Man; I am not without some doubt whether I should not pass over the Excise in Silence; for who can restrain his Imagination from some Sallies of satirical Merriment, when he sees Men resolved to accuse without any Subject of Accusation; and finds Malice reduced to the Necessity of gratifying itself with Dreams of imaginary Hardships and mere Possibilities of Guilt.

Let us state the Question so far as it relates to the Excise with Coolness and Impartiality. About eight Years ago the Right Hon. Gentleman was said to have formed a Scheme which was proved to be advantageous to the Revenue, and said to be detrimental to the People. This Scheme was laid before this House, and approved by the greater Number; but was thrown aside by him to gratify the People; and it is now moved that the supposed Author of this Scheme should be for ever excluded from his Majesty's Counsels.

Such, Sir, is the Crime, and such is the Punishment. A Person distinguished for his Abilities and famous for his Ardour for Liberty, long honoured with the Favour of his Sovereign, and long intrusted with the most important Employments, is to be branded with Infamy and deprived of Trust; for having been suppos'd to form Measures which were suspected of a pernicious Tendency, and from which that Suspicion induced him to desist.

‘ Had the Scheme been really pernicious, and really reduced to Practice, it might have been imagined that the Approbation of the Parliament would have exempted him from Prosecution ; but this Approbation, it seems, is now no longer to be pleaded, because the Parliament is no longer the Representative of the People ; this House is only a Herd of Slaves hired to drudge for their Master, and to give up to his Disposol the Rights, the Properties, and Lives of their Fellow-Subjects.

‘ That this Charge, Sir, is known by the greater Part of this House to be false may easily be conceived ; but it will appear an Assertion somewhat daring to declare that it is known to be false by those that produce it ; and yet why else do they produce it, much more why do they produce it here ? Can they expect that any Man should concur in his own Ruin ; that a House of which the Majority vote for Pay, will detect or punish that Corruption by which they are influenced ; or that any Man who has received a Bribe will inform against the Hand that gave it ?

‘ When they apply to this House for the Detection or Punishment of Bribery, they must believe that the greatest Number is not influenced by Money ; and yet if that be their Opinion, they must retract their Charge.

‘ It has been urged in Justification of the Motion, that whether Miscarriages in publick Affairs arise from Error or from Design, they equally prove the Necessity of removing him, by whom they were transacted, from Places of Trust ; because the Publick may be equally injured by Incapacity or Treachery. Will it not in the same Manner appear, that those who have produced this Charge ought to be excluded from the Management of publick Affairs, whether it be true or false ; since if it be true, their Conduct can be the Effect only of Madness, and if it be false, of Wickedness.

‘ But whatever be at length determined with regard to the Facts which have been so often examined, whether the Treaty of *Hanover* was beneficial or detrimental to the Nation, whether the *Spaniards* have been opposed or supported in their Insolence, whether the *French* have incited or restrained them, whether the Excise was a Scheme of Oppression, or a rational Method of preventing Abuses, and whether the Parliament be corrupt or honest, how can the Propriety of the Motion be evinced ? Why is it directed against this Person ? And why are not others included in the same Censure ?

‘ The only Reason of this Motion which can be openly avowed, must be the Desire of punishing the Author of the publick Miseries, and deterring others from the same Crimes by an Example of Justice and Severity. But it has in all former Times been thought necessary to prove Guilt before it

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is punished, nor was it ever proposed before this Day that the Sentence should precede the Trial.

* In the present Case, Sir, it is asserted that the Nation is reduced to Ignominy and Distress; that it is oppressed by an unnecessary Army, and loaded with Taxes, of which it does not appear how they can be employed but to corrupt the Parliament; and it is demanded therefore, not that the Enquiries should be made into the State of the Publick, not that the Army should be disbanded, or that our Taxes should be reduced, but *That Sir Robert Walpole be removed from his Majesty's Presence and Counsels.*

* Such a Proposal could be dictated only by the Rage of disappointed Opposition, which has at length collected all its Force, and exerted all its Malice in one desperate Effort; and which is now too much irritated to observe any longer the Rules of Decency, or to pretend any longer a Zeal for publick Happiness, an Ardour for Liberty, or Tendernefs for the People.

* Had this Motion, Sir, been produced by laudable Designs, it would have been recommended otherwise than by vehement Invectives and general Assertions; for as the End is, such generally are the Means: And it is not easily that a wise Man is persuaded of the Justice of that Intention, which he sees promoted either by Violence or Fallacy.

* The Fallacy of the Argument used on this Occasion is too gross not to be discovered, and too contemptible not to be derided, were not the End proposed by it so atrocious as not to admit of the Prevalence of any Passion but Horror and Detestation. The Fallacy, Sir, consists in supposing, what is principally to be proved, that the Right Honourable Person on whom the Censure is to fall, has been for twenty Years not only the Chief but the Sole Director of all Foreign and Domestic Affairs; that he has at once levied Armies and raised Taxes, enacted Laws and ratified Treaties, and governed at the same Time the Council and the Parliament.

* If, Sir, the Right Honourable Gentleman has not been the chief Adviser and Director of all National Affairs, the Motion must be without the least Degree of Justice or Propriety; because it will tend to fix an unjust Censure, and to punish one Man with perpetual Infamy for the Crimes of another. It will tend to harden the principal Agent, whoever he may be, in the Continuance of his wicked Practices; since he will suppose the publick Vengeance already satisfied, and will find that he is safe from Punishment, by being free from Suspicion.

* If the Right Honourable Gentleman be not the Sole Author of these fatal Measures, it is evident that the Motion has arisen not from publick Spirit, not from a virtuous De-

testation of corrupt Conduct, not from a Desire of reforming Abuses, and restoring to the *British* Name its ancient Dignity; but from narrow Views, and selfish Designs, from sordid Interest, or virulent Malevolence. For why is one Man singled out for Vengeance among so many Associates in the same Crimes? Why is not the Punishment proportioned to the Guilt? and why is publick Justice defrauded or obstructed?

‘ Of such Procedure, Sir, no other Account can be given, than that one Man is more feared or hated than the rest; nor can this Fear or Detestation be imputed to any other Cause than the Number of his Friends, or the Superiority of his Abilities; for since his Wickedness appears not more enormous than that of others, he must be distinguished from the Crowd by some other Qualities.

‘ Happy would the *British* Nation be, if this Ardour of Prosecution, proceeded from any other Cause; if the Persons, who have so long declared themselves Enemies to the Right Honourable Gentleman, were not incited against him only by his Importance to the State, by the Vigour of his Understanding, and the Extent of his Knowledge; that Understanding which has enabled him to discover and disconcert all the Schemes, by which they have hitherto endeavoured to rise upon his Ruin; and that Knowledge which has been so successfully employed, in defending the Measures of the Government, and demonstrating the true Interest of the People.

‘ They have long discovered, or imagined themselves to have discovered, that they are hindered from succeeding in their Designs only by his Industry, Influence, and Capacity; and have therefore determined at any Rate to procure his Removal. What their real Designs are I shall not pretend to inform the House; but if we take a View of the different Persons who have concurred in the Opposition, and reflect upon the Contrariety of their Principles, Habits, and Conduct, it will not easily be supposed that they can be cemented either by Affection to the present Government, or by any uniform Principle except that of Interest; nor can it be conceived that they propose any other Changes, than such as may increase their own Fortunes, by investing them with the chief Posts of Profit and of Trust.

‘ Such Suspicions, Sir, which must naturally arise upon the first View of this Chaos of Opposition reduced to Order and to Form, has been every Day confirmed by the Effects which have arisen from its Coalition; by an incessant Obstruction of the justest Measures, by a restless Turbulence of Discontent, which has always animated their Harangues, by

a Contempt of Order and Government, and at length by this publick Desertion of Equity and Reason.

' The Motion I cannot but consider as the utmost Effort of Malice, the expiring Struggle of Faction wearied and exhausted with fruitless Endeavours to disturb the Happiness and corrupt the Loyalty of the People: And tho' there is a Degree of Wickedness of which it is scarce reasonable to hope for a Reformation, yet I cannot but flatter myself that these Gentlemen, after having seen their last Expedient baffled, and their most vigorous Assaults born with Patience, and repulsed with Ease, will at length desist for their own Sakes from opposing what they cannot prevent, and from encountering those by whom they are certain to be overcome.

' I cannot but hope, Sir, that they may be prevailed on by the Consideration of their own Ease, to concur with the Measures of the Government; and that by a short Experience of the Satisfaction of Virtue, and the Peace of Loyalty, they may be induced to persevere with Sincerity in that Conduct, in which they were at first engaged only by Weariness, Vexation or Despair.

' This at least I will promise them, that they will more probably attain, by such a Change of their Schemes, those Advantages which they are suspected of pursuing, with as much Ardour at least as the Interest of their Country; and that no Remembrance of past Injuries will incite the Gentleman against whom their Malice is this Day directed, to employ his Authority or Abilities against them; since I am convinced that he has hitherto rather pitied than hated them, and that he will be immediately reconciled to them upon their Return to their Duty.

' This, Sir, I can boldly promise upon long Acquaintance with him, and frequent Experience of his Tenderness, Equity, Moderation and Candour: Qualities of which I am not, on this Occasion, either ashamed or afraid to declare, that they have endeared him to me; and which if his Enemies had possessed in the same Degree, this Motion had never been offered.

' But whatever Influence personal Motives may have upon others, I find Reasons of a very different Kind, which have determined my Opinion on this Question: Reasons which arise only from Regard to Liberty, to Justice, and to Truth. The Measures which have been mentioned, as proper Grounds for the severest Censure, are such as I have hitherto approved; and I find not any new Arguments offered, by which I might be induced to condemn what I formerly defended.

! I find, Sir, the supposed Guilt of all these supposed Mis-carriages

carriages accumulated upon one Man, without the least Endeavour to prove that he was more criminal, with regard to some, than any other Member of the Council; or with Respect to others, than any Member of Parliament by whom they were approved.

‘ I easily foresee, that if this Motion be admitted, the Justice of Parliamentary Censures, and by Consequence their Authority and Efficacy is at an End; since it will at any Time be in the Power of a Majority, inflamed by Faction or Resentment, to punish those whom no Evidence is produced to convict; and therefore, I declare, that I shall vote against this Motion, and any other of the same Kind.

Then Mr Pitt spoke to the Effect following:

Sir,

Mr Pitt.

‘ As it has been observed that those, who have formerly approved the Measures of the Gentleman into whose Conduct we are now inquiring, cannot be expected to disavow their former Decisions, unless new Arguments are produced of greater Force than those which have formerly been offered; so the same Steadiness must be excused in those who have opposed them, unless they can now hear them better defended.

‘ It is an established Maxim, Sir, that as Time is the Test of Opinions, Falsehood grows every Day weaker, and Truth gains upon Mankind. This is more eminently just in political Assertions, which often respect future Events, and the remote Consequences of Transactions; and therefore never fail to be, by Time, incontestably verified or undeniably confuted. On many Occasions it is impossible to determine the Expediency of Measures, otherwise than by Conjecture; because almost every Step that can be taken may have a Tendency to a good as well as to a bad End: And as he that proposes, and those that promote it, may conceal their Intentions, till they are ripened into Execution, Time only can discover the Motives of their Demands, and the Principles of their Conduct.

‘ For this Reason, Sir, it may easily be expected that bad Measures will be condemned by Men of Integrity when their Consequences are fully discovered; tho’ when they were proposed, they might by plausible Declarations and specious Appearances, obtain their Approbation or Applause. Those, whose Purity of Intention, and Simplicity of Morals, exposed them to Credulity and implicate Confidence, must resent the Arts by which they were deluded into a Concurrence with Projects detrimental to their Country; but of which

which the Consequences were artfully concealed from them, or the real Intention steadily denied.

With Regard to such Gentlemen whose Neglect of political Studies, had not qualified them to judge of the Questions when they were first debated; and who, in giving their Suffrages were not so much directed by their own Conviction, as by the Authority of Men whose Experience and Knowledge they knew to be great, and whose Integrity they had hitherto found no Reason to distrust, it may be naturally expected that, when they see those Measures which were recommended, as necessary to Peace and Happiness, productive only of Confusion, Oppression, and Distress, they should acknowledge their Error and forsake their Guides, whom they must now discover to have been either ignorant, or treacherous; and by an open Recantation of their former Decisions, endeavour to repair the Calamities, which they have contributed to bring upon their Country.

The Extent and Complication of political Questions is such, that no Man can justly be ashamed of having been sometimes mistaken in his Determinations; and the Propensity of the human Mind to Confidence and Friendship is so great, that every Man, however cautious, however sagacious, or however experienced, is exposed sometimes to the Artifices of Interest, and the Delusions of Hypocrisy; but it is the Duty, and ought to be the Honour, of every Man to own his Mistake, whenever he discovers it, and to warn others against those Frauds which have been too successfully practised upon himself.

I am therefore, Sir, inclined to hope that every Man will not be equally pre-determined in the present Debate, and that as I shall be ready to declare my Approbation of Integrity and Wisdom, though they should be found where I have long suspected Ignorance and Corruption; so others will with equal Justice censure Wickedness and Error, though they should be detected in that Person, whom they have long been taught to reverence as the Oracle of Knowledge, and the Pattern of Virtue.

In political Debates Time always produces new Lights; Time can in these Enquiries never be neutral, but must always acquit or condemn. Time indeed may not always produce new Arguments against bad Conduct, because all its Consequences might be originally foreseen and exposed; but it must always confirm them, and ripen Conjectures into Certainty. Though it should therefore be truly asserted, that nothing is urged in this Debate which was not before mentioned and rejected, it will not prove that because the Arguments are the same, they ought to produce the same

same Effect ; because what was then only foretold, has now been seen and felt, and what was then but believed is now known.

But if Time has produced no Vindication of those Measures, which were once suspected of Imprudence or of Treachery ; it must be at length acknowledged that those Suspicions were just, and that what ought then to have been rejected ought now to be punished.

This, Sir, is for the most Part the State of the present Question. Those Measures which were once defended by sophistical Reasonings, or palliated by warm Declarations of Sincerity and disinterested Zeal for the publick Happiness, are found to be such as they were represented by those who opposed them. It is now discovered, that the Treaty of *Hanover* was calculated only for the Advancement of the House of *Bourbon* ; that our Armies are kept up only to multiply Dependence, and to awe the Nation from the Exertion of its Rights ; that *Spain* has been courted only to the Ruin of our Trade ; and that the Convention was little more than an Artifice, to amuse the People with an idle Appearance of a Reconciliation, which our Enemies never intended.

Of the Stipulation which produced the memorable Treaty of *Hanover*, the Improbability was often urged ; but the absolute Falsehood could not be proved but by the Declaration of one of the Parties. This Declaration was at length produced by Time, which was never favourable to the Measures of our Minister ; for the Emperor of *Germany* * asserted with the utmost Solemnity that no such Article was ever proposed, and that his Engagements with *Spain* had no Tendency to produce any Change in the Government of this Kingdom.

Thus it is evident, Sir, that all the Terrors, which the Apprehension of this Alliance produced, were merely the Operations of Fraud upon Cowardice ; and that they were only raised by the artful *French*, to disunite us from the only Power, with which it is our Interest to cultivate an inseparable Friendship. This Disunion therefore may justly be charged upon the Minister, who has weakened the Interest of this Country, and endangered the Liberties of *Europe*.

If it be asked, Sir, how he could have discovered the Falshood of the Report, before it was confuted by the late Emperor ? it may be easily answered, that he might have discovered it by the same Tokens which betray'd it to

* See the Memorial of M. de Palm, the Imperial Resident, to this Purpose, in the Appendix to Chandler's History, Vol. VIII.

to his Opponents, the Impossibility of putting it in Execution. For it must be confessed, that his *French* Informers, well acquainted with his Disposition to panic Fears, had used no Caution in the Contrivance of their Imposture, nor seem to have had any other View, than to add one Terror to another, to sink his Reason with Alarms, and to overbear him with Astonishment. When they found that he began to be disordered at the Danger of our Trade, from Enemies without Naval Forces; they easily discovered, that to make him the Slave of *France*, nothing more was necessary than to add, that these bloody Confederates had projected an Invasion, that they intended to add Slavery to Poverty, and to place the Pretender upon the Throne.

To be alarmed, Sir, into Vigilance, had been not unworthy of the firmest and most sagacious Minister; but to be frightened by such Reports into Measures, which even an Invasion could scarcely have justified, was at least a Proof of a Capacity not formed by Nature for the Administration of Government; and which it is therefore the Intent of this Motion to reduce to its proper Sphere, and to level with the rest of the Community.

If it be enquir'd what Advantage was granted by this Treaty to the *French*, and to what Inconveniences it has subjected this Nation? An Answer may very justly be refused, till the Minister or his Apologists shall explain his Conduct in the last War with *Spain*; and inform us why the Plate Fleet was spared, our Ships sacrificed to the Worms, and our Admiral and his Sailors poisoned in an unhealthy Climate? Why the *Spaniards* in full Security laugh'd at our Armaments, and triumph'd in our Calamities?

The Lives of *Hoxier* and his Forces, which were squandered by Compliance with *France*, are now justly to be demanded from this Man; he is now to be charged with the Murder of those unhappy Men, whom he exposed to Misery and Contagion, to pacify, on one hand, the *Britons* who called out for War, and to gratify, on the other, the *French* who insisted that the *Spanish* Treasures should not be seized.

The Minister who neglects any just Opportunity of promoting the Power, or encreasing the Wealth of his Country, is to be considered as an Enemy to his Fellow-Subjects; but what Censure is to be passed upon him who betrays that Army to a Defeat, by which Victory might be obtained; impoverishes the Nation, whose Affairs he is intrusted to transact by those Expeditions which might enrich it; who levies Armies only to be exposed to Pestilence, and compels them to perish in Sight of their Enemies without molesting them?

It cannot surely be denied that such Conduct may justly

produce a Censure, more severe than that which is intended by this Motion; and that he who has doomed Thousands to the Grave, who has co-operated with foreign Powers against his Country, who has protected its Enemies and dishonoured its Arms, should be deprived not only of his Honours but of his Life; that he should be at least stripp'd of those Riches which he has amassed during a long Series of prosperous Wickedness; and not barely be hindered from making new Acquisitions, and encreasing his Wealth by multiplying his Crimes.

But no such Penalties, Sir, are now required; those, who have long stood up in Opposition to him, give a Proof by this Motion, that they were not incited by personal Malice; since they are not provoked to propose any arbitrary Censure, nor have recommended, what might be authorised by his own Practice, an Act of Attainder, or a Bill of Pains and Penalties. They desire nothing farther than that the Security of the Nation may be restored, and the Discontent of the People pacified, by his Removal from that Trust which he has so long abus'd.

The Discontent of the People is in itself a Reason for agreeing to this Motion, which no Rhetorical Vindicator of his Conduct will be able to counterballance; for since it is necessary to the Prosperity of the Government, that the People should believe their Interest favoured, and their Liberties protected; since to imagine themselves neglected, and to be neglected, in reality must produce in them the same Suspicions and the same Distrust, it is the Duty of every faithful Subject whom his Station qualifies to offer Advice to his Sovereign, to persuade him for the Preservation of his own Honour and the Affection of his Subjects, to remove from his Counsels that Man, whom they have long considered as the Author of pernicious Measures, and a Favourer of arbitrary Power.

Mr Howe answered in Substance as follows.

Sir,

Mr Howe.

Whatever Opinion I may have formed, by long Observation and Experience, of the Moderation of the Party by which this Motion is supported, I could not have prevailed upon myself to expect that they would have mentioned it as a Proof of their Lenity and Forbearance; or that while they were endeavouring to punish without the least Evidence of a Crime, they would have added Insults to their Cruelty, and have ridiculed him, whom they were persecuting, with Panegyrics on their own Mercy.

That they are now endeavouring, that Punishment may precede Conviction, is evident, since they have not provided

ed that any of the Measures, which they have been pleased to represent as Pernicious and Dishonourable, were advised by the Person against whom they direct their Malice ; nor do they appear solicitous to discover the Criminal, so they may be permitted to destroy an Adversary.

For this Purpose, Sir, they have for many Years loaded him with Accusations, and represented him as the Author of those Miseries, which were entailed upon the Nation in the last Reign, by a long War and a dishonourable Peace ; they have charged him with exalting, by the Treaty of *Hanover*, that House which owes the Continuance of its Power to the Peace of *Utrecht* ; and have taught the Nation to believe that those Debts, which it has been his constant Endeavour to alleviate, were encreas'd by his Profusion or continued by his Artifices.

Having, by a continual Series of subtle Calumnies, alienated the People from the Government, and filled the Nation with Distrust, Suspicion, and Resentment ; having exalted the Rights of the Subject, till every Borough imagines itself intitled to dictate to the Parliament ; and so long imputed every Calamity to the Ministry, that they are now charged with every Inconvenience that is felt or imagined to be felt by the Nation, whatever Cause may produce it ; they at last throw aside their Disguise, and discover for what End they have so long flattered the Passions and corrupted the Opinions of the People, by declaring that the Discontent which they have raised, is a sufficient Reason for this Motion ; and that the Man whom they have so long accused ought to be doomed to Infamy and Obscurity, because he is at last suspected by those, who have no Opportunity of knowing his Character, or of examining his Conduct.

The Business, Sir, of the Parliament is to hold the Balance between the Court and the People, and to preserve at once the Dignity of the Crown, and the Rights of the Nation ; nor are we to suffer the Servants of the King to be torn from him by popular Fury, any more than the Liberties of the People to be sacrificed to the Ambition of a Minister.

That the People are generally discontented, may perhaps be true ; but what is more common than popular Complaints without Cause, or for Evils, which could not have been prevented. That they are enraged against this Gentleman though it has not been proved, I shall not at present deny ; because it is necessary that before their Resentment is gratified it should be proved to be just, and till such Proof is produced, I shall oppose the Motion.

Mr Heathcote reply'd to the following Effect :

Sir,

Mr Heathcote.

Can it then be asked in this House, why the People are exasperated against this Person, and whether they have had any Provocations to Resentment ? Can Proof be required of the Ardour, with which the whole Nation wishes for his Discharge ? And can it be doubted, whether his Continuance in Power is inconsistent with the Security and Happiness of the Kingdom, the Preservation of Peace, and the Promotion of Loyalty ?

To conceal in judicial Enquiries, what is known to those who profess to declare their Sentiments, is at least not *to speak the whole Truth*, and may be censured as a Proof of Partiality : To affect Ignorance of publick Facts, in hopes that their Opponents may happen to forget them, is not more disingenuous than contemptible, when they are so recent, that they cannot but be remembered, or so atrocious that they cannot be forgiven.

To little Purpose, Sir, therefore, has the Gentleman, who has so zealously attempted, with whatever Intention, to secure the Favour of the Minister, appeared ignorant of the open Declarations of the People in all Parts of the Kingdom, when the execrable Scheme of Excise was lately defeated : A Time which the Enemies of Liberty do not willingly recollect, but which will always be celebrated as the *Æra* of our Rescue from Slavery, by those who know the Importance of Commerce, or the Blessings of Freedom.

At that Time this worthy Minister, this amiable Benefactor of Mankind, was stigmatized with the highest Degree of Infamy, which the People cou'd express ; he was dragg'd along the Streets in Effigy through the Shouts of innumerable Crouds, with the universal Triumph of all Ranks and Orders of Men, and was thrown into the Fires kindled in every Town to celebrate the Deliverance.

If therefore, Sir, it be granted, that the general Hatred of the People is sufficient to justify an Address for the Removal of a Minister, this Motion can admit of no longer Debate ; for he who doubts whether this Person be generally detested ; he who does not know that his Name is never mentioned, but by his Vassals, without Execrations ; that his Counsels are considered by every honest Man as the Causes of our Misery and all our Disgrace ; and that the Time of his Degradation or Destruction would be added to those Festival Days on which the Overthrow of arbitrary and republican Schemes are annually commemorated, must live in utter Ignorance of the State of his Country ; and must have past his Days without Inquiry, and without Observation, either
clouded

clouded by the Obscurity of a Village; or dazzled by the Glitter of a Court.

For my Part it has cost me no laborious Searches to know what is daily to be heard in every Place of publick Resort; that he is looked upon as a general Enemy, whom it is every Man's Duty to pursue, and Interest to destroy. And since it cannot be expected that his Majesty should long retain the Affections of his People, while a Man like this is believed to enjoy his Confidence and influence his Counsels, I think it impossible to give a more important Proof of my Loyalty, than by agreeing to the present Motion.

Mr Henry Pelham spoke next in Favour of Sir Robert Walpole, whose Speech we have given at large in the foregoing VOLUME, P. 78. He was answered by Mr Lyttelton as follows:

Mr H. Pelham

Sir,

The captivating Shew of Equity, and the Candour, with which the Honourable Gentleman has delivered his Sentiments on this Occasion, could not but raise Esteem in those who are most zealous for the Cause which he has undertaken to oppose, did he not employ it to conceal Facts too evident for Disguise, and to palliate Measures in Defence of which, the most artful Eloquence must be exhausted in vain.

That these Measures are really not easily to be vindicated, he has indeed implicitly confessed, by thinking it necessary to deny, that his Friend can be properly considered as the Author of them; and by requiring Proof to Day, of what every Man in the Nation knew Yesterday, and will know to Morrow, that he has been for twenty Years the chief Director of all Foreign and Domestick Measures.

Surely that Cause must be desperate that can require a Defence like this; surely he can have little Confidence in the Integrity of that Man, whom he endeavours to shelter from Examination, by denying what he is conscious that every Man knows and almost every Man can prove.

The present Motion is only for an Address to his Majesty, not that any Criminal should be punished, but that a Man suspected of Crimes should be removed from Trust: And therefore this Address may justly be promoted by every Man, whom his own Observation or the Assertions of others have induced to form such Suspicions, even though they should not be confirmed by such Evidence as might be required in the lower Courts.

Those who have urged against this Motion, that it is not supported by any Precedent, seem to have forgotten, or perhaps hope that others may forget, a Precedent, which cannot be decently eluded on this Occasion, because it was established

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ed by the Influence of the Person, whose Conduct we are now called to examine.

of The Peace of *Utrecht*, and all the other Negotiations which were carried on during the Administration of the Earl of *Oxford*, are well known to have been considered in the Parliament, and to have been ratified after long Debates by a very great Majority, a Majority which the Minister could not be charged with gaining by Bribes, or retaining by Pensions: A Majority of Members elected without pecuniary Influence, and voting without any other apparent Direction than their own Opinions; and who, though they are now generally imagined to have been mistaken, were never yet charged with being corrupt.

Yet was not this Sanction sufficient to secure the noble Lord in the next Reign, from the Violence of Prosecution and the Rigours of Imprisonment: Prosecutions incited by this Gentleman's Malignity, and Imprisonment promoted by his Counsels. In Defence of this Precedent, I shall only urge, that if such a Process was equitable at that Time, it may safely be imitated; and that though it should be acknowledged even by those that then countenanced and defended it, to have been Precipitate and Cruel, it may justly be practised on this Occasion; since it is reasonable that the Authors of evil Counsels should feel the Effects of their own Schemes, and that every Man should find that Treatment which others have received from him.

Such Severities, however, are not intended by the Advocates for the present Motion, who are content to put an End to the Miseries of the Nation, without punishing him to whom they think them justly imputed; who intend not Vengeance but Security; and who by removing the Minister from the Presence of his Sovereign, from which he has long driven every Man that opposed him, and from those Counsels which he has always directed to the Detriment of the Nation, propose not to gratify Resentment, but to prevent Destruction.

Mr. E. Harley.

Hereupon the Hon. Mr *Edward Harley* stood up, and spoke as in our *Twelfth VOLUME*, p. 100, and then left the House; and was follow'd by Mr *Robert Harley*.

Lord *Cornbury* spoke next in Substance as follows.

Lord *Cornbury*.

Sir,

I doubt not but it will be expected by those who have made and justified the Motion, that I who have generally opposed the Measures of the Administration, should readily concur in censuring the Man to whose Counsels they are imputed, and by whose Influence they are supposed to have obtained Approbation; and perhaps it may not be without incurring some Suspicion of criminal Inconsistency, that I declare
my

my Disapprobation of the Method of Prosecution which is now proposed ; a Suspicion which I shall however try to avoid, by laying before the House the Reasons of my Conduct, and the Grounds of my Opinion.

‘ There has always appeared to me a great Difference in the Rules which political and personal Questions require to be observed. In Questions relating to the publick Affairs, it is rational to suppose those Measures wrong which are not proved to be right ; but in criminal Prosecutions it is a Maxim in the Law, that every Man shall be supposed Innocent till it is shown by Evidence that he is Guilty. In opposing Measures therefore, I am at Liberty to require Evidence ; in attacking Persons, I am obliged to produce it ; nor does the Man whom I accuse of Misconduct, need to make any other Defence than that of denying the Charge.

‘ In the present Case, Sir, a Right Honourable Member of this House is accused of dishonouring his Sovereign, of betraying his Trust, of weakening the Influence, embarrassing the Commerce, and obstructing the Arms of his Country ; of giving up the Rights of the Nation by cowardly Negotiations, and attacking its Liberties by an Attempt to introduce oppressive Laws and cruel Exactions. A Charge in the highest Degree criminal, and which ought therefore to be supported by the strongest Proof.

‘ But instead of Evidence produced to prove the particular Articles of this complicated Accusation, we have heard hitherto only florid Declamations, which may amuse but cannot convince, and violent Invectives which may fire the Passions for a Moment, but which can have no lasting Effect upon the Judgment. These have been answered by Rhetorick equally engaging, and Assertions equally consistent ; but to which the Laws have given this Advantage, that we are obliged to admit them till they are confuted, and by Consequence to reject those of the Accusers till they are proved.

‘ That those, who have hitherto distinguished themselves by an invariable Opposition to the ministerial Schemes, should reject the present Motion, has been mentioned as an Inconsistency not to be imagined, as an Absurdity which could not be supposed without an Apology. So easily do the wisest Men suffer their Desires to influence their Reason ; and so difficult is it for any Man, strongly convinced of the Truth of his Opinion, to believe that others can justify themselves in Dissenting from it.

‘ For my Part, Sir, I can easily conceive, that many may have condemned all these Transactions which have been represented as the Grounds of the present Motion ; without thinking that the Motion deserves their Concurrence, or that
by

by rejecting it, they shall forfeit the Praise of Steadiness and Perseverance; since nothing is more evident than that this Motion may be unjust, though the Opposition should be supposed hitherto to have acted under the Direction of infallible Guides, and all the Schemes and Measures of the Minister to have been detrimental to the Nation.

To justify Opposition it is only to be proved that the Measures proposed, were improper or unjust; but to support this Motion it must be shewn that they are the Proposals of a particular Man. It has been hitherto indifferent in the Debate, whether they were Errors or Crimes; whether the Authors of them were deceived or corrupted; it is now necessary to prove them the Consequences of wicked Intentions, of Intentions so much vitiated as to deserve the publick Censure of the Parliament.

There remains one Objection more, which in my Opinion requires to be answered; the Advocates for the Motion seem to endeavour to advance a Charge of *accumulative* Guilt, to aggravate one Crime by the Super-Addition of another, and rather to intend a popular Censure than a legal Condemnation.

I suppose no Man will suspect that an unjust Partiality in favour of the Gentleman, whose Conduct is now the Subject of Examination, influences me to censure this Method of Proceeding; since no Man can want Reasons against it of the greatest Weight: Reasons which deserve the closest Attention from every Man of Prudence and Virtue, of every Man who regards his own Safety, or the Happiness of future Generations. No Man whose Judgment is not overborn by his Resentment, and whose Ardour for Vengeance has not extinguished every other Motive of Action, can resolve to give the Sanction of his Voice to a Method of Prosecution, by which the Good and Bad are equally endangered; and which will make the Administration of publick Affairs destructive to the purest Integrity and the highest Wisdom.

That such must be the Consequence of Charges like this will appear no longer a paradoxical Assertion, if it be remembered, that Humanity is a State of Imperfection; that the strictest Virtue sometimes declines from the Right, and that the most consummate Policy is by false Appearances, or accidental Inattention betrayed into Error. For how soon must that Man be destroyed, whose high Station exposes him to the continual Observation of Envy and Malevolence, whose minutest Errors are carefully remark'd, and whose casual Failings are treasured up as a Fund of Accusations. How soon, if trivial Transgressions shall be accumulated into capital

tal Crimes, may the best Man compleat the Sum of his Offences and be doom'd to Ignominy, to Exile, or to Death?

' In criminal Proceedings particular Regard has been had to Precedents; and surely the Effects of a former Accusation of this Kind, give us no Encouragement to the Repetition of it. From a Charge of accumulative Treason, the Faction of the last Age proceeded to the Usurpation of boundless Authority, the Subversion of our Constitution, and the Murder of the King.

' I shall therefore continue to suppose every Man Innocent till he appears from legal Evidence to be Guilty; and to reject any Charge of accumulative Guilt, upon the same Principles of Regard to Liberty, to Virtue, to Truth, and to our Constitution, by which I have hitherto regulated my Conduct; and for the same Reasons, for which I have condemned the Measures of the Administration, I shall now oppose the present Motion.

Then Sir Robert Walpole rose up and spoke to this Effect: Sir R. Walpole.

Sir,

' As this Debate has been already protracted to an unusual Length, I hope the Request I am going to make will not be thought improper or unreasonable. It is, Sir, that I may know the whole Accusation against me before I offer my Defence; lest new Charges should produce a Necessity of new Replies, and the House either be wearied with needless Altercations, or be reduc'd to the Necessity of Determining without a complete Knowledge of the Question.

' This Method I hope will meet with no Opposition, since it will give those who are inclin'd to censure me, an Opportunity of hearing without Interruption the whole complicated Charge; and shew those whom a nearer Knowledge of my Conduct may have induc'd to think favourably of me, that I am not afraid of hearing all that Error or Malice can suggest; that I do not desire to shelter myself in Confusion; and that I do not doubt of confirming their Sentiments by a Defence not to be confuted.

Then Lord Tyrconnel stood up and spoke as follows:

Lord Tyrconnel:

Sir,

' As nothing is more necessary in our Proceedings than Order, and that Perspicuity which results from it; as the Accusation must naturally precede the Defence, and as a continued Discourse is more easily conceived, and more accurately retained, than an interrupted and tumultuous Disputation, I think the Request made by the Right Hon. Gentleman seasonable and just.

VOL. XIII.

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Mr

Mr Pulteney.

Mr Bootle,
Mr Greenville,
Mr Fazakerley,
Mr Boone,
Sir John Hinde
Cotton,
Mr Waller,
Mr Ord,
Mr Hume Camp-
bel.

Mr Hen. Archer,
Lord Euston,
Mr Leathes,
Sir W. Lowther,
Mr Hay,
Mr Legg,
Col. Cholmon-
deley,

Mr Hen. Fox,
Sir D. Ryder,
Sir Ri. Corbett,
Mr Clarke,
Sir J. Strange,
Mr Danvers,
Mr Winnington,
Sir Wil. Yonge,
Mr Bowes,
Mr Southwell.

Mr Shippen,

Mr Noel,
Mr Fenwick,
Mr Browne.

Sir Cha. Wager.

The Motion pas-
ses in the Ne-
gative.

Thereupon Mr *Pulteney* stood up, and open'd a long Charge against Sir *Robert Walpole*, which we have already given in the Proceedings of the Seventh Session, Page 101. And Sir *Robert*, having made his Defence, as therein related at large, Page 114. withdrew.

Besides the Gentlemen, whose Speeches we have given in this and the former Volume, Mr *Bootle*, Mr *Green-ville*, Mr *Fazakerley*, Mr *Boone*, Sir *John Hinde Cotton*, Mr *Waller*, Mr *Ord*, and Mr *Hume Campbell*, spoke for the Motion.

And besides those before-mentioned against the Motion, were Mr *Henry Archer*, Lord *Euston*, Mr *Leathes*, Sir *Wil- liam Lowther*, Mr *Hay*, Mr *Legg*, Col. *Cholmondeley*, Mr *Henry Fox*, Mr Attorney General, Sir *Richard Corbett*, Mr *Clarke*, Mr Solicitor General, Mr *Danvers*, Mr *Winning- ton*, Sir *William Yonge*, Mr *Bowes*, and Mr *Southwell*.

Mr *Shippen* declar'd, ' That he looked on this Motion as only a Scheme for turning out one Minister, and bringing in another : That as his Conduct in Parliament had always been regulated with a View to the Good of his Country, without any Regard to his own private Interest, it was quite indiffe- rent to him, who was in or who was out ; and he would give himself no Concern in the Question.' Having said this he withdrew, and was followed by Thirty four of his Friends.

Mr *Noel*, Mr *Robert Fenwick*, and Mr *Browne*, likewise left the House, and were followed by many more.

Sir *Charles Wager* in particular declar'd, ' That, to his Knowledge, Sir *Robert Walpole* was as forward and zealous to promote the War as any of his Majesty's Council, and that nothing was a Moment wanted in his Province, That of if- suing Money : That he had never interfer'd in recommend- ing any one Person to the Admiralty Board ; and that if he had ever done so, He (Sir *Charles*) would have thrown up all his Preferments.'

The Debate began at Six in the Morning, and held 'till Four the next Morning ; when the Question being put upon Mr *Sandys's* Motion, it was resolved in the Negative by a Majority of 184 Voices.

INDEX



I N D E X

O F T H E N A M E S of the S P E A K E R S

I N T H E First Session of the Third Parliament of King George II.

C ampbell <i>Alexander Hume</i> , On Mr <i>Pulteney's</i> Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers laid before the House, re- lating to the Conduct of the War	Page 83
<i>Carew Thomas</i> , On the Report of the Resolution of the Committee of Supply, for transferring seven <i>Irish</i> Regiments to the <i>British</i> Establishment	234
<i>Clutterbuck Thomas</i> , On Mr <i>Pelham's</i> proposing Mr <i>Onslow</i> for Speaker	19
<i>Cooke George</i> , On a Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of <i>Orford</i> for the last Ten Years	203
<i>Cotton Sir John Hind</i> , In Favour of the Lord <i>Strange's</i> Motion, that the Lords Rejecting of the Indemnification Bill, relating to the Earl of <i>Orford</i> , was an Obstruction to publick Justice	253
<i>Cornbury Lord</i> , Against the above Motion of Lord <i>Strange</i>	259
<i>Cornwall Velters</i> , On a Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Af- fairs for the last Twenty Years	155
In Favour of the above Motion of Lord <i>Strange</i>	260
<i>Digby Edward</i> , On a Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of <i>Orford</i> for the last Ten Years	196
<i>Fox Henry</i> , On a Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	150

	Page
<i>Gibbon Philips</i> , Against the Motion for an Address of Thanks for the King's Speech	31
<i>Herbert Henry Arthur</i> , His Motion for an Address of Thanks for the King's Speech	22
<i>Hillsborough</i> Lord, In Favour of Lord <i>Strange's</i> Motion relating to the Indemnification-Bill	248
<i>Limerick</i> Lord, His Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	139
For an Inquiry into the Conduct of <i>Robert</i> Earl of <i>Orford</i> , for the last Ten Years	189
<i>Onslow</i> <i>Arthur</i> , Excuses himself from being Speaker	19
His Reprimand to the <i>Westminster</i> Justices	104
<i>Pelham</i> <i>Henry</i> , On his proposing Mr <i>Onslow</i> to be Speaker	17
Against Mr <i>Pulteney's</i> Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers laid before the House, relating to the Conduct of the War	76
Against the Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years.	161
<i>Percival</i> Lord, In Favour of the Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers relating to the Conduct of the War	101
On the Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	158
<i>Philips</i> <i>John</i> , On receiving the Estimates relating to the Land Forces, referr'd to the Committee of Supply, &c.	117
On the Resolutions of the Committee of Supply, relating to the Army, being reported	131
On the Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	149
His Speech on the Report of the Resolution of the Committee for transferring seven <i>Irish</i> Regiments to the <i>British</i> Establishment	227
On the Report of the Resolution of the Committee of Supply for granting 800,000 <i>l.</i> to be raised by Annuities at 3 per Cent.	265

I N D E X

223

Page

<i>Pitt William</i> , On the Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	169
For the Inquiry into the Conduct of <i>Robert Earl of Orford</i> , for the last ten Years	207
<i>Pulteney William</i> , Against the Motion for an Address of Thanks for the King's Speech	36
His Motion for appointing a Day to consider the State of the Nation	48
For referring to a Select Committee the several Papers laid before the House, relating to the Conduct of the War	70
<i>Quarendon Lord</i> , Seconds <i>Lord Strange's</i> Motion relating to the Lords rejecting the Indemnification-Bill	248
<i>St Aubyn Sir John</i> , On a Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	145
He seconds <i>Lord Limerick's</i> Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of the <i>Earl of Orford</i> for the last ten Years	191
<i>Sandys Samuel</i> , Against <i>Lord Strange's</i> Motion relating to the Indemnification-Bill	250
<i>Shippen William</i> , Against the Motion for an Address of Thanks for the King's Speech	25
<i>Somerset Lord Noel</i> , Against the Motion for the said Address	24
<i>Strange Lord</i> , His Motion to resolve, that the Lords Rejecting of the Indemnification-Bill, relating to the <i>Earl of Orford</i> , was an Obstruction of Publick Justice	248
His Speech in Favour of the said Motion	263
<i>Trevor John Morley</i> seconds the Motion for an Address of Thanks for the King's Speech	23
<i>Walpole Sir Robert</i> , His Speech in Favour of the said Address	34
His further Speech on the said Address	47
He seconds <i>Mr Pulteney's</i> Motion for appointing a Committee to consider the State of the Nation	48
<i>Walpole Horatio jun.</i> Against the Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of <i>Robert Earl of Orford</i> , for the last Ten Years	191

Wager

<i>Wager Sir Charles</i> , Against a Motion for appointing a Committee to inquire into the Conduct of Affairs for the last Twenty Years	Page 147
<i>Winnington Thomas</i> , Against the Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers laid before the House, relating to the Conduct of the War	88
On the Report of the Resolution of the Committee for transferring seven <i>Irish</i> Regiments to the <i>British</i> Establishment	229
<i>Wynn Sir Watkin Williams</i> , On the Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers relating to the Conduct of the War	92
On the House's receiving the Estimates relating to the Land-Forces, refer'd to the Committee of Supply	122
<i>Yonge Sir William</i> , On a Motion for referring to a Select Committee the several Papers laid before the House relating to the Conduct of the War	98
On the House's receiving the several Estimates of the Land-Forces referred to the Committee of Supply, &c.	118





I N D E X

Of the SPEAKERS in the

A D D E N D A.

ON the Motion for incorporating the new rais'd Regiments into the Standing Corps, by Sir William Yonge, p. 127 and 150. Mr Pulteney, 129. General Wade, 142, 167 and 177. Lord Quarendon, 145. Mr Howe, 148. Mr Greenville, 160. Mr Ord, 161. Mr Henry Fox, 168. Mr Heathcote, 170. Lord Gage, 174. Mr Sloper, 177. Mr Vyner, 178. Colonel Mordaunt, 179.

On the Motion for Removing Sir Robert Walpole from his Majesty's Councils and Presence, by Mr Sanders, p. 179. Lord Limerick, 179. Mr Wortley, 181. Mr Gybbon, 181 and 186. Mr Bromley, 183. Mr Howe, 183 and 214. Mr Erskine, 184. Colonel Bladen, 184. Mr Pulteney, 187 and 222. Mr Stephen Fox, 188. Mr Pitt, 210. Mr Heathcote, 216. Mr Henry Peiham, 217. Mr Lyttelton, 217. Mr E. Harley, 218. Lord Cornbury, 218. Sir Robert Walpole, 221 and 222. Lord Tycormel, 221. Mr Shippen, 222. Sir Charles Wager, 222.



INDEX

OF THE SPEAKER

Lately Published,

Jus Parliamentarium :

OR, THE
ANCIENT POWER,
JURISDICTION,
RIGHTS and LIBERTIES,

O F

PARLIAMENT,

REVIVED and ASSERTED

By *WILLIAM PETTY*, Esq;

Keeper of the RECORDS in the Tower of
LONDON.



